

Strategies used by suspects during a police interview

Lucy Arnold

University of Portsmouth

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Declaration

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award

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Table of Contents

Declaration.....	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of Contents	4
List of Tables.....	8
List of Figures	10
Abstract.....	12
Chapter One - Introduction.....	13
Introduction	13
Studies on suspect behaviour during police interviewing	15
From interrogation to investigative interviewing.....	18
Evaluation of the PEACE model.....	20
Research on detecting deception.....	21
The SUE Technique.....	23
Limitations of laboratory-based research	25
Suspect strategies in real life police interviews.....	26
Gaps in the literature	29
Thesis overview.....	30
Chapter Two – Methodology	33
Introduction	33
Methodological Position	33
Method	34
Study One.....	35
Study Two.....	41
Coding Scheme.....	46
Refinements to coding	48
Reliability.....	49
Suspect Strategies	51
Ethical considerations	56
Informed consent – Study One	56

Informed consent – Study Two	57
Confidentiality and anonymity.....	58
The Analysis	59
Conclusion.....	62
Chapter Three - Studies One and Two	63
Abstract.....	63
Introduction	63
Results Part One – Developing suspect strategies and behavioural styles.....	71
Results Part Two – Classifying cases to behavioural styles.....	78
Discussion	81
Previous research.....	83
Theories of interpersonal communication.....	86
Limitations	90
Conclusion.....	91
Chapter Four – Developing a Model of Suspect Behaviour	92
Abstract.....	92
Introduction	92
Method	96
Results.....	97
Discussion	104
Limitations	106
Implications.....	108
Conclusion.....	108
Chapter Five – Case Characteristics and Suspect Behaviour.....	109
Abstract.....	109
Introduction	109
The impact of case characteristics on suspect behaviour	110
Methodological Issues	115
Wider suspect behaviour	116
Method	118
Descriptive statistics.....	118
Data Screening	120

Results.....	121
Individual socio-demographic characteristics	122
Criminological characteristics	124
Wider contextual characteristics.....	126
Interview Outcome	127
Summary of Case characteristics significant results	129
Discussion	130
Limitations	134
Implications.....	135
Chapter Six –Analysis of Suspect Strategy use in One Interview	137
Abstract.....	137
Introduction	137
Method	141
Sampling	141
Procedure.....	142
Reliability analysis	143
Results.....	144
Discussion	162
John’s narrative	163
Phases of interview	165
Interviewer questioning.....	165
Legal Advisor comments	167
Limitations and Recommendations.....	168
Chapter Seven - General Discussion	171
Introduction	171
Key Findings	172
Research limitations.....	177
Data collection	177
Data analysis	178
An integrated theoretical framework.....	179
Practitioner recommendations	187
Planning before the interview.....	187

During the interview	189
Instrumental-Avoidant scenario.....	189
Instrumental – Antagonistic scenario.....	190
Relational-Avoidant Scenario	190
Relational-Antagonistic Scenario	191
Identity-Avoidant scenario	192
Identity-Antagonistic scenario	192
Future directions.....	192
References	195
Appendices	209
Appendix A – Ethical approval forms	209
Appendix B – Consent forms Study One	213
Appendix C – A comparison of interviews listened to with those observed....	218
Appendix D – Coding sheet Study One	220
Appendix E – Coding suspect offences for Studies One and Two	223
Appendix F – Recruitment letter Study Two	236
Appendix G – ACPO endorsement letter.....	240
Appendix H – Coding sheet and instructions for Study Two	241
Appendix I – Suspect strategy coding definitions.....	242
Appendix J – Data Screening for outliers	248
Appendix K – Frequency of suspect strategy use for Study Two	251
Appendix L – Jeffersonian Transcription Notation	255

List of Tables

<i>Table 2.1: A comparison of participant demographics between stations A and B</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Table 2.2: A comparison of participant demographics between Studies One and Two.....</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>Table 2.3: A comparison of suspect strategy frequencies between Studies One and Two</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>Table 2.4: A comparison of suspect strategy frequencies between Studies One and Two for the 18 strategies used in further analysis</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>Table 3.1: Combined (N = 146) frequency of suspect strategies from Studies One (n = 66) and Two (n = 80).....</i>	<i>71</i>
<i>Table 3.2: Combined (N = 146) frequency and percentage of suspect strategies by behavioural style</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>Table 3.3: Example quotes for each strategy within each of the three behavioural styles.....</i>	<i>76</i>
<i>Table 3.4. Means, Medians and standard deviations for the range of strategies used by behavioural style across the whole sample (N = 146).....</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>Table 4.1: Taylor's (2003) Hostage Cylindrical Model example quotes for each combination of Interaction (Avoidance, Distributive, Integrative) and each Motivation (Identity, Relational, Instrumental) facet.</i>	<i>94</i>
<i>Table 4.2: Nine combinations of behavioural styles and motivational facets with suspect strategies and example quotes given for each one.</i>	<i>99</i>
<i>Table 5.1: Summary of research findings on the relationship between case characteristics and whether a suspect confesses/admits with an overall trend based on these findings</i>	<i>113</i>
<i>Table 5.2: Summary of research findings on the relationship between case characteristics and whether a suspect remains silent</i>	<i>114</i>
<i>Table 5.3: Frequency and percentage of case characteristics for the whole sample (N = 144) ...</i>	<i>118</i>
<i>Table 5.4. Means, Medians and standard deviations for strategy use across the whole sample (N = 144).....</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>Table 5.5. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and socio-demographic variables.</i>	<i>123</i>
<i>Table 5.6. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and Criminological variables.....</i>	<i>124</i>
<i>Table 5.7. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and the suspect's use of a Legal Advisor.....</i>	<i>127</i>

<i>Table 5.8. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and the outcome of the interview.....</i>	<i>128</i>
<i>Table 5.9. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and all case variables where a significant difference has been found.....</i>	<i>130</i>
<i>Table 6.1: Overall frequency and percentage of strategy use for John (C29 suspect). The percentage given is the frequency for each strategy divided by the total number of coded strategies.....</i>	<i>145</i>
<i>Table 6.2: Summary of the interviewer and suspect behaviour for the nine phases identified in the transcript for C29 interview. An indication of the duration of each phases is provided through the number of lines of talk.....</i>	<i>149</i>
<i>Table 6.3: Phase One segment of transcript for C29 interview (text in bold represents sentence which supports coding of strategy use. IV = Interviewer, DP = detained person)......</i>	<i>150</i>
<i>Table 6.4: Phase Two segment of transcript for C29 interview.....</i>	<i>151</i>
<i>Table 6.5: Phase Three segment of transcript for C29 interview.....</i>	<i>153</i>
<i>Table 6.6: Phase Four segment of transcript for C29 interview.....</i>	<i>154</i>
<i>Table 6.7: Phase Five segment of transcript for C29 interview.....</i>	<i>157</i>
<i>Table 6.8: Phase Six segment of transcript for C29 interview.....</i>	<i>158</i>
<i>Table 6.9: Phase Seven segment of transcript for C29 interview.....</i>	<i>159</i>
<i>Table 6.10: Phase Eight segment of transcript for C29 interview.....</i>	<i>160</i>
<i>Table 6.11: Phase Nine segment of transcript for C29 interview.....</i>	<i>160</i>
<i>Table 7.1: Nine combinations of behavioural styles and motivational facets with suspect strategies and example quotes given for each one.</i>	<i>186</i>
<i>Table C.1: A comparison of participant demographics between interviews listened to (n = 7) with those observed (n = 59) for Study One.....</i>	<i>218</i>
<i>Table E.1: A description of how the main offence was coded for in each case where the suspect was arrested for more than one main offence.....</i>	<i>223</i>
<i>Table E.2: A description of how each offence was classified for each case.....</i>	<i>225</i>
<i>Table J.1: Comparison of the average number of strategies used per interview and divided by the duration of the interview for the whole sample (N = 144) and the outliers (n = 16).....</i>	<i>248</i>
<i>Table J.2: Comparison of the background descriptive statistics for the whole sample (N = 144) and the outliers (n = 16).....</i>	<i>248</i>

<i>Table J.3 –Comparison of all multivariate analyses carried out for the whole sample (N = 144) and when the outliers (n = 16) were removed (n = 128).....</i>	<i>250</i>
<i>Table K.1: Frequency of suspect strategy use ordered by most to least number of strategies used</i>	<i>251</i>

List of Figures

<i>Figure 2.1: 95% confidence intervals comparing demographic data from Studies One and Two. An asterisk next to the variable represents variables where the error bars do not overlap ...</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>Figure 2.2: 95% confidence intervals comparing suspect strategy frequency between Studies One and Two. Asterisks next to the variable represents variables where the error bars do not overlap</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>Figure 3.1. A Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews. Sides one and three are displayed for the three-dimensional space using Yules Q.</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Figure 3.2: Dimensions one and three of a Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews with regional interpretations showing Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant behavioural styles.....</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>Figure 3.3. A breakdown of how each case was classified into the three behavioural styles or hybrid behavioural styles. The numbers under each behavioural style name represent the total number of cases which were considered as a pure behavioural style and the numbers which sit on the dotted lines between behavioural styles represent the number of cases which were considered hybrids of two behavioural styles. Thirty six (25%) cases could not be classed as either a pure or hybrid behavioural style (N = 146).</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Figure 4.1. schematic representation of the Hostage Cylindrical Model taken from Taylor (2003).</i>	<i>93</i>
<i>Figure 4.2. A Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews. Sides one and three are displayed for the three-dimensional space using Yules Q.</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Figure 4.3: Dimensions one and three of a Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews with regional interpretations showing Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant behavioural styles, and Identity, Instrumental and Relational motivations... </i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Figure 4.4: Dimensions two and three of a Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews.....</i>	<i>101</i>

<i>Figures 4.5-4.7. Dimensions two and three of the SSA configuration showing the motivation facet, and the intensity facet depicted using an arrow. The configuration has been divided into Avoidant (top), Antagonistic (middle) and Compliant (bottom) levels of interaction.....</i>	<i>103</i>
<i>Figure 5.1: Means and standard deviations for the number of strategies used for each behavioural style as a function of offence type (N = 119).</i>	<i>126</i>
<i>Figure 5.2: Means and standard deviations for the number of strategies used for each behavioural style as a function of outcome (N = 126)</i>	<i>129</i>
<i>Figure 6.1: : C29 suspect strategies in order of use during the course of the interview. An 'X' demonstrates when the strategy was used. The time has been split into nine segments based on the stages of the interview as outlined in the PEACE framework. The bottom three rows are the strategies collapsed into the three behavioural styles and motivations</i>	<i>146</i>
<i>Figure 7.1: Social-cognitive model of suspect behaviour during a police interview.....</i>	<i>181</i>
<i>Figure 7.2: Cylindrical model of suspect communication during a police interview</i>	<i>184</i>

Abstract

This thesis explores the strategies used by suspects during police interviewing. In Study One, police interviews were directly observed at two different police stations and suspects were observed using strategies which could be grouped into three behavioural styles. These behavioural styles were refined in Study Two and used to differentiate how suspects managed the attribution of blame and their overall level of cooperation: Avoidant (rejects blame and uncooperative), Antagonistic (blames others and competitive), Compliant (accepting blame and cooperative). When the data from Studies One and Two were combined, the same three behavioural styles emerged. But further analysis revealed that suspects do not always show a preference for one behavioural style, suggesting that there is movement between behavioural styles during the course of an interview. The behavioural styles were then mapped onto a model of behaviour used in hostage negotiation research. This identified a second facet to each of the three behavioural styles, which suggested a motivational bases for each strategy: Instrumental, Relational and Identity. Case characteristics (e.g. age, criminal history, offence type) were then incorporated into further analysis, which revealed that the behavioural styles used by suspects differed depending on the characteristics of the case, particularly for suspects using the Antagonistic behavioural style. In the final study, qualitative analysis of the sequence and patterning of suspect behaviours in one suspect interview was carried out, revealing how strategies were used over the course of the interview and exploring why the suspect changed their behaviour. Finally the key findings from this thesis are incorporated into an integrated theoretical framework, and the implications for practitioners are discussed.

Chapter One - Introduction

Introduction

Police-suspect interviews form a major part of the police investigation process. Yet prior to 1980, little was known regarding what actually happened during such interviews. Around this time, there were also a number of highly publicised miscarriages of justice (e.g. the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six) after which significant concerns were raised around the way the police conducted interviews with suspects and specifically the use of coercive police tactics leading to false confessions given by suspects (Milne & Bull, 1999). As a result of these cases, and others like them (see Gudjonsson, 2003), the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure (RCCP) was set up in 1978 to examine the powers and duties of police when conducting criminal investigations and how they affect the rights of the suspect (Farrington, 1981). The Commission also funded research into investigative interviewing which led to a number of studies in which psychologists, for the first time, were allowed to directly observe police interviews (e.g. Irving & Hilgendorf, 1980; Softley, Brown, Forde, Mair & Moxon, 1980).

Both Softley et al. (1980) and Irving and Hilgendorf (1980) directly observed nearly 300 interviews and found that police interviewers used a number of coercive psychological tactics, which led them to question the voluntariness of the confessions obtained. The coercive tactics identified by Softley et al. (1980) included bluffing or hinting at further evidence, minimising the seriousness of the offence the suspects were arrested for, and hinting that if suspects did not cooperate then they would be detained for longer. Softley et al. (1980) was the first British study to use the method of direct observation to investigate police-suspect interviews. The methodology used was based on an early American study carried out by Wald, Ayres, Hess, Schantz, and Whitebread (1967) to measure the impact of the Miranda Warning¹. Softley and his

¹ The Supreme Court in *Miranda v Arizona* decided that police should inform suspects of their rights, in particular the suspect's right to remain silent or request a lawyer

team observed interviews at four different police stations and recorded a number of factors regarding the characteristics of the offence, the arrest, the time spent in custody, and the interview. Both studies focussed primarily on the behaviour of the interviewer. Irving and Hilgendorf (1980) only made brief reference to the behaviour of suspects during the interview but only to note what 'state' the suspect was in and observed that nearly half of the suspects were in "an abnormal state" (p. 135) prior to being interviewed². Irving and Hilgendorf (1980) had also carried out a review of the psychological literature on decision-making prior to their observational study. They hypothesised that, when suspects are being questioned, they attempt to make a series of decisions in response to questioning whilst maintaining their overall strategy (e.g. to be truthful, lie, remain silent, etc.) but they did not then test this theory when they observed suspect behaviour (see Chapter Three for a more detailed overview).

These initial studies triggered an extensive amount of psychological research on investigative interviewing with suspects. The researchers demonstrated how much information could be gathered through directly observing police interviews and, although focused largely on the behaviour of the interviewers, the studies started to explore the behaviours displayed by suspects; identifying that suspects may use a number of strategies to manage the interview process. More broadly, the studies raised a number of questions regarding how to interview suspects effectively, and legally, and had major implications for the way investigative interviews are conducted today.

As a result of this early research, the RCCP provided a number of recommendations which led to the PACE Act 1984 and corresponding Codes of Practice for procedures during investigations (Williamson, 1993). The Codes of Practice ensured that suspects (i) were aware of their rights to free and independent legal advice; (ii) should have an appropriate adult if juvenile or mentally impaired; and (iii) that interviewers were advised against the use of oppressive

² The examples they noted included suspects who were intoxicated, displaying symptoms of mental illness, appearing mentally impaired or who were visibly frightened.

questioning and the offering of inducements. The codes also required that all interviews were tape-recorded³ ensuring that, if a confession was made as a result of questioning, the evidence could be produced and examined independently (e.g., in court, Brown, 1997). The mandatory requirement to record all suspect interviews meant that psychologists now had easier access to police interview data. Rather than be physically present during police interviews, researchers could access a large body of potentially removable data in the form of interview tapes.

Studies on suspect behaviour during police interviewing

For the next 15 to 20 years researchers analysed police interview recordings to measure particular aspects of suspect behaviour – specifically the suspect’s decision to admit or deny, request legal advice, or exercise their right to silence. Research also recorded codable case characteristics such as the socio-demographics of suspects (e.g. age, gender), the suspect’s criminal history (e.g. offending history, type of offence) and other contextual factors (e.g. whether the suspect had legal advice, the outcome of the interview). Deslauriers-Varin, Lussier and St-Yves (2011) provide a comprehensive overview of this research, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. The findings could potentially inform law enforcement to predict suspect behaviour, but instead research has shown that the relationship between a suspect’s behaviour during the interview and the characteristics of the case are very complex. Where significant relationships have been identified they are often based on a combination of factors (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Moston, Stephenson & Williamson, 1992). For example, when there is strong evidence, suspects without a criminal history are more likely to admit and suspects with a criminal history and a legal representative are more likely to deny (Moston et al. 1992). Two conditions however are consistently strong predictors of suspect behaviour: suspects with legal advice are more likely to use their right to silence and are less likely to confess, and the

³ Unless they are relating to acts of terrorism or fall under the remit of the Official Secrets Act 1911.

stronger the evidence against the suspect, the more likely they are to confess (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Moston et al. 1992).

Moston et al. (1992) developed a theory of suspect behaviour based on the findings of their research. The authors argued that suspect behaviour is influenced by an interaction of three factors: the background characteristics of the suspect and offence (e.g. the type of crime, previous convictions); contextual characteristics (e.g. whether the suspect received legal advice, the strength of evidence); and the interviewer's questioning technique. Gudjonsson (2003) expanded on Moston et al.'s (1992) model by dividing the influencing factors into those that happen before the interview (antecedents), and those that happen after the behaviour has taken place (consequences). Antecedent behaviours included social events (e.g. being isolated from family), emotional events (e.g. feelings of anxiety or guilt), cognitive events (e.g. deciding on what strategies they plan to use in the interview), situation events (e.g. the time of day they were arrested), and physiological events (e.g. their blood pressure). Gudjonsson (2003) predominantly focussed on the factors that could lead a suspect to falsely confess to a crime but argued that the model could be applied to a range of suspect behaviour.

A criticism of research in this area is that the coding of suspect behaviour is simplistic and overlooks the reality of behaviour during interviews. In particular, research has tended to assume that many of these variables are mutually exclusive, e.g. a suspect either admits *or* denies to an offence, when in reality they can often do both. For example, a suspect arrested for actual bodily harm may deny causing the extent of the injuries they are accused of causing but admit to causing injuries. A suspect may do this so that they are charged with this less severe offence (common assault) which carries lesser penalties, particularly in terms of sentence length. This oversimplification of categorisation also means that researchers often do not agree on what constitutes an admission, whether partial or full (Baldwin, 1993). Issues on how case characteristics are defined is explored in more detail in Chapter Five.

Focusing solely on whether a suspect has given 'no comment' during an interview also overlooks findings that suspects rarely exclusively use this strategy and may talk or even admit to the offence in addition to giving no comment (Baldwin, 1992; Moston et al. 1993). Baldwin (1992) found that very few suspects fully exercised their right to silence (1.7%) and in total just under one fifth of the sample refused to answer at least one question. Moston et al. (1993) found that 16% of suspects exercised their right to silence with half refusing to answer all questions and the other half answering some questions. They also found that using the right to silence did not prevent interviewers from gathering information, even admissions, as some suspects still made damaging statements or only used their right to silence for a specific purpose such as protecting the names of associates. Recent research has started to explore the complexity of this behaviour by breaking down a suspect's use of their right to silence into multiple strategies that depict the range of non-cooperative behaviour during an interview (e.g. Alison, Alison, Noone, Elntib, Waring and Christiansen, 2014a).

Another aspect of suspect behaviour during the interview is not just whether a suspect confesses but also when they confess. Research has found that not all suspects confess at the start of the interview (Baldwin, 1993, Soukara, Bull, Vrij, Turner & Cherryman, 2009), indicating that something during the interview may have persuaded some suspects to change their minds. However, other researchers have found that confessions typically happened early on in the interview (Pearse, Gudjonsson, Clare & Rutter, 1998) and that suspects rarely changed from denying to confessing (or vice versa) during the course of the interview (Bull & Milne, 2004). Bull and Milne (2004) propose that this indicates suspects may have made up their mind prior to the interview on how they were going to behave, and the interviewer was unable to change their mind. There is a lack of research which explores what is happening *during* the interview and specifically the interaction between the interviewer and suspect which could help understand if, how, or why suspects change their behaviour. This is explored in more detail in Chapter Six of this thesis.

From interrogation to investigative interviewing

The coercive interviewing tactics identified in the early observational research (e.g. Softley et al. 1980) were re-addressed post PACE. Most studies had identified an overall decline in the use of the coercive tactics (e.g. bluffing evidence and minimising the seriousness of the offence) (Irving and McKenzie, 1989; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Moston & Stephenson, 1993) but this led researchers to highlight the deficiencies in interviewers' interviewing skills (Baldwin, 1993; McConville & Hodgson, 1993; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Moston & Stephenson, 1993; Williamson, 1991, 1993). Moston and Engelberg (1993) attributed the lack of interviewing skills to a change from contemporaneous notetaking to tape recording, as interviewers "had to readjust to the process of talking with the suspect in a manner much closer to resembling a conversation, rather than dictation" (p. 223). Baldwin (1992) had been sponsored by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) to evaluate the feasibility of video-taping interviews with suspects, but his exposure to police interviews resulted in a detailed and damning evaluation of the standards of the then current interviewing practice (Milne & Bull, 1999).

To address these issues, in 1992 the Home Office and ACPO changed the ethos of police interviewing from 'interrogation' to 'investigative interviewing' and provided seven 'Principles of Investigative Interviewing' to support this change in culture (Milne & Bull, 1999). The purpose of questioning was no longer seen as obtaining a confession but rather as the search for information (Milne & Bull, 1999; 2003; Williamson, 1993). Baldwin's (1992) evaluation resulted in a new week-long interview training programme called PEACE along with two guide booklets distributed throughout England and Wales: *A guide to interviewing* (CPTU, 1992a) and *The interviewer's rule book* (CPTU, 1992b) which contained information on training and relevant law such as PACE 1984 (Milne & Bull, 1999). The acronym PEACE identifies five steps of the interview structure: i) Planning and preparation, ii) Engage and explain, iii) Account, iv) Closure, and v) Evaluation. The PEACE framework was accompanied by two models for interviewing: Conversation Management and the Cognitive Interview.

Around this time Conversation Management (CM) was being developed by Shepherd (1993) and was designed to be used with uncooperative suspects to encourage them to be more cooperative and engage with the interviewer (Shepherd, 1993; Centrex, 2004). CM provides a number of steps in memorable mnemonic forms, for planning and preparing for an interview as well as for managing behaviour within an interview. CM encourages interviewers to consider the factors which might impact on how cooperative a suspect decides to be: they may feel angry, anxious, vulnerable or frustrated or they may have different goals, needs, or beliefs to the interviewer, and was developed to encourage interviewers to take a more ethical approach to interviewing, to overcome the observed oppressive interview behaviour (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013). More recently, research now strongly advocates more ethical approaches to interview and demonstrates that they are more effective at eliciting accurate information than alternative 'enhanced interrogation techniques' (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Granhag, Kleinman, & Oleszkiewicz, 2016; see Vrij, Meissner, Fisher, Kassin, Morgan & Kleinman, 2017 for a review).

CM appears to go some way in addressing Moston and Engelberg's (1993) suggestions that the interview needs to be viewed as a conversation and provides techniques for overcoming less cooperative interviewees. But, as Milne and Bull (1999) point out, there were not, and still are not now, direct evaluations of the effectiveness of CM, and it is therefore unclear exactly how and if CM works.

The Cognitive Interview (CI) which was later updated to the Enhanced Cognitive Interview (ECI, Fisher & Geiselman, 1992) was the other main interview technique introduced around the same time as CM; it was developed by Fisher and Geiselman to enhance interviewee's memory for an event based on a number of cognitive techniques (Geiselman, Fisher, Firstenberg, Hutton, Sullivan, Avetissian, & Prosk, 1984; Milne & Bull, 1999). The ECI is derived from research which considers how remembering is a social process and can be affected by a number of factors when perceiving, storing and retrieving information. The technique focusses on how the interviewer should encourage the suspect to give an account using a

number of memory prompts and to avoid behaviour that might contaminate the suspect's memory. The ECI contained seven interview phases which followed a similar structure to PEACE. Although there have been criticisms about the technique being very time consuming, overall it has been considered a success, particularly with witness interviewing (Milne & Bull, 1999). The ECI has been used with suspects to help in detecting deception (Vrij, 2014), however it is generally used for witnesses as it requires the interviewee to be compliant (Schollum, 2005).

Evaluation of the PEACE model

The impact of the PEACE model on police interviewing was extensively reviewed in the years immediately after its implementation. Some studies still identified that interviewers were not fully using PEACE (Clarke & Milne, 2001), that there was still a confession culture present (Cherryman, Bull & Vrij, 2000; Moston & Stephenson, 1993), and that interviewers were lacking in some key interviewing skills (Bull & Cherryman, 1996; Cherryman & Bull, 2000; Cherryman et al. 2000). Overall, however, the changes to police interviewing were considered a success, with studies finding that the performance of trained interviewers was better than untrained interviewers (McGurk, Carr, & McGurk, 1993) and there were few instances of coercive or manipulative tactics being used (Pearse & Gudjonsson, 1996; Soukara, Bull & Vrij, 2002; Soukara et al. 2009).

Since the introduction of the PEACE model, Clarke and Milne (2001) proposed a tiered approach to investigative interviewing training to ensure that all officers had a basic level of training, and that officers involved in investigating more complex and serious offences received advanced training. The tiered approach was replaced in 2009 with the Professionalising Investigation Programme (PIP) which breaks interview training down into four phases based on the seriousness of the crime (NPIA, 2009). PIP 1 is the basic level of training given to police officers involved in dealing with 'volume crime' defined as "...any crime that, through its sheer volume, has a significant impact on the community and the ability of the local police to tackle it"

such as burglary, vehicle-related crime, criminal damage and assaults (College of Policing, 2017, p. 7). Whilst PIP 1 officers can take courses to achieve a higher level of interviewing skill, it is not a requirement for them to be able to interview suspects and witnesses (NPIA, 2009). PIP 2 covers more serious and complex investigations (e.g. arson, drug trafficking), PIP covers 3 major or serious and organised crime investigations (murder, kidnapping) and PIP 4 is training for officers to provide strategic oversight of complex investigations (College of Policing, 2017).

All police interviews with suspects under caution now follow a standard set of processes and procedures which were previously not routinely used. The PEACE framework provides a structure for interviewing, whereas ECI and CM provide guidance on how to elicit information from cooperative (ECI) and uncooperative (CM) suspects. However, the training (e.g., PIP levels) now seems to be more focussed on advanced interviewing skills required for more serious and specific offences (e.g. sexual offences, murder, and terrorism) and as a result, police officers dealing with volume crime receive the least amount of training. A recent review of police effectiveness by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) raised concerns about the level of supervision for volume crime due to both a general lack of supervision and, when there was some, it was by someone with "little investigative experience" (PEEL, 2016, p. 53). This thesis seeks to address the two main gaps which currently occur in police interview training: there is a lack of interview training covering the behaviour and decision-making of the suspect during the interview and a lack of training on dealing with suspects arrested for high-volume crime offences. The next section explores research on detecting deception which has begun to explore the behaviour and decision-making of suspects during an interview and in particular, their use of strategies.

Research on detecting deception

A large proportion of research on police-suspect interviewing has focussed on our ability to detect deception. Whilst the main objective for interviewing a suspect is now to obtain an

account rather than get a confession, an interviewer's role is to elicit a true account of what happened and as such is required to assess the veracity of this account and compare it to the other information to decide on the suspect's guilt. There has been a large body of research on the matter of detecting deception (see Vrij, 2008 for an extensive review) and only a brief summary can be provided here. This review will focus on recent research which has started to define and discuss the strategies suspects use during an interview.

Most studies have found the percentage of lie detection accuracy ranges from 45% to 60% suggesting people are generally poor at detecting deception (when 50% would be achieved by chance alone) (Bond & DePaulo, 2006). The poor rate of deception detecting has been attributed to inconsistencies in the nonverbal and verbal behaviours that a lie detector looks for in a deceiver compared to the behaviours they actually display (Akehurst, Köhnken, Vrij & Bull, 1996; Akehurst & Vrij, 1999; Granhag & Strömwall, 1999; Granhag & Strömwall, 2000; Lakhani & Taylor, 2003; Mann, Vrij & Bull, 2004; Vrij, 2008; Vrij, 1992; Vrij, 2001a; Vrij, 2001b) and that people tend to over-rely on non-verbal as opposed to verbal cues (Vrij, 2008; Vrij, Hartwig, & Granhag, 2019). The low accuracy rates are also attributed to the methodology used in these studies where the lie detector is usually asked to judge whether someone is lying on the spot and without the ability to obtain any additional information (Bond & DePaulo, 2006; Vrij, 2008).

Verbal cues to deception (what people say) are generally considered more reliable (Bond & DePaulo, 2006; Vrij, 2008; Vrij et al. 2018) because non-verbal cues can occur for a range of reasons and importantly, deceptive non-verbal cues are often similar to the cues people show when they are nervous and anxious (Vrij, 2008; Vrij et al. 2018). Much of the research conducted up until this point has tended to convey the act of detecting deception as passive with suspects being interviewed or giving a written account and lie-detectors being asked to listen to, observe, or read the account and decide whether someone is lying or telling the truth. More recent research has started to see the interview as an interaction between the suspect and interviewer and this has led to a focus on the decision-making of the deceptive and truthful suspects during

interview. The two main techniques currently being tested are the cognitive credibility assessment approach (Vrij Meissner, Fisher, Kassin, Morgan & Kleinman, 2017) and the strategic use of evidence technique (SUE, Hartwig, 2005). The next section provides a brief overview of the SUE Technique as this research has specifically focussed on the strategies used by suspects when lying and telling the truth.

The SUE Technique

Hartwig and colleagues developed the strategic use of evidence (SUE) technique as a way of increasing the interviewer's ability to detect deception (Hartwig, 2005). The SUE technique involves the interviewer withholding evidence from a suspect, asking the suspect questions relevant to the evidence and then disclosing the evidence to the suspect and asking the suspect to comment on any inconsistencies (Granhag & Strömwall, 2009; Hartwig, Granhag, Strömwall & Vrij, 2005; Hartwig, Granhag & Strömwall, 2007; Tekin, Granhag, Strömwall, Giolla, Vrij, & Hartwig, 2015). The idea being that guilty suspects will be more likely to give "statement-evidence inconsistencies" (Tekin et al. 2015, p.2). For example, a guilty suspect is asked to provide an account of where they were on the night of the crime and if they don't know that the interviewer has evidence that they were at the scene of the crime then the guilty suspect is more likely to say they were somewhere else. When the guilty suspect is then presented with the evidence, the inconsistency is identified. This technique has led to improvements in detecting deception in the laboratory setting (Hartwig, et al. 2005; Hartwig et al. 2007).

As part of developing the SUE Technique, the above researchers have also looked at the behaviour of the suspect during the interview and specifically have identified strategies suspects can use to deal with being interviewed (Granhag & Strömwall, 2009; Hartwig et al. 2007; Hartwig, Granhag, Strömwall & Doering, 2010). The researchers carried out a number of studies where they have asked participants to self-report the strategies they thought they used during the interview, when either lying or telling the truth (Hartwig et al. 2007; Hartwig, et al. 2010;

Strömwall, Hartwig & Granhag, 2006). Hartwig et al. (2007) found that both liars and truth-tellers reported using strategies both in terms of preparing for how they were going to behave during the interview and what they said during the interview. Liars reported significantly more strategies than truth-tellers.

Self-reported suspect strategies have also been identified when using a different interview technique known as 'reality interviewing': a modified version of the cognitive interview which incorporates other techniques to detect deception (Hines, Colwell, Hiscock-Anisman, Garrett, Ansarra & Montalvo, 2010). Similar to Hartwig and colleagues and using a similar mock-theft methodology, the researchers found that both guilty and innocent suspects reported using strategies as part of their impression management during the interview. Again, guilty suspects generally reported using more strategies than innocent suspects, but both described deploying similar strategies to appear convincing. The authors highlight that some of the verbal strategies used by both guilty and innocent suspects were not consistent with what would actually make them appear more credible (e.g. they reported mentioning few details to keep the story simple) (Hines et al. 2010).

The development of interview techniques which can enhance deception detection has also explored in more detail the behaviour of the suspect during the interview. Rather than merely counting the verbal and non-verbal behaviours a suspect may display, Hartwig and colleagues are looking at ways of increasing these behaviour changes and more importantly, have highlighted that suspects are active participants in an interview who will most likely have strategies for how they are going to deal with being interviewed and of being accused of committing a crime. This is regardless of whether they actually committed the crime or not. Whilst the research is promising, it is based predominantly on studies conducted in the laboratory using mock suspects and sometimes mock interviewers. The next section highlights some of the limitations of laboratory-based research.

Limitations of laboratory-based research

Laboratory-based research is key to helping to identify the cause and effect of specific factors in a controlled environment which allows for the development of robust theoretical frameworks. Furthermore, many of the deception studies outlined above have made substantial efforts to make the laboratory setting as realistic as possible. However, there has been a lack of research on police-suspect interviewing using actual interviews with suspects and this may have led to an imbalance in our understanding of suspect behaviour during investigative interviews.

One of the major criticisms of laboratory-based studies is that they struggle to re-create the consequences of being arrested and interviewed for a suspected crime – often termed a high-stake situation⁴. For example, an individual arrested for an assault on Friday evening is unlikely to be interviewed until well into the next day, which for some may mean that they cannot go into work (thus risking losing their job) or do not have anyone to look after their children (thus requiring an intervention from social services) and this is before considering the long-term implications of being charged or convicted for a crime. Researchers will often use students as participants and, like most of the population, students are unlikely to know what it feels like to be suspected of a crime. Much of the real-world research already cited had samples which contained over 50% of suspects who had a criminal history (e.g. Moston et al. 1993). This means that real suspects not only have experience of being interviewed which is likely to impact on their behaviour, but they may also face more serious consequences as a result of being charged. The outcome of an interview could mean they will go to prison, or go back to prison, or be charged if they received a caution for their previous offence.

The duration of mock interviews in laboratory-based research tend to be very short with a 'long' interview considered as being over 9 minutes (e.g. Strömwall et al. 2006). In real life,

⁴ Researchers will often try and increase the stakes in lie detection studies by offering the participant a reward for a successful deception and/or a punishment for unsuccessful deception (Vrij, 2006; Frank & Ekman, 1997).

police-suspect interviews can be much longer, and suspects can be interviewed more than once for the same offence, even for volume crime.

The mock-crime in laboratory-based research is usually theft related (with the exception of Strömwall et al. 2006 which used a mock-drug crime scenario). This is just one of many crimes that suspects are arrested for and thus, typically for ethical reasons, laboratory research rarely considers crimes of a more serious or interpersonal nature such as assaults or domestic offences. Interpersonal offences often mean that suspects are culpable to some degree, but it is the extent of their culpability and the intent of their actions that is being questioned. For example, a suspect may have been arrested for assault against another individual. The suspect may believe they were acting in self-defence and therefore should not be charged with any offence, or the suspect may believe that they pushed the individual rather than punched them, which might be more in line with the lesser offence.

In summary, laboratory research on suspect strategies is predominantly based on the behaviour of students, who are asked to carry out only one type of crime, for which the consequences (stakes) are low, and the interviews much shorter in duration and therefore may not reflect the behaviour of real-world suspects. However, more recent research, covered in the next section, has started to focus on suspect behaviour in real-world interviews.

Suspect strategies in real life police interviews

Previous unpublished research (Sully, 2005) directly observed 65 police interviews with suspects arrested for volume crime offences and recorded the strategies suspects used, the offence they were arrested for and the outcome of the interview. Sully (2005) identified that suspects used a range of strategies during an interview to create the most positive outcome for them. These strategies ranged from minimising their own involvement in the offence, showing remorse for the offence, or behaving aggressively towards the interviewer.

Using a statistical technique known as smallest space analysis, Sully (2005) grouped suspect strategies into three main categories: Compliant; Aggressive; and Malicious based on the type of strategies contained within each cluster. For example, the Compliant category consisted of suspects who were nervous, worried, showed concern for the future, and were often arrested for offences against the person. I (Arnold, 2006) replicated Sully's (2005) study, directly observing 71 police interviews at the same police station and identified three similar themes to Sully (2005) based on the grouping of strategies, offences, and interview outcomes, but with some movement of variables across the three themes. I also identified a fourth theme of suspects who denied the allegations made against them, provided an alternative version of events and for whom the outcome of the interview was usually no further action or bail. This theme was named Deniers.

Moston and Stephenson (2009) qualitatively analysed over 100 police-suspect interviews from the UK, Australia and the United States to identify the types of denials suspects give during an interview. They only coded the first strategy suspects used in the interview as they wanted to identify how the suspect planned to deny the offence. They identified seven denial strategies which they classified as either *passive* or *active*. *Passive* denial strategies were strategies where the suspect denied but did not provide any exculpatory detail, whereas *active* denial strategies were ones where the suspect did provide this detail (e.g. "I couldn't have done it because..."). Whilst there is some information regarding the frequency of these strategies, this was a predominantly qualitative piece of research therefore it is not possible to determine the reliability of these strategies or their frequency of use.

Alison and colleagues have carried out a number of studies on real-life interviews with known and suspected terrorists (Alison, Alison, Noone, Eltib & Christiansen, 2013; Alison, et al., 2014a). Through observing and describing the behaviours of interviewers and suspects during an interview, Alison et al. (2013) developed the Observing Rapport-Based Interpersonal Techniques (ORBIT). The authors coded the behaviour of both the suspect and interviewer into adaptive (effective) or maladaptive (ineffective) and within these two categories, subdivided behaviour

into four styles: authoritative, cooperative, passive, and confrontational. These four behaviour styles could be further split into combined pairs of each (e.g. cooperative/passive, or confrontational/cooperative). In total, a suspect and interviewer could be coded as displaying one of 16 styles of behaviour. Each behaviour style was accompanied by a supporting description of the strategy the suspect or interviewer could use. For example, “social, warm, friendly” (p. 420) were coded as adaptive cooperative behaviours, and “over-familiar, obsequious, desperate” (p. 421) were coded as maladaptive cooperative behaviours.

The same group of researchers have also analysed interviews with terror suspects who were non-cooperative during interview (Alison, Alison, Noone, Elntib, Waring & Christiansen, 2014b). The researchers identified, and coded for, what they describe as ‘counter-interrogation tactics’ (CIT) defined as “a deliberate strategy adopted by a suspect to resist cooperating with police or military personnel” (p. 171, Alison et al., 2014b) and identified 9 CITs consistently used by terror suspects.

In summary, research on real suspect interviews has identified that suspects do display strategies during a police interview. The early unpublished research (e.g. Sully, 2005; Arnold, 2006) indicates that the strategies displayed by suspects, can be grouped into themes based on their co-occurrence of use and the offence they have been arrested for. However, the research has not been published and needs further replication. Moston and Stephenson (2009) identified a number of strategies specifically focussed on denying an offence; however their research was exploratory, so it was not possible to determine the reliability and frequency of each strategy. Alison and colleagues created a complex framework for identifying suspect strategies and how they interact with the interviewer’s behaviour; however the framework is based on high stakes, low prevalence offences such as terrorism and may not reflect the behaviour of suspects arrested for more common crimes. It is unsurprising that researchers and many practitioners would want to focus on the behaviour of individuals arrested for serious offences. However, volume crime, by definition, constitutes the majority of offences police forces in England and Wales process and

takes, on average, 20% of a police officer's day (ACPO, 2002). Research has shown that individuals who committed volume crimes such as robbery, burglary or vehicle offences as their debut offence were almost three times more likely to become prolific offenders and also more likely to commit further serious offences (Owens & Cooper, 2013). The aims of this thesis are to test whether strategies can be identified in a sample of suspects being interviewed about high volume crimes. The remainder of this thesis will further test the reliability and validity of these strategies and identify why and when they are used by suspects.

The next section summarises the key gaps in the literature on suspect behaviour during police-interviewing before outlining how this thesis addresses these gaps.

Gaps in the literature

This review has provided an overview of the evolution of police interviews with suspects in England and Wales over the last 40 years. Early research on suspect behaviour tended to view suspects as passive receivers of information, mainly focussing on whether they admitted or denied, spoke or exercised their right to silence. Police interviewing with suspects has moved from a confession-inducing, to an information-gathering, approach, and with this has come a legal framework and interview guidance.

When the focus of interviewing moved from obtaining a confession to eliciting an accurate account of what happened, research highlighted the importance of understanding the factors that could both inhibit as well as encourage an accurate account from a suspect and identified ways of addressing these during an interview using a more ethical and cooperative form of questioning (e.g. ECI and CM). However, this research has predominantly focussed on interviewer behaviour and has not directly observed how suspects have behaved in response to these interviewing techniques. Furthermore, whilst police interview training has developed considerably over the last 25 years, training is still mainly focussed on major crimes, despite minor crimes often being more resource intensive due to the sheer volume.

This review has highlighted that a large amount of research in the field of suspect-interviewing has been carried out in a laboratory setting rather than using real-life interview data. Whilst this research has been useful, the limitations of laboratory-based research have been highlighted. The research from the laboratory needs to be applied back into the real-world for our overall understanding of suspect behaviour during police-interview to continue to develop.

This review has identified that there is now a shift back towards using real-world data and examining the suspect's behaviour and not just the interviewer. The suspect strategies identified in mock-crime studies have also been identified in real-world data. However, this real-world research has tended to focus on low prevalence, high stake crimes and has yet to be replicated. This chapter has highlighted that the majority of suspects, particularly those arrested for interpersonal offences, are most likely arrested because they have been implicated in some way to the offence and the suspect has a number of options for how they manage the accusations made against them. For example, a suspect who has been arrested for punching a victim may admit to the crime (e.g. "I just lost control"); minimise their behaviour ("I only pushed him"); blame their behaviour on something outside of their control ("I'm an alcoholic and I didn't know what I was doing"); blame the victim or someone else ("he started hitting me so I hit him in self-defence"); or outright deny the offence ("I didn't hit him").

Thesis overview

This thesis aims to explore the behaviour of suspects during real-life police interviews. It consists of seven chapters including this introduction. A brief outline of the remaining chapters is given below.

Chapter Two provides an overview of the methodology used to collect, code and analyse police interviews with suspects. The research consisted of two main studies and this chapter describes how the methodology was adapted and refined from Study One to Study Two. The

chapter provides a detailed description of the method of analysis – smallest space analysis which was used to develop a model of suspect behaviour. As the data for this thesis comes from real-world police interviews, this chapter also explores the ethical issues presented with the research and how they were overcome.

Chapter Three: provides an overview of the main research on suspect strategies to date and the major theories used to explain suspect behaviour during interviewing, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of each theory. The chapter presents the findings from studies one and two. In Study One, the data were drawn from two police stations in England where the researcher directly observed volume crime interviews. In Study Two, the data were drawn from a third police station in England using audio-recorded interviews and a more rigorous coding scheme to overcome some of the methodological limitations identified in Study One. The frequency and types of strategies used by suspects is identified and a provisional framework for grouping strategies into three behavioural styles based on the interactional style of the suspect is presented. The framework is explained using theories drawn from interpersonal communication research and specifically theories that consider the attribution of blame.

Chapter Four: introduces a model from hostage negotiation research drawing comparisons between suspect strategy use during a police interview and hostage-taker behaviour during a hostage situation. The suspect behaviour framework developed in Chapter Three is tested against a model of hostage-taker/negotiator behaviour. The chapter then further develops the theory of suspect behaviour by introducing a second dimension to the model, taken from hostage negotiation theory, which further categorises suspect behaviour based on the motivational goal of the suspect. The potential utility of this model for aiding interviewers during a police interview is discussed.

Chapter Five: the three behavioural styles identified in Chapter Three were used to investigate whether suspects' individual socio-demographic (age, gender, ethnicity, and classed as vulnerable), criminological (criminal history, offence type, and co-defendant) and wider

contextual (legal advice and interview outcome) characteristics impacted on suspect behaviour and the use of strategies during an interview.

Chapter Six: is a qualitative analysis of a transcribed interview drawn from the sample used in Study Two (Chapter Three). The chapter explores the sequencing and patterning of strategies used by a suspect throughout the interview and identifies when and why the suspect switched between behavioural styles.

Chapter Seven: summarises the results of the work in this thesis, proposes a framework which combines the findings from all the studies, discusses the implications of the research and provides recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two – Methodology

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the methodological approach taken to explore the behaviours of suspects during real-world police interviews. The research consisted of two main studies and this chapter provides a full description of the method used to collect and analyse data for both studies including how it was adapted and refined from Study One to Study Two. Descriptive data from both studies is provided and comparison analysis presented. The inception and development of the coding scheme used to categorise suspect behaviour into strategies is discussed including the results of the reliability analysis. As this thesis uses real-world data there is a section dedicated to the ethical challenges this posed and how they were addressed.

Methodological Position

The aims of this thesis were to explore the strategies used by suspects during real-world police interviews, identifying the factors impacting on how suspects use these strategies and whether these strategies form part of an overall behavioural style. The intended outcome of this thesis was to enhance our academic understanding of the theories of suspect behaviour and to provide practical guidance to police on effective interviewing techniques.

In order to address these aims, previous research on suspect behaviour was reviewed and a summary of this is provided in Chapter One. Whilst recent research has begun to explore the concept of suspects using strategies, this concept is still in its infancy and there are limitations to some of the methods used that this thesis sought to overcome.

Previous research has been predominantly based on either mock suspect self-reported use of strategies (e.g. Hartwig et al., 2007) or on high-stake, low prevalence crimes (e.g. Alison et al., 2013). Despite there now being more focus on suspect, rather than interviewer, behaviour, some of the major models of suspect behaviour (e.g. Alison et al., 2013 ORBIT model) continue to

show a focus for interviewer behaviour, often combining the analysis of interviewer and suspect behaviour. Finally, the majority of real-world research on police interviews is now mainly drawn from listening to audio-recorded interviews (e.g. Moston & Stephenson, 2009) or analysing transcribed interviews (e.g. Edwards & Fasulo, 2006) and very little, if any, research is based on direct observation of suspect behaviour.

This thesis sought to establish the first principles of suspect behaviour by initially applying a 'bottom-up' approach to the research problem. This was achieved in the first study through directly observing suspect behaviour in the interview room, noting down what the suspects said or how they behaved during the interview and then identifying what purpose the language or behaviour served. The aim was to ensure that the behaviours being described represented what was actually happening in the interview and to focus solely on the suspect behaviour. The second study then sought to test and refine these strategies using audio-digitally recorded police-suspect interviews to ensure the coding scheme was reliable and easily replicable. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter Three.

The findings from studies one and two were then considered from a 'top-down' perspective, identifying whether the existing theories of suspect behaviour could be applied or whether models of behaviour from other disciplines needed to be considered, before a refined model of suspect behaviour was presented in Chapter Four. This model of suspect behaviour was then further tested through examining what factors may impact on the suspect's use of strategies such as the characteristics of the case (Chapter Five) or the behaviour of the interviewer during the interview (Chapter Six). The next section outlines the method used for data collection in studies one and two.

Method

The sampling and procedures used to collect data differed for Studies One and Two and are therefore explained separately below.

Study One

Sampling

Sixty-two interviews were observed in total, but three interviews were removed from the sample due to errors in coding, meaning the sample of observed interviews in the final data set was $n = 59$. The interviews were observed at two different police stations (Station A, $n = 30$ and Station B, $n = 29$) in the UK. Access to Station A was obtained through an existing relationship with this station from conducting earlier research (Arnold, 2006). Access to station B was obtained through professional interaction at a conference. All participants for this research (the interviewing officer, suspect and third parties present in the interview room) were given a verbal explanation of the research and provided with a written information sheet and consent form to agree to the presence of a researcher in the interview room (see Appendix B for a copy of the forms used).

Due to time constraints in collecting data, a further seven⁵ interviews (Station A, $n = 5$, Station B, $n = 2$) were coded through only listening to the audio tapes, meaning the total sample for Study One was $N = 66$. The data were analysed to identify if there were any noticeable differences between interviews only listened to ($n = 7$) from those observed ($n = 59$). Differences might have occurred due to the impact of observer effects (as outlined below) or as a result of suspect behaviour occurring in the interview room before or after the tape recording began but which were not coded. The sample was too small to do any statistical analysis to fully explore this issue but the results were eyeballed and no obvious differences were found in the frequency and type of strategy coded for. A breakdown of this analysis is provided in the Appendix C.

Data were collected between 12 July 2007 and 20 November 2007 at Station A and between 24 June 2008 and 19 July 2008 at Station B. Reliability data were later collected at

⁵ A further three interviews were listened to and coded but removed from all subsequent analysis. These three participants had declined to consent to the researcher observing the interview and the examiners who carried out the viva for this thesis requested that they be removed from all analysis.

Station B on 17 September 2009. Station visits mainly took place over a weekend due to time commitments. This also provided opportunities to observe more interviews due to an increase of arrests over weekends.

Procedure

The researcher was based with the interviewing team and was allowed access to the 'handover pack' passed from the arresting officer to the interviewing officer that contained information regarding the arrest. The researcher then shadowed the interviewing officer as they prepared for the interview. The researcher physically sat in the interview room and made notes during the formal police interview, focussing on the behaviours and responses of the interviewees and interviewing officer(s) whilst acknowledging behaviour from third parties. Following the interview, the researcher completed a coding scheme (Appendix D) and listened to the tape recording of the interview if there were discrepancies in coding or a verbatim quote was needed to support coding decisions. The development and refinement of the coding scheme is outlined later in this chapter.

Descriptives

As shown in Table 2.1, the majority of interviewees were white British (n = 60, 91%) males (n = 51, 77%). The median age at the time of the arrest was 23 years old⁶ ranging between 14 years and 56 years old. Suspects were arrested for a range of offences, and 30% (n = 20) were arrested for more than one offence. For clarity, only the main offence is given which is defined as the offence the suspect was initially arrested for (e.g. arrested for assault but then found to possess cannabis) and when arrested for two offences, it was coded as the more serious offence (e.g. arrested for theft of motor vehicle and a road traffic collision would be coded as theft of motor vehicle). The main offence is broken down into four categories: Violent Offences (n = 26, 39%), Theft/Deceit Offences (n = 15, 23%), Domestic Offences (n = 18, 27%) and Other Offences

⁶ Mean age = 26 years old but the data were skewed therefore median was considered a more acceptable average

(n = 7, 11%)⁷. The definition for each offence category is outlined below. The majority of suspects were known to the police (n = 54, 82%) (i.e. they had previously been a suspect). The average length of interview was 29 minutes⁸ but this ranged considerably from as short as 6 minutes to 2.5 hours.

Just over two thirds of the sample were considered vulnerable (n = 23, 35%).

Vulnerability was defined using PACE (1984) Code C definitions of vulnerability which included individuals who had mental health issues (14%, n = 9), young persons (<18 years old) (21%, n = 14), and foreign nationals (2%, n = 1)⁸. Other vulnerabilities which were not found in this sample are those with learning difficulties, drug or alcohol dependency, epilepsy and diabetes.

When suspects received more than one outcome after the interview (e.g. they were charged with one offence but bailed for another) the more serious outcome is given. The majority of suspects were bailed after the interview (n = 28, 42%) followed by being charged (n = 19, 29%). Suspects who were cautioned included one suspect who received a fixed penalty notice (FPN).

As the data were drawn from two different police stations, participant demographics for both stations have been separated and are presented in Table 2.1.

⁷ Other offences included: possession of drugs (n = 2), possession with intent to supply (n = 3), possession of firearms (n = 1), driving offence (n = 1).

⁸ Mean length of interview was 33 minutes but the data were skewed therefore median was considered a more acceptable average.

⁸ The total number of vulnerabilities exceeds the total number of suspects coded as vulnerable as one suspect had more than one vulnerability.

Table 2.1: A comparison of participant demographics between stations A and B

Participant Demographics	Station A (n = 35⁹)	Station B (n = 31¹⁰)	Total (N = 66)
Male	74% (26)	81% (25)	77% (51)
White British	91% (32)	90% (28)	91% (60)
Average age	25 years	20 years	23 years
Age range	14 -56 years	14-48 years	14-56 years
Violent Offence	43% (15)	36% (11)	39% (26)
Theft/Deceit Offence	23% (8)	23% (7)	23% (15)
Domestic Offences	23% (8)	32% (10)	27% (18)
Other offences	11% (4)	10% (3)	11% (7)
Arrested for multiple offences	43% (15)	16% (5)	30% (20)
Vulnerable	37% (13)	32% (10)	35% (23)
Co-defendants	51% (18)	55% (17)	53% (35)
Legal Advisor present	51% (18)	29% (09)	41% (27)
Known to the police	86% (30)	77% (24)	82% (54)
Previous convictions	80% (28)	61% (19)	71% (47)
Interview duration range	12-150 minutes	6-88 minutes	6-150 minutes
Average interview time¹¹	30 minutes	27 minutes	29 minutes
Outcome: No further action	14% (5)	16% (5)	15% (10)
Outcome: Caution/FPN	6% (2)	16% (5)	11% (7)
Outcome: Bailed	43% (15)	42% (13)	42% (28)
Outcome: Charged	31% (11)	26% (8)	29% (19)

Chi-square analyses were carried out to compare the data from stations A and B. Only one statistically significant association was identified for suspects arrested for multiple offences $\chi^2 (1) = 4.37, p < 0.05$ with Table 2.1 indicating that participants from station A were more likely to be arrested for multiple offences than participants from station B (15 compared to 5). This variable was not included in subsequent analysis therefore the sample was combined for the remaining analysis.

The offence a suspect was arrested for was coded as the actual offence (e.g. common assault) at the time of data collection and subsequently categorised into one of the four offence types based on the variable definition. These were Violent Offence, Theft/Deceit Offence,

⁹ The outcome for two interviews and the interview duration for one interview in Stations A are unknown

¹⁰ Previous convictions for one interview at Station B is unknown

¹¹ The mean interview duration for Station A was 36 minutes and for Station B was 30 but the data were skewed therefore median was considered a more acceptable average.

Domestic Offence and Other Offence. Chapter Five highlights the importance of coding offence type into meaningful categories. A definition for each is given below and details of how each case was recoded is provided in Appendix E.

*Violent Offence*¹²: If the offence involved a violent or sexual act aimed at a victim but where the victim was not a family member or intimate partner (in which case it would be classified as a domestic offence). Criminal damage was included in this category when it was an act of violence either on its own (e.g. kicks a door in anger) or in conjunction with another offence (e.g. throws an object at someone which hurts that individual and breaks the object). Public order offences (e.g. Section 4 of the Public Order Act (1986) – threatening behaviour or intending to cause someone to fear or to provoke violence) were also included in this category as, in all cases in this sample, they related to a suspect being accused of being violent towards another individual.

*Theft/Deceit Offence*¹³: If the offence involved theft or deceit directly, or where property was damaged to facilitate theft or deceit. Criminal damage was included in this category where it formed part of the act of theft or deceit (e.g. if a window was broken to gain entry to a property to steal items).

*Domestic Offence*¹⁴: If the offence involved someone being controlling or coercive or showing an abuse of power against someone they are, or have been, intimate with. This includes any offence committed against a family member or intimate partner. Whilst the definition includes only those aged 16 or older, the CPS annex includes offences such as child neglect and

¹² taken from the definition of violent crimes used by the Office of National Statistics (ONS) (<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/compendium/focusonviolentcrimeandsexualoffences/yearendingmarch2016/overviewofviolentcrimeandsexualoffences> accessed on 08/06/17)

¹³ Taken from the ONS definition (<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/focusonpropertycrime/yearendingmarch2016> accessed on 07/06/17)

¹⁴ Taken from the CPS (http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/d_to_g/domestic_abuse_guidelines_for_prosecutors/#a02 accessed on 07/06/17) and Barnish (2004)

does not specify age. Therefore, offences which were carried out against child family members (such as a brother accused of assaulting his younger brother or a parent accused of neglect of a child) were also included in this category. Criminal damage and theft were included in this category in cases where the victim was a family member or intimate partner.

Other Offence: This was coded if the offence did not fit into any of the above three categories. This included two main sub-offences: drug related offences (either possession or possession with intent to sell) and driving offences (including drink/driving, failing to stop at the scene of an accident or driving whilst disqualified). The remaining offences were immigration, purchasing of firearms, possession of an offensive weapon, and possession of indecent images.

Refinement of method

Direct observation was chosen for Study One as it is a useful method when conducting exploratory research, providing the researcher with first-hand access to behaviour ensuring a valid coding scheme can be developed and adapted (Coolican, 2014). However the method suffers from a number of limitations that affect the reliability and validity of the data observed and these were addressed in Study Two. The first limitation identified in Study One was a bias in the data due to sampling. In Study One data were collected from two different police forces which minimised the possibility that the sample were biased as a result of differences in the police force or the geographical area. Research has found that suspects are dealt with differently depending on the geographical location of the police station (e.g. Philips & Brown, 1998). However the sampling was not random and therefore biased due to a number of other factors such as the availability of the researcher or the types of crimes committed on certain days (e.g. a higher prevalence of certain crimes are carried out over the weekend, ONS, 2017). Previous researchers using this method have acknowledged similar sampling biases (e.g. Leo, 1996). Study Two sought to overcome this sampling issue through drawing a random sample of interviews from a database of digitally recorded police interviews.

The second limitation addressed was the possibility of *observer effects* where the presence of an observer changes the behaviour of those being observed (Robson, 2011). Direct observation can also make it harder for the participant-observer to remain objective and for his/her observations to be reliable (and therefore replicable) due to processes of *confirmation* and *expectation biases* (Kassin, Dror & Kukucka, 2013; Nickerson, 1998). Other researchers using similar methods (e.g. Leo, 1996) have also acknowledged the issue of observer effects but argued that it had little impact on their data. Leo's conclusion was based on an anecdotal assumption from listening in to interviews the researcher was not allowed into rather than any systematic assessment, and acknowledges that it is still possible that their integration into the police station environment, and their own expectations of how legal regulations were adhered to, could have impacted on findings.

The issue of observer effects is addressed in Study Two through using the audio-recording of police interviews rather than directly observing the interview, ensuring that the researcher has no impact on the behaviour of those present in the interview.

Study Two

Sampling

Access to data was obtained through writing to a number of Police Forces across the UK asking if they would like to participate in this study, with Station C agreeing to participate (see Appendix F for the invitation letter). This study was also endorsed by the then ACPO (Association of Chief Police Officers) Research Sub-Committee on Investigative Interviewing (see Appendix G)¹⁵. Eighty-five police-suspect interviews were listened to and coded at a police station in South-East England between September 2013 and December 2015. Five interviews were of the same participants who had been interviewed more than once and were therefore removed from the sample leaving a total sample of 80 interviews. To ensure that the sample was comparable to

¹⁵ ACPO was replaced in 2015 by the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC)

that used in Study One, interviews were selected from a single police station during a three-month period (29 January 2013 until 1 April 2013). This date range was also chosen as it did not include any special holidays (e.g. Christmas or summer) where there may be a disproportionate amount of certain crimes (for example, violent offences are known to increase during these periods¹⁶). Collecting data from early 2013 also provided sufficient time for the crimes to have passed through the justice system which was a requirement for data collection to be carried out (so that any data collected could not be used as evidence).

The chosen date range provided a sufficiently large dataset (1011 interviews) from which a random sample could be drawn. Using a random number generator (randomiser.org), 100 interviews were initially selected from the 1011 sample. Fifteen interviews were removed from the sample as there was no associated custody log. This usually happened when the interview was voluntary (e.g. the suspect had not been arrested but voluntarily come to the station for interview) or the custody log was held by another Police Force or specialist department (e.g. serious and organised crime). If a suspect had been interviewed more than once for the same crime and the selected interview was not the first one, the first interview was identified in the dataset and selected instead to ensure that the sample only contained the suspect's initial interview.

Procedure

The data were collected from a separate station from where the interviews had been conducted and the researcher attended the station as and when time allowed. The researcher was given access to the digital audio-recording database and custody log. Key identifiers (the suspect's surname and date/time of interview) from the audio-digital recording were used to search the custody log which provided background details for the suspect, offence details, and information on their time in custody, as well as the outcome of the interview. A copy of the

¹⁶ <http://www.cph.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/effects-of-the-alcohol-misuse-enforcement-campaigns-and-the-licensing-act-2003-on-violence.pdf>

coding form and the source of information used to code each variable can be found in Appendix H. Suspect strategies were coded by listening to the audio-digital recording of the interview and using the coding definitions found in Appendix I. Additional coding checks were carried out if any of the variables were mentioned during the interview (e.g. if the suspect made reference to a vulnerability) which had not been recorded in the custody log.

Descriptives

Just over two thirds of the sample were white British (n = 55, 69%) males (n = 68, 85%). The average age at the time of the arrest was 29 years old¹⁷ ranging between 14 years and 57 years old. Just under a third (n = 25, 31%) were arrested for more than one offence. The main offence they were arrested for was broken down into: Violent Offences (n = 20, 25%), Theft/Deceit Offences (n = 18, 23%), Domestic Offences (n = 24, 30%), and Other Offences (n = 18, 23%). As such a large number of suspects were arrested for Other Offences, this was further broken down into Driving Offences (n = 8, 10%), Drug Offences (n = 7, 9%), and remaining Other Offences (n = 3, 4%) which included fraud (n = 2) and an immigration offence (n = 1). The majority of suspects were known to the police (n = 61, 76%). A high proportion of suspects were considered vulnerable (n = 43, 54%). The vulnerabilities can be broken down further into mental health (n = 21, 26%), young person (n=6, 8%), foreign national (n = 16, 20%), learning difficulties (n = 1, 1%), and other vulnerability (n = 6, 8%).

The variable "Previous Convictions" could not be coded for in Study Two. In Study One the researcher had access to the suspect's entire criminal history whereas in Study Two the researcher only had access to the suspect's PNC ID which only confirmed if they had ever been a suspect rather than actually convicted.

For comparison, the data from Study Two is presented alongside Study One in Table 2.2.

¹⁷ Mean age = 26 years old but the data were positively skewed (i.e., towards younger suspects) therefore the median was used to provide a more acceptable measure of central tendency.

Table 2.2: A comparison of participant demographics between Studies One and Two

Participant Demographics	Study Two (N = 80)	Study One (N = 66)
Male	85% (68)	77% (51)
White British	69% (55)	91% (60)
Average age	29 years	23 years
Age range	14-57 years	14-56 years
Violent Offence	25% (20)	39% (26)
Theft/Deceit Offence	23% (18)	23% (15)
Domestic Offence	30% (24)	27% (18)
Other Offence	23% (18)	11% (7)
Arrested for Multiple Offences	31% (25)	30% (20)
Vulnerable	54% (43)	35% (23)
Co-defendants	21% (17)	53% (35)
Use of a Legal Advisor	65% (52)	41% (27)
Known to the police	76% (61)	82% (54)
Previous convictions	-	71% (47)
Interview duration range	4-75 minutes	6-150 minutes
Average interview time	15 minutes	29 minutes
Outcome: No further action	18% (14)	15% (10)
Outcome: Caution/FPN	18% (14)	11% (7)
Outcome: Bailed	40% (32)	42% (28)
Outcome: Charged	25% (20)	29% (19)

As shown in Table 2.2, the majority of variables were similar in frequency and/or percentage between the two samples, however there is some variation in the data. In order to analyse the magnitude of the frequency variations, 95% confidence intervals were calculated and are presented in Figure 2.1. Cumming (2014) argues that Confidence Intervals (Cis) and Effect Sizes (ES) are more informative than Null Hypothesis Significance Testing (NHST) as the p value produced through NHST does not provide the extent of the variance between the two frequencies. As we are dealing with only two samples, there is likely to be variation in the frequencies for each variable, CI gives a sense of the range of frequencies we might see if we were to replicate the study on different samples of police-suspect interviews.

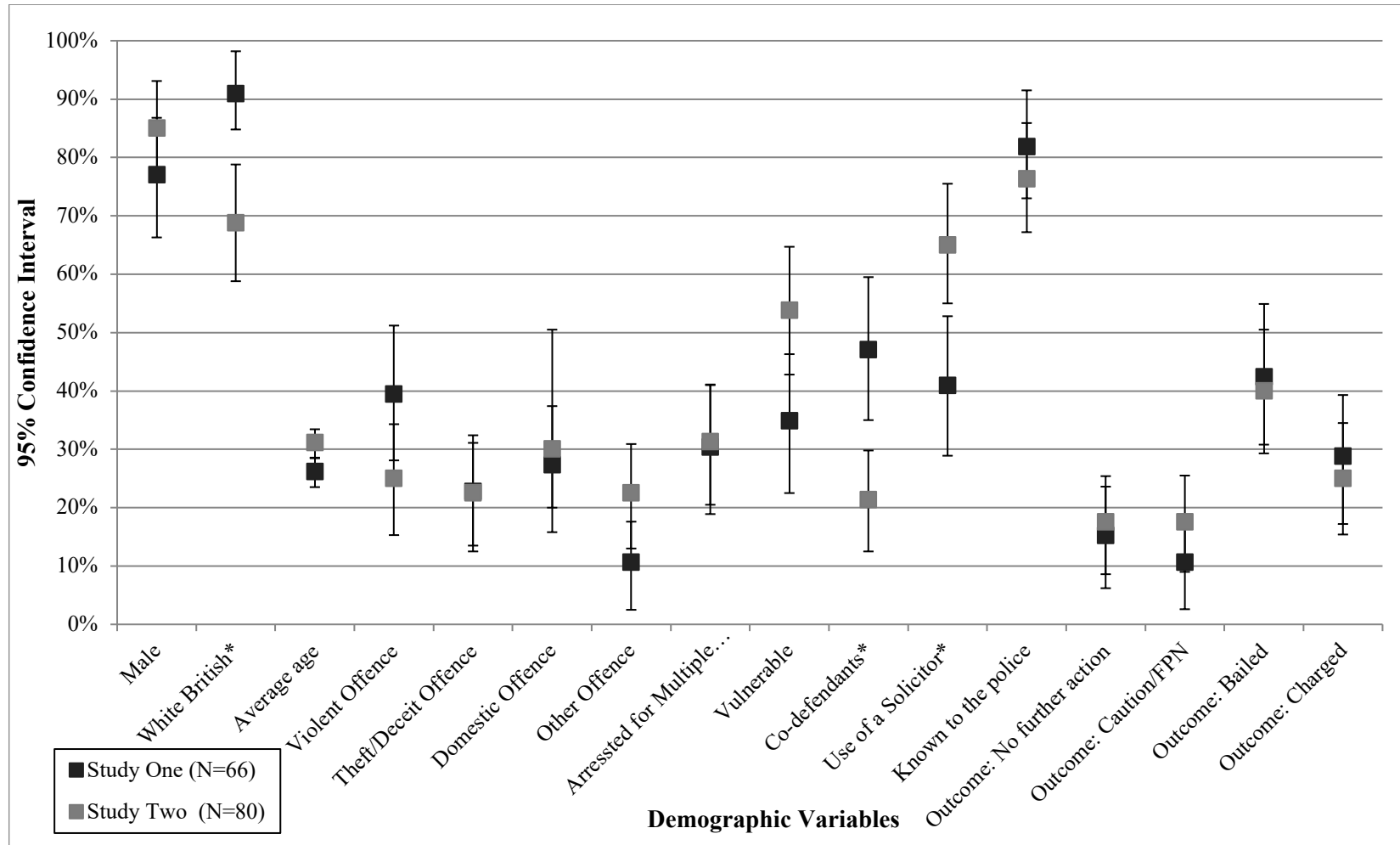


Figure 2.1: 95% confidence intervals comparing demographic data from Studies One and Two. An asterisk next to the variable represents variables where the error bars do not overlap

Figure 2.1 shows the frequency percentage for each variable, with the results for Study One in black and Study Two in grey. The error bars either side of each frequency percentage show the 95% CI for the frequency percentage. According to Cummings (2013), when comparing the 95% CI bars for independent groups, if the bars do not overlap then the difference between the two populations is significant and less likely to be due to chance or a sampling variation. As shown in Figure 2.1, for three variables, the CI bars do not overlap and require further inspection. In Study Two, suspects were less likely (ES 22%) to be white British suspects 69%, [CI minimum 59% and maximum 79%] compared to Study One (91% [84%, 97%]), less likely (ES 26%) to have a co-defendant (21%, [13%, 30%] compared to 47% [35%, 59%]), and more likely (ES 24%) to request legal advice (65%, [55%, 75%] compared to 41% [29%, 53%]).

The differences between the two samples could be due to differences in coding. For example, in Study One it would have been more apparent to the researcher that there was a co-defendant as they would be in one of the cells whereas in Study Two it was only clear if mentioned in the interview or on the custody log. Although the differences are less likely to be due to sampling variations it is quite possible that the differences in demographics of the sample reflect differences in the demographic of the area covered by the police force, e.g. the lower proportion of white British suspects found in Study Two may reflect fewer white British individuals in the population of that area. Finally the use of a legal representative could reflect coding issues between the studies or could reflect how each force differs in the extent to which they advertise, or the availability of, legal representatives. These differences are explored in more detail in Chapter Five.

Coding Scheme

The coding scheme was first developed by Arnold (2006). It records basic demographic details about the suspect (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity) as well as details of the specific crime (e.g. offence type, time of arrest) and the interview (e.g. number of interviewers, duration of

interview). See Appendix D for a copy of the coding sheet used in Study One and Appendix H for a copy of the coding sheet used in Study Two. The coding sheet also recorded the behaviours suspects displayed during the interview in the form of strategies. The strategies were first identified by Sully (2005) then further refined and added to by Arnold (2006) and the studies reported in this thesis. The strategies were developed using a bottom-up method of directly observing suspects, noting down what the suspects said or how they behaved during the interview and then identifying what purpose the language or behaviour served. For example, the strategy "Minimise" is defined as "Suspect uses language which minimises the actions they describe they did" and an example quote to justify coding this variable would be: "Just a jab, not a solid punch". The strategies do not represent an exhaustive list of all suspect behaviour and instead reflect a growing list of the potential strategies suspects could use during an interview. The theoretical development of the concept of a suspect strategy is further explored and defined in Chapter Three.

In both studies, the strategies were coded if they were used by the suspect during the interview. In Study One, a score was given on a scale from 0-5 to code the extent to which a strategy was used during the interview. However this score was found to be too subjective when reliability tested and did not provide a meaningful value for subsequent analysis. For example, it was not clear whether a score of 4 meant that the suspect used a strategy twice as much as a score of 2. In Study Two the coding was changed to whether the strategy was present or absent during the interview. Data from Study One was subsequently converted to a score of present (score of 1-5) or absent (score of 0). The number of times a strategy was used within an interview was not coded, only whether the strategy was used at all. This was exploratory research to determine if suspects used strategies, how they used them and whether the combination of different strategies used represented a particular behavioural style by the suspect. The aim was to ensure the coding scheme was simple and easily replicable. Other researchers who have explored similar suspect behaviour have also just coded for the presence of a strategy rather

than the extent of its use. For example, Alison et al., (2014b) coded the presence of a CIT (counter interrogation technique) with a score of 1 if that behaviour was observed at least once or a score of 0 if the behaviour was completely absent. The limitation of this method of coding meant that the measure of suspect strategy use was not as sensitive as it could have been. However this is addressed in the study reported in Chapter Six where one interview from the sample has been transcribed and each utterance coded for suspect strategy use.

Refinements to coding

The method of direction-observation used in Study One meant that there were limitations to the coding of suspect strategies. The researcher wrote down quotes during the interview and may therefore have missed other behaviours occurring whilst they were writing. The researcher only listened to the interview tapes after the interview if there was a discrepancy in their notes or to obtain a verbatim quote, therefore they did not have the opportunity to check for missed coding. Finally the researcher used both verbal and non-verbal behaviour to code for particular variables, therefore some variables did not have a quote to support this decision and therefore could not be checked for reliability (e.g. in Study One the strategy 'nervous' was coded if the suspect appeared nervous and did not require a supporting quote).

The main aim of Study Two was to ensure the coding scheme was more robust, therefore the researcher applied the principles outlined by Robson (2011). The coding scheme was *focussed* on a specific aspect – suspect behaviour; only suspect strategies were coded whilst listening to the interview and the majority of other variables (e.g. type of offence, age of suspect) were coded separately and from separate data sources (e.g. the custody log). The strategies were coded as either present or absent (rather than on a 0-5 scale used in Chapter Two) to ensure they were *easy to record*. The strategies were *explicitly defined* and could only be coded if there was a direct quote from the suspect to justify the coding decision to ensure they were as *objective* as possible and required little interpretation by the researcher (see Appendix I for strategy definitions). The strategies were also *non-context dependent* and could occur in all of the

interviews regardless of the type of offence or suspect¹⁸. The coding scheme was *mutually exclusive* (the same quote could not be used to code more than one suspect strategy) and an additional coder ensured that any suspect strategies that were too similar to another strategy were excluded from the study. Finally, the coding scheme included all previously identified strategies to ensure that it was as *exhaustive* as possible. However, as this is exploratory research the list of suspect strategies is likely to be further added to as more data is collected.

Reliability

In Study One it was not possible for more than one researcher to directly observe the same interview due to the logistics of the interview suites at both police stations. Instead 12% (eight) of interviews (four from each station) were coded by a second researcher through listening to the tape recording of the interview after it had taken place. Reliability checks were only carried out on suspect strategy variables in Study One. Both coders provided comments and direct quotations to support their coding decisions and these were used to overcome any discrepancies in coding. For the 36 suspect strategy variables, the overall agreement was 93%. Only one variable (*High Stakes*) fell below 75% agreement (which is 6 out of 8 agreement) achieving 63% agreement (5 out of 8 agreed).

In Study Two, 25% (n = 20) of the sample was coded by a second coder, a Detective Constable based at the police station where data collection took place. The second coder was given an overview of the purpose of the study and provided with a briefing pack on how to code each interview. The briefing pack contained the coding sheet with an explanation of each variable to be coded and directions as to where this information could be found on the police system (see Appendix H). The second coder was also provided with a definition of each suspect strategy and example illustrative quotes from Study One (see Appendix I). The second coder coded the first

¹⁸ Certain strategies could be more common in some interviews than others. For example, the strategy *Victim bad character* may be more likely to occur in offences that are more interpersonal in nature (such as common assault) compared to other offences (such as theft).

five interviews and then compared answers with the first coder to discuss any issues. As a result of the initial discussion, minor changes were made to the coding sheet and suspect strategy definitions. Both coders were required to support each suspect strategy coding decision with a direct verbatim quote from the interview. For example, a verbatim quote of “I’m sorry, I regret what I did” would be used to support the *Remorse* strategy. When there were any discrepancies in coding, the direct quote was used to determine if the strategy coding was correct. If the two coders could not agree on whether the quote was illustrative of that particular strategy, the coding was not recorded.

In total, 63 variables were coded (see coding sheet in Appendix H). Of these, 36 were suspect strategies (e.g. admit offence, claim a lack of memory, minimise behaviour) and a further 27 were case variables (e.g. age of suspect, offence type, number of interviewers).

The overall inter-rater agreement for the 36 suspect strategies was 89% before any discrepancies were highlighted. As a result of comparing coding sheets, six changes were made (using the rules discussed above) bringing the overall agreement to 90%. Two suspect strategies fell below 75% agreement. These were *Compliance* and *Uses police language*, which achieved 45% and 70% agreement respectively. *Compliance* was difficult to capture in a sentence or word and referred to the overall attitude of the suspect throughout the interview. As a consequence, this variable was removed from further data analysis. It was less clear why *Uses police language* achieved a low inter-rater agreement. A possible explanation was that the second coder was a police officer and may often use similar language (e.g. “reasonable force”) and therefore not interpret it as unique language. This variable also achieved a low frequency score (n = 5, 6%) and therefore was also excluded from any further analysis.

Of the 27 case characteristics coded, 14 were used in the present study¹⁹. The overall agreement for the 14 case variables was 85% with two variables failing to achieve 75% inter-rater

¹⁹ The following case variables were recorded but not used: victim statement, witness statement, photos, CCTV, DNA, police statement, other evidence, suspect intoxicated on arrest, significant statement,

agreement: previous convictions (15%), and interview outcome (55%). This was a surprising finding as case variables were arguably more objective than suspect strategies (e.g. the suspect either has previous convictions or they do not). After discussing these discrepancies with the second coder the following possible causes for the low agreement were identified. Previous conviction was coded by identifying if the suspect had a Criminal Records Office (CRO) number, however the CRO meant they had previously been a suspect and did not mean that they had previous convictions. This variable was changed to 'Known offender' to reflect this nuance. The discrepancy in interview outcome was the result of second coder coding for the ultimate outcome of the interview (as this was available on the custody log) whereas the first coder was replicating data collected in Study One by coding for the outcome immediately after the interview (e.g. suspects may have been bailed after the interview but eventually charged or released with no further action). The first coder's method was used to keep the data consistent with the previous study. Once these changes had been made the overall agreement increased to 100%.

Suspect Strategies

All 36 suspect strategies coded for in Studies One and Two are presented in Table 2.3 in order of frequency of use in Study Two.

suspect's relationship to victim, number of interviewers, restraints used on arrest, others present in interview room.

Table 2.3: A comparison of suspect strategy frequencies between Studies One and Two

Behaviour Label	Study One (N = 66)		Study Two (N = 80)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Admit	45	68%	49	61%
Justifying Behaviour	45	68%	47	59%
Deny	49	74%	44	55%
Emphasise Good Character	34	52%	31	39%
Avoids answering Questions ²⁰	18	27%	29	36%
Seek Sympathy	32	49%	28	35%
Alternative Version of Events	41	62%	27	34%
Lack of memory	38	58%	27	34%
Remorseful	27	41%	26	33%
Victim Bad Character	24	36%	23	29%
Minimise	38	58%	22	28%
Gives Own Evidence	19	29%	20	25%
Compliance	64	97%	18	23%
Malicious Allegation	23	35%	15	19%
Victim	28	42%	14	18%
Protect others	24	36%	13	16%
Implicate Others	18	27%	13	16%
Negative Attitude	17	26%	11	14%
Confrontational	17	26%	10	13%
Look for Agreement	8	12%	10	13%
Future Concern	20	30%	9	11%
Uses Police Language	20	30%	8	10%
Questions Reliability of Evidence	15	23%	8	10%
Verbally Aggressive	9	14%	5	6%
Exaggerated Allegations	13	20%	4	5%
High stakes	30	46%	4	5%
Predicts outcome	20	30%	4	5%
Fishing for information	8	12%	3	4%
Maximise Role of Victim	30	46%	2	3%
Nervous	22	33%	1	1%
Victim Empathy	6	9%	1	1%
Bargaining	8	12%	1	1%
Experienced interviewee	39	59%	1	1%

²⁰ This variable was recoded in Study One to reflect the stricter definition given in Study Two. In Study Two this variable was coded if a suspect explicitly gave "no comment", remained silent when asked a question or gave a prepared statement. In Study One it was also coded if the suspect used other behaviours to avoid answering the question such as changing the topic or answering a different question than the one asked. These latter examples are much harder to define and therefore at risk of being less reliable.

Prove It Response	4	6%	0	0%
Physically Aggressive	1	2%	0	0%
Prepared story	46	70%	0	0%

As Table 2.3 shows, Study Two had a lower frequency of strategy use than found in Study One, and for some strategies, there was a large variation in frequency. This was most likely the result of using a stricter coding definition for each variable and the presence of a second coder. The aim of Study Two was to ensure that the suspect strategies were reliable and therefore easily replicable. This meant that some suspects may be using more strategies than the data from Study Two suggests but the reliability of those strategies is unknown.

In order to ensure only reliable and relevant variables were considered in this thesis, only variables that met the following criteria were included in further analysis: (i) The variable must have a frequency of 10 or more from Study Two. Low frequencies indicate that these variables do not represent typical suspect behaviour. Canter (1996) argues that variables with low frequencies are less relevant when trying to develop a theory of general principles and the aim of this research was to develop suspect behavioural styles. The frequency from Study Two was chosen as the stricter coding scheme meant that low frequency variables may indicate that these strategies were less reliable as a result of the coding definition being too ambiguous or too similar to other variables. For example, the strategy *Exaggerated Allegations* is similar to *Malicious Allegations*, and *Maximise the role of the victim* is the opposite of claiming to have been *Victimised*; (ii) The variable must have an inter-rater reliability score of more than 75% which removes the variables *High Stakes* (63% in Study One), *Compliance* (45%) and *Uses Police Language* (70%); (iii) The variable must be focussed on the suspect; therefore the strategy *Protect Others* was removed from the analysis as this is the only strategy which is used to help others. The strategies not included in further analysis were removed to ensure the analysis was as robust as possible. This does not imply that these strategies are not still relevant or useful for future analysis.

Applying the exclusion criteria outlined above resulted in 18 strategies being carried forward for further analysis. These are shown in Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4: A comparison of suspect strategy frequencies between Studies One and Two for the 18 strategies used in further analysis

Behaviour Label	Study One (N = 66)		Study Two (N = 80)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Admit	45	68%	49	61%
Justifying Behaviour	45	68%	47	59%
Deny	49	74%	44	55%
Emphasise Good Character	34	52%	31	39%
Avoids answering Questions	18	27%	29	36%
Seek Sympathy	32	49%	28	35%
Alternative Version of Events	41	62%	27	34%
Lack of memory	38	58%	27	34%
Remorseful	27	41%	26	33%
Victim Bad Character	24	36%	23	29%
Minimise	38	58%	22	28%
Gives Own Evidence	19	29%	20	25%
Malicious Allegation	23	35%	15	19%
Victim	28	42%	14	18%
Implicate Others	18	27%	13	16%
Negative Attitude	17	26%	11	14%
Confrontational	17	26%	10	13%
Look for Agreement	8	12%	10	13%

For the remaining 18 suspect strategies, 95% confidence intervals were calculated to analyse the magnitude of the frequency variations. The resultant percentages and confidence intervals are presented in Figure 2.2.

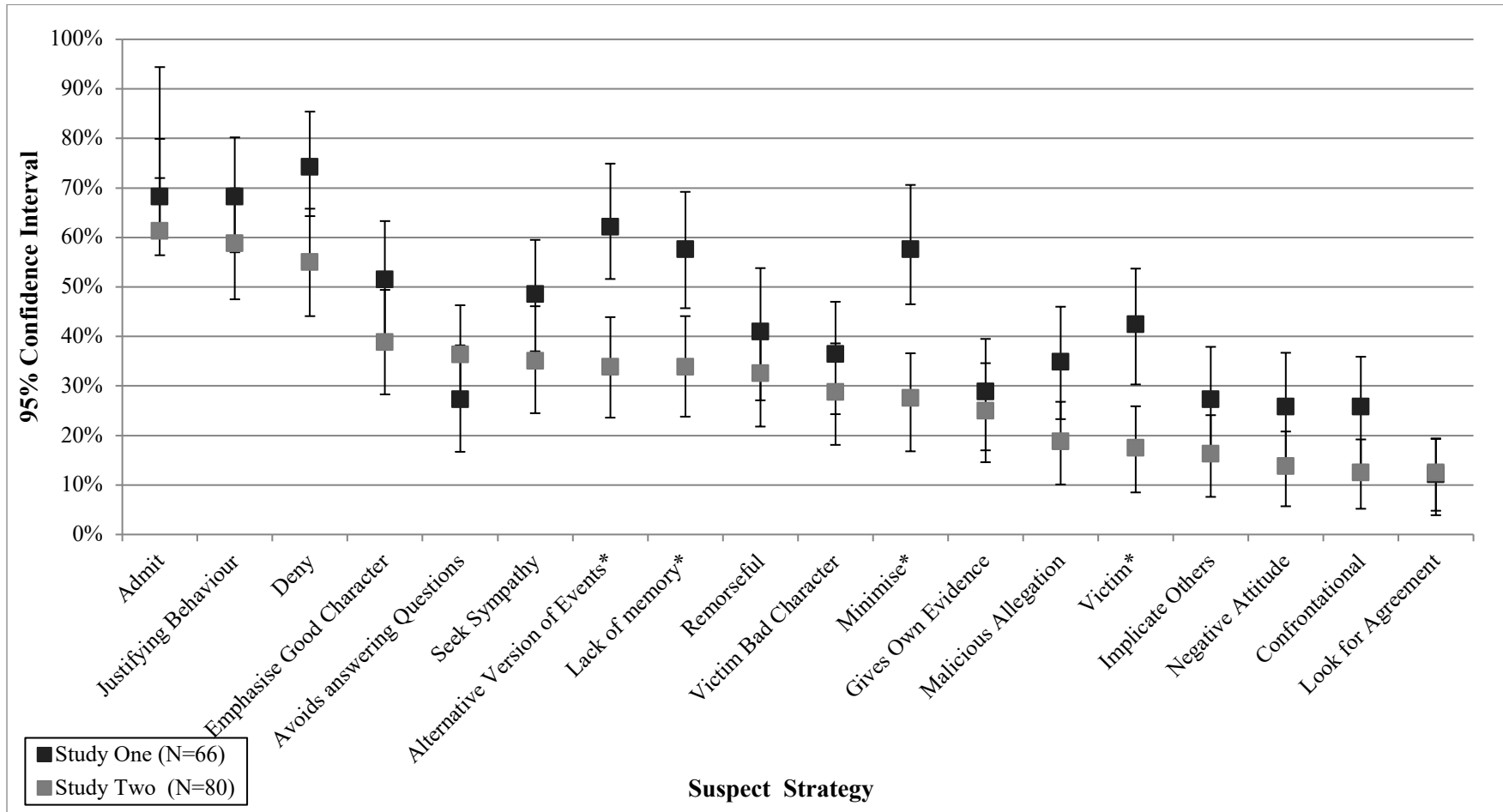


Figure 2.2: 95% confidence intervals comparing suspect strategy frequency between Studies One and Two. Asterisks next to the variable represents variables where the error bars do not overlap

Figure 2.2 shows the frequency percentage for each variable, with the results for Study One the variables in black and for Study Two in grey. The strategies are presented in order of frequency of use found in Study Two. The error bars either side of each frequency percentage show the 95% CI for the frequency percentage. Four strategies had CI bars which did not overlap. In Study Two, fewer suspects (ES 28%) provided an Alternative version of events 34% [24%, 44%] compared to Study One 62% [49%, 73%], fewer suspects (ES 24%) Claimed a lack of memory 34% [24%, 44%] compared to Study One 58% [46%, 70%], fewer suspects (ES 30%) Minimised their actions 28% [18%, 38%] compared to Study One 58% [45%, 69%], and fewer suspects (ES 25%) claimed they were the Victim 18%, [9%, 27%] compared to the Study One 42% [31%, 55%].

The variation in frequency was most likely the overall result of the stricter coding guidance used in Study Two as all the variations were a result of fewer strategies identified in Study Two compared to Study One. This level of difference is also expected when dealing with real world data. These 18 strategies were taken forward for analysis using Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) which is presented in Chapter Three and briefly described later in this chapter.

Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was sought for this research and a favourable ethical opinion given (see Appendix A) however as the data used for this thesis was drawn from real-world police interviews they presented a number of ethical issues which are explored in this section. Suspects are considered a vulnerable population due to their being detained. They may feel forced to consent to participate in research, believing they do not have the right to say no or that it will benefit their case in some way if they say yes.

Informed consent – Study One

In Study One, informed consent was obtained from all participants involved in the observational research as well as from both police forces who had agreed involvement. All participants (the interviewing officer, suspect and third parties present in the interview room)

were given a verbal explanation of the research and provided with a written information sheet and consent form to agree to the presence of a researcher in the interview room (see Appendix B for a copy of the consent form). The researcher was also required to ask for consent in the presence of a police officer to both protect the researcher (who was required to be accompanied at all times at the police station) but also the suspect (to ensure that the suspect's rights during detention were maintained). The presence of a police officer may have increased the suspect's perceived obligation to consent. To overcome this, suspects and their legal representative or other third party present, were informed that the study, and any information collected during the research, would in no way affect their case (nor affect the employment of the legal representative), that the research was independent of the police force and that they had every right to decline taking part in the research. Suspects were given as much time as they needed to read the consent form, ask any questions and make their decision. Whilst suspects are in a vulnerable position whilst in custody there is already a legal requirement in place to ensure suspects are aware of their rights such as their right to free and independent legal advice. The researcher therefore felt satisfied that the consent obtained by suspects was fully informed.

Some suspects had additional vulnerabilities that needed to be addressed when obtaining consent. Twenty-one percent (n=14) were under the age of 18, 14% (n=9) had mental health issues and one suspect was a foreign national meaning that English was not their first language. These suspects were all accompanied by a third party (such as an appropriate adult or a linguist) and this person was also asked to consent to the research and was given the opportunity to explain the research to the suspect and ensure that they had freely given consent. Sixty-six suspects were approached and asked to consent to the observer being present in the interview and four (5.5%) declined. These four participants were removed from the sample.

Informed consent – Study Two

In Study Two, informed consent was obtained from the Detective Superintendent at the participating police station. There has been some debate as to whether recordings of police-

interviews with suspects or witnesses can be considered ethically sound without informed consent from the individuals in the recordings (see Jol & Stommel, 2016 for a summary of this debate). Informed consent is difficult to obtain when using pre-recorded interview data due to legal and ethical issues (Jol & Stommel, 2016). Legally, the police are not at liberty to provide the researcher with access to the interviewees due to data-protection laws, and ethically it could cause more harm contacting suspects about what might have been a traumatic event for them. Whilst suspects were not specifically asked to participate in this particular study, it is reasonable to assume that suspects would not object to this research when, at the time of interview, they would have been made aware that their interview tapes were made for subsequent scrutiny whether for legal, training or research purposes. Similar to the recommendations made by Jol and Stommel (2016), the data used in Study Two were classed as archival. Pre-recorded interviews do not involve active participation therefore are less suited to applying ethical principles taken from research on human subjects (e.g. the Code of Human Research Ethics of The British Psychological Society, 2014). The only harm or risk that the research could cause to the participants would be in revealing their identity in the storage, retention or publication of the data; these issues are addressed in the next section.

Confidentiality and anonymity

The researcher respected the need for confidentiality for the participants and all those involved in the suspected offence (e.g. victims and witnesses). All data collected was anonymised during data collection. In Study One, signed consent forms were kept separate from the data and stored in a locked filing cabinet. In Study Two, a spreadsheet containing the unique identifier for each audio-recorded interview was kept electronically and filed at the police station under the researcher and second coder's user profiles. In Study Two, eight interviews from the sample were transcribed at the police station and the following measures were taken to ensure confidentiality: (a) pseudonyms were used for all potentially identifying information such as names, (birth) dates, addresses, names of schools, descriptions of suspects etc.; (b) the data were

not shared with anyone not involved in the project; (c) the transcripts were checked by the second coder (a Detective Constable based at the police station) to ensure they did not contain any identifiable information before being removed from the police station; and (d) the electronic transcripts which were removed from the station were saved with a password protection.

The Analysis

Three types of analysis were used in this thesis. In order to understand the strategies suspects use during interview and how they form part of an overall behavioural style, a multi-dimensional scaling technique known as Smallest Space Analysis²¹ (SSA) was used. In order to understand what factors might impact on how suspects use these strategies Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was used in Chapter Five and qualitative analysis of a transcribed interview in Chapter Six. SSA is a less known technique and was the main technique used to both analyse the data and develop a theory of suspect behaviour. Therefore, a brief overview of SSA is provided below with a justification as to why it was considered the most effective method for this thesis.

SSA is a non-metric multi-dimensional scaling (MDS) technique that generates a geometric representation of relationships between variables based on the rank order of the correlations between variables. SSA was developed by Louis Guttman and forms part of his Facet Theory which is an overall approach to designing methodology and data analysis (Borg & Shye, 1995). SSA assumes that underlying structures in behaviour can be identified through examining the relationship each variable has with every other variable (Brown & Barnett, 2004). The distances between each point (variable) is inversely proportional to the rank order of the association between variables. Therefore, the closer together two variables are, the more associated they are with each other (Wilson, 1996). SSA was chosen over factor analysis as it can handle non-metric dichotomous data more easily than factor analysis (Cohen, 2005) and is more

²¹ SSA is also known as Similarity Structure Analysis.

focused on the conceptual relationship between all the variables rather than focussing on the super-ordinate factors produced from factor analysis (Alison, Kebbell & Leung, 2008).

The method of spatially configuring variables based on their co-occurrence with each other is based on the regionality hypothesis (Shye, 1978). This hypothesis states that variables which share similarities with each other will be found in the same regional space of an SSA. The regionality of variables requires both an empirical (through the correlational-coefficient) and theoretical justification and is therefore a useful model for theory development and testing (Taylor, 2003). In addition, underpinning an SSA is the continuity principle which assumes that every point in an SSA space is filled with other variables which have not yet been (or cannot be) observed (Shye, Elizur & Hoffman, 1994). This means that every possible suspect strategy which could be observed (and even those that cannot be observed) could fit into the SSA space. As outlined above, the suspect strategies identified in this thesis are not an exhaustive list and it is very likely that this list will be added to and refined with further research. By using SSA it allows for new strategies to be added which can refine and develop the theory of suspect behaviour further.

There are two main coefficients which can be used to measure the relationship between variables for dichotomous data – Yule's Q and Jaccard's. Previous research has tended to use Jaccard's coefficient (e.g. Arnold, 2006), however recent research has highlighted some of the problems with using Jaccard's as a measure of association (see Taylor, Donald, Jacques & Conchie, 2010). The main criticism is that Jaccard's tends to group frequently occurring variables closer together to other variables. Therefore, the positioning is more to do with the frequency than any meaningful co-occurrence and differences in frequencies could result in major movement of variables. As shown in Table 2.4, some variables such as *Admit* and *Deny* have a relatively high frequency compared to others and this may be dominating the placement of variables within behavioural styles. The Jaccard's coefficient of association is also an asymmetric measure that does not take account of negative co-occurrences. This means that if two variables

are both absent, their association with each other does not increase (Almond, Duggan, Shine & Canter, 2005). Identifying when suspects do not use certain variables may be as important as identifying when they do. Yule's Q is a measure of coefficient that does consider the non-occurrence of variables as an indication of an association and overcomes the issue of frequency impacting on the placement of variables (Taylor, et al. 2010). The SSAs reported in the remainder of this thesis were carried out using both Yule's Q and Jaccard's and any differences are reported.

The SSAs were carried out using an MDS computer program known as the Broadmoor Scaling Package (BSP, Hammond, 1997). The variables were entered into the program which calculated the frequency of occurrence of one variable with all other variables using association coefficients. The SSA program ranks the coefficient values from most to least associated and then tries to place each variable on the SSA plot using an iterative process to adjust the distances between variables so as to get the best fit whilst minimising the amount of "stress" on the original rank ordering. The measure of "stress" is known as the coefficient of alienation; the smaller the coefficient of alienation the better the visual representation of the variables compared with the original correlation matrix. The SSA can plot the variables into any number of dimensional spaces but typically 2- or 3-dimensional spaces are chosen to keep the complexity of the structure as simple as possible. When a 3-dimension space is chosen it is down to the researcher to decide which side of the 3-dimensional space best visually represents the grouping of variables.

SSA is not commonly used but has become increasingly popular in psychology and law research (Davis, 2009). The technique has been used to analyse police officers' use of interviewing strategies (Alison, et al., 2008), for identifying patterns in offending behaviour (Canter, 1996; Youngs, Ioannou, & Eagles, 2014) and hostage negotiator/taker behaviour (Taylor, 2002). SSA, like any analysis technique, has its limitations. Researchers have highlighted that it is often improperly used (Davis, 2009; Taylor, et al., 2010) and there is a certain amount of human interpretation to the analysis which makes it prone to subjective errors. However, supporters of

the technique argue that when correctly applied to research, SSAs can be as, if not more, rigorous than more traditional statistical tests (see Borg & Shye, 1995).

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a description of the method used to collect and analyse data from Studies One and Two and presented the key descriptive data from both studies with comparison analysis. The chapter has provided an overview of how the coding scheme used to record suspect behaviour was developed and refined. It has outlined the method used to analyse the data and explained how this can also be used to develop a theoretical model of suspect behaviour. This chapter also provided an overview of how the ethical challenges with conducting real-world research on suspects were addressed. In the next chapter, the findings from Studies One and Two are laid out and analysed, and a model of suspect behaviour is presented.

Chapter Three - Studies One and Two

Abstract

This chapter aims to examine whether suspects use strategies during a police interview and explore whether these strategies could be grouped into behavioural styles which represented a preference by suspects for using a particular approach. The data from Study One ($n = 66$), which were predominantly coded by directly observing police interviews, and Study Two ($n = 80$), which were coded by listening to audio-recordings of interviews, were combined ($N = 146$). Eighteen reliable suspect strategies were identified and analysed using smallest space analysis, and three behavioural styles were identified, labelled Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant, which reflected how cooperative suspects were during the interview and how they managed the attribution of blame. The strategies used within each interview were analysed to determine whether suspects showed a preference for using one behavioural style. Overall just over half ($n = 76$, 52%) of the sample could be classed as preferring one behavioural style indicating that suspects move between behaviour styles during an interview. The chapter concludes by discussing how existing theories of suspect behaviour can be used to explain the findings before proposing a new theory of suspect behaviour.

Introduction

It is only in the last twenty years that research has begun to focus on the behaviours suspects display during interviews, and specifically on the strategies they use when questioned. Prior to this, early observational research had predominantly focussed on the decision-making of suspects who confessed (e.g. Irving & Hilgendorf, 1980; Softley, et al., 1980). Irving and Hilgendorf's (1980) study is one of the first British studies to directly observe police interviews with suspects. The researchers predominantly focussed on the coercive tactics used by interviewers to elicit a confession (Milne & Bull, 1999) and the only recording of suspect

behaviour was whether they confessed and what mental state they were in at the time. Prior to carrying out the study, the authors proposed a theory for why suspects might confess; however they never tested this theory in their study.

Irving and Hilgendorf (1980) used a decision-making framework taken from Janis (1959) to explain the consequences people consider when deciding whether to confess or deny (similar to Azjen's (1985) theory of planned behaviour). Behaviour is broadly split into the instrumental gains and losses to self/others or the desire for social or self-approval. The concept of instrumental gains and losses (which Janis defines as 'utilitarian') implied that suspects will weigh up what they will lose or gain from confessing to both their own benefit as well as to the benefit of the group suspects identify with. For example, a suspect may decide to confess on the promise of a reduced sentence or on the promise that his/her family will be looked after. However, suspects' decisions to confess may also be bound by the approval they seek from others (social approval) or from their desire to preserve or modify their self-image (self-approval). The offer of a reduced sentence may not be enough if suspects fear the condemnation received from others for admitting to such a crime (social approval) or cannot bear to admit that they have committed such a crime (self-approval). Whilst this early research did not explicitly describe suspect strategy use, Irving and Hilgendorf (1980) did propose that suspects will have a planned strategy for how they will behave during the interview based around these consequences and that their behaviour and strategy choice may change during the interview in response to police questioning techniques, particularly techniques considered coercive.

More recent research on suspect behaviour has begun to consider the idea that suspects use strategies during an interview. The research can be broadly split into research using real police interview data and laboratory-based research using a mock-crime methodology. The majority of real-world police interview research has focussed on strategies used by suspects considered to be uncooperative, and this most likely reflects a desire from

practitioners to find ethical ways to overcome resistance during police interviews (e.g. see Vrij, Meissner, Fisher, Kassin, Morgan, & Kleinman, 2017). For example, Moston and Stephenson (2009) qualitatively analysed over 100 police interviews with suspects who denied the allegations against them and identified seven denial strategies which they classified as either passive (the suspect denied but did not provide any exculpatory detail) or active (the suspect provided a reason e.g. "I couldn't have done it because..."). The most common *passive* denial strategy was 'denial of charge' which involved the suspect simply rejecting the accusation against them. Other *passive* strategies included 'denial of knowledge' – suspects who deny any knowledge of the offence; 'denial of perception' – deny seeing any offence committed (e.g. "I don't know" or "I don't remember"); and 'denial of motivation' which ranged from denying and saying it was out of character for them (e.g. "just not my style") or that it would not make sense for them to have committed the act (e.g. "it wouldn't be worth going to prison for"). The most common *active* denial strategy was 'denial of offence' where the suspect simply rejected that an offence took place (e.g. "they made it all up"). Other *active* denial strategies included 'denial of interpretation', where a suspect claimed that his/her behaviour was innocent and misinterpreted as an offence (e.g. "I was just running away like everyone else") and 'denial of causation' where the suspect does not deny that the act took place but that they are not guilty of the crime (e.g. "I didn't steal the tapes, I just borrowed them"). The qualitative nature of this research meant that the reliability and frequency of each strategy could not be established.

In addition to focussing on uncooperative suspects, recent research in this area has tended to focus on the behaviour of suspects arrested for more serious crimes such as terrorism. For example, Alison and colleagues have analysed police interviews with suspects arrested for terrorism offences to develop a framework for analysing the effectiveness of rapport-based interviewing techniques (Alison et al. 2013; Alison et al. 2014a). Whilst the focus of this research was more on the interviewer and on their ability to effectively build rapport, the researchers developed a coding scheme which took into account the suspect's behaviour and

identified a number of suspect strategies in the process. In their first study, Alison et al. (2013) coded both interviewer and suspect behaviour using a model based on the interpersonal behaviour circle (IBC) developed by Leary (1957) and drawing on Motivational Interviewing literature. The IBC is based on two behaviour dimensions: authoritative-passive and confrontational-cooperative which, when combined, represented eight broad styles of communication that are presented in a circle. These eight communication styles were then further divided into whether they represented adaptive or maladaptive behaviour resulting in two IBCs. For example, *judgemental, argumentative, competitive* are a blend of Maladaptive Authoritative/Confrontational and *Act confidently, Assertive, Certain* are a blend of Adaptive Authoritative/Confrontational.

The researchers developed a detailed coding framework to categorise each behaviour known as the Observing Rapport-Based Interpersonal Techniques (ORBIT) which allowed them to achieve a high degree of observer reliability. However, the level of detail meant that the framework is complex and potentially very time consuming to use. For example, a suspect who gives “no comment” during an interview could be coded in seven of the 16 interpersonal behaviour styles depending on how they delivered these words including authoritative/cooperative (“Confident, engaged delivery of ‘no comment’”); cooperative/passive (“Apologetic use of ‘no comment’”) or authoritative/confrontational (“‘No comment’ delivered firmly without waiver”) (p. 419). Whilst such a complex framework may be useful when dealing with serious crimes which occur infrequently and are allocated significant resource to solve, it is arguably less effective when dealing with low-level crime, often termed ‘high volume’ due to the frequency with which they occur, which are often allocated little resource. By definition, volume crime takes up a significant amount of police time and yet police officers investigating such offences now receive the least amount of interview training (College of Policing, 2017).

In a separate study, Alison et al. (2014b) coded the behaviour of uncooperative suspects in an attempt to identify what they termed counter-interrogation tactics (CITs) – deliberate strategies used to resist cooperation. The researchers developed their list of CITs predominantly through reviewing terrorist training manuals and in consultation with experienced interviewers. Despite coding up to 31 CITs, only nine CITs were consistently used in their sample. These were grouped into Passive (refusing to look at interviewers, remaining silent); Passive Verbal (monosyllabic response, claiming lack of memory); Verbal (discussing an unrelated topic, providing well known information, providing a scripted response) and then two independent CITs: Retraction of previous statement and No Comment. The researchers found that suspects used different strategies depending on the type of terrorist (e.g. Paramilitary, right wing) and the researchers speculate that this may be the result of counter-interrogation advice provided in terrorism manuals (e.g. ‘Green Book’). The overall low number of strategies identified more broadly suggests that uncooperative suspects may use fewer strategies compared to cooperative suspects when interviewed for high-stake terrorism-related offences.

Another way to investigate strategy use is to ask participants in a laboratory study what, if any, strategies they used when lying or telling the truth. Hartwig and colleagues carried out a number of studies which investigated the impact of disclosing evidence on the behaviour of guilty and innocent suspects in a mock-theft scenario. They asked participants how they planned to behave and what behaviours they then displayed during the interview (Hartwig, 2005; Hartwig, et al., 2007; Hartwig, et al., 2010; Hartwig, et al., 2006; Hartwig, et al., 2005; Strömwall, et al., 2006). In Hartwig et al. (2007), participants were interviewed and those who carried out a mock theft (steal a wallet from a briefcase) were asked to lie whereas those who carried out a non-criminal act (look for a hole-punch) were asked to tell the truth. Both liars and truth-tellers reported having planned a strategy prior to interview and some of these strategies were the same (e.g. both liars and truth-tellers said they tried “To show calmness, avoid signs of nervousness” (p. 220)). Overall liars reported using more strategies than truth-tellers such as

“Tell the truth as much as possible”, “Be firm in my denial of guilt”, “Deny having seen the briefcase”, “Pretend that I actually was innocent”, and “Be nice and pleasant” (p. 219-220). The authors propose the theory of self-regulation (Fiske & Taylor, 2013) to support the idea that both innocent and guilty suspects are likely to view a police interview as a threatening situation and will therefore use self-regulatory strategies (Granhag & Hartwig, 2008). The authors divide these self-regulatory strategies into *information* and *decision control* strategies. All suspects will try to predict what the interviewer knows and what *information* may be used to incriminate them, but the authors argue that guilty suspects will spend more time doing this than innocent suspects and may be more likely to overestimate what the interviewer knows. The authors argue that innocent suspects will behave differently to guilty suspects based on two biases - the *Illusion of Transparency* (Savitsky & Gilovich, 2003) where suspects will overestimate how much an interviewer can discern their internal state and the *Just World Hypothesis* (Lerner, 1980) where suspects assume that if you are innocent you will not be charged. This research demonstrated that even in a laboratory setting, mock suspects, even cooperative suspects who are telling the truth, report using strategies during an interview. Due to the nature of laboratory-based research, the researchers were able to directly ask participants why they chose to behave in this way which is difficult to replicate with real-world data. However, the study did not record whether the participants actually displayed the strategies they said they had planned to, therefore it is possible that they were not consciously aware they were using specific strategies. Furthermore, self-reporting strategy use may also suffer from a number of response biases (Hammond, 2004) such as wanting to appear like they were using more sophisticated behaviour that they actually were.

Whilst this research has led to a number of theories around suspect behaviour, the issues outlined above has meant that the theories are also limited and may not adequately reflect suspect behaviour. Furthermore, the focus of past research has tended to be on interviewer rather than suspect behaviour (e.g. Alison et al. 2014a). When research has

recorded suspect behaviour, it has tended to limit this to whether they confess or talk (e.g. Irving & Hilgendorf, 1980), or it is focussed predominantly on uncooperative suspects (e.g. Alison et al. 2014b) or has been taken from mock-suspects interviewed in a laboratory-based setting (e.g. Hartwig et al. 2007). Previous unpublished research (Arnold, 2006; Sully, 2005) has addressed some of these shortcomings by observing real police-suspect interviews and coding the range of behaviours all suspects displayed during the interview.

The unpublished research highlighted that in real-life situations, the majority of suspects, particularly those arrested for interpersonal offences, were arrested because they had been implicated in the offence in some way, and it was the extent of their culpability and the intent of their actions that was being questioned. The research found that suspects used strategies during interview, such as minimising their own involvement in the offence, showing remorse for the offence, or behaving aggressively during the interview. The same research also identified that these strategies could be grouped into behavioural styles based on their co-occurrence of use. Arnold (2006) observed 71 high-volume crime suspect interviews and recorded the strategies they used, the offences they were arrested for and the outcome of the interview. Using Smallest Space Analysis (SSA ; see Chapter Two for a more detailed explanation), these strategies were grouped into four behavioural styles *Compliant; Hostile; Malicious; and Deniers*. The *Compliant Behavioural Style (CBS)* consisted of suspects who were more likely to be compliant, admit to the offence, be remorseful, show a lack of memory, minimise their behaviour, be nervous, show concern for the future and mention how high the stakes were. The *Hostile Behavioural Style (HBS)* consisted of suspects who were more likely to be confrontational, have a negative attitude, and exercise their right to silence. The *Malicious Behavioural Style (MBS)* consisted of suspects who were more likely to maximise the role of the victim, claim the allegations were malicious and be verbally aggressive. The *Deniers behavioural style (DBS)* consisted of suspects who denied the allegations made against them, provided an alternative version of events and protected others.

This unpublished research suffered from a number of methodological limitations which means that caution must be taken in interpreting the findings. Both studies were drawn from the same police station, therefore the behaviours displayed may be a function of the approach taken at that particular station (Philips & Brown, 1998). Neither study carried out any form of reliability test to the method used to define and code the variables, therefore the findings could be due to the individual observer's own coding biases. Finally, both studies violated some of the assumptions required for using SSA, in particular by incorrectly including variables such as offence type (*Person Offence*, *Property Offence*, and *Domestic Offence*) and the outcome of the interview (*Charged*, *Bailed*, and *No Further Action*) in the analysis alongside suspect behaviour. These variables are out of the control of the suspect and are therefore not strategies used by suspects during the interview. One of the aims of the present study was to overcome these limitations by drawing data from three different police forces, assessing the reliability of coding and only including variables related to suspect behaviour in the analysis.

Whilst recent research has begun to explore the concept of suspects using strategies, this concept is still in its infancy and there are limitations to some of the methods used that this thesis sought to overcome. Study One sought to continue the work started by Arnold (2006) by directly observing suspect behaviour in the interview room, noting down what the suspects said or how they behaved during the interview and then identifying what purpose the language or behaviour served. The aim was to ensure that the behaviours being described represented what was actually happening in the interview and to focus solely on the suspect behaviour. Study Two then sought to test and refine these strategies using audio-digitally recorded police-suspect interviews to ensure the coding scheme was reliable and easily replicable. As the aim of this research was to identify a theory of suspect behaviour, the strategies identified in Studies One and Two were analysed using SSA to identify if they can be grouped into meaningful behavioural styles. The results of Studies One and Two are presented in part one of the results section. In part two, the behavioural styles are further explored and tested against each interview to

examine whether they represent distinct psychological behaviours and if suspects show a preference for one particular behavioural style. The methodology used to collect, code and analyse these data are presented in Chapter Two.

Results Part One – Developing suspect strategies and behavioural styles

The sample of interviews from Studies One (n = 66) and Two (n = 80) were combined (N=146). As outlined in Chapter Two, the demographics for both samples were broadly similar.

Table 3.1 shows the frequency and percentage for each strategy coded in both samples.

Table 3.1: Combined (N = 146) frequency of suspect strategies from Studies One (n = 66) and Two (n = 80)

Behaviour Label	Frequency	Percentage
Admit	94	64%
Justifying Behaviour	92	63%
Deny	93	64%
Emphasise Good Character	65	45%
Avoids answering Questions	47	32%
Seek Sympathy	60	41%
Alternative Version of Events	68	47%
Lack of memory	65	45%
Remorseful	53	36%
Victim Bad Character	47	32%
Minimise	60	41%
Gives Own Evidence	39	27%
Malicious Allegation	38	26%
Victim	42	29%
Implicate Others	31	21%
Negative Attitude	28	19%
Confrontational	27	18%
Look for Agreement	18	12%

As outlined in Chapter Two, only the above 18 strategies were taken forward for further analysis from the total 36 suspect strategies initially coded. These strategies were considered the most reliable strategies based on a refinement of the coding scheme and reliability testing carried out in Study Two.

The 18 strategies in Table 3.1 were analysed using SSA to identify if there were any relationships between the suspect strategies and whether they could be grouped into facets of behaviour based on co-occurrence of use. The coefficient of alienation for a two-dimensional plot was 0.20 which is higher than the recommended stress index of below 0.20 (Donald, 1995; Kruskal & Wish, 1978), therefore a three-dimension plot was chosen which had a stress index of 0.12 over 32 iterations.

SSA plot sides one and three of the three-dimensional plot were considered the best visual representation of the strategy groupings and can be seen in Figure 3.1. The labels associated with each point correspond to the 18 suspect strategies shown in Table 3.1 above.

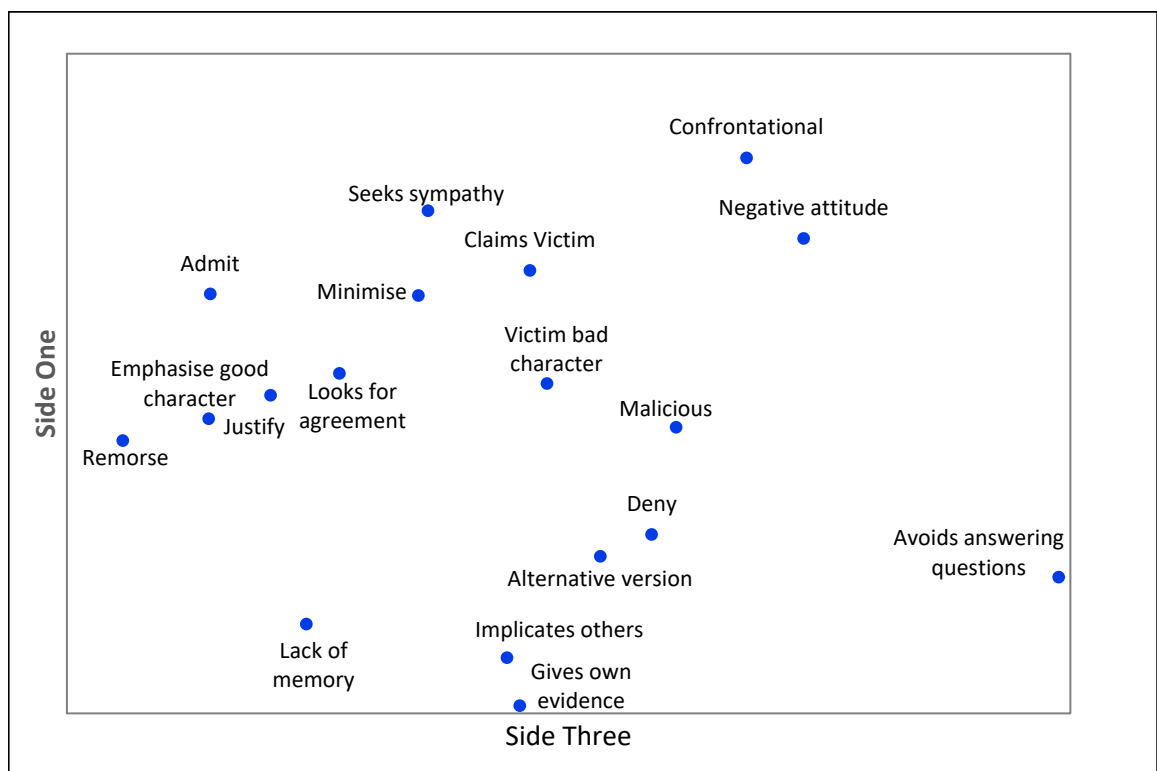


Figure 3.1. A Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews. Sides one and three are displayed for the three-dimensional space using Yules Q.

The plot was divided into three behavioural styles which are similar to those found in previous research (Sully, 2005; Arnold, 2006). A description of each behavioural style is given below. Figure 3.2 shows the three behavioural styles which have been divided using a dotted line to emphasise that these behavioural styles should not be viewed as separate categories as

they reflect a pattern of suspect behaviour which has been grouped based on the co-occurrence of suspect strategy use.

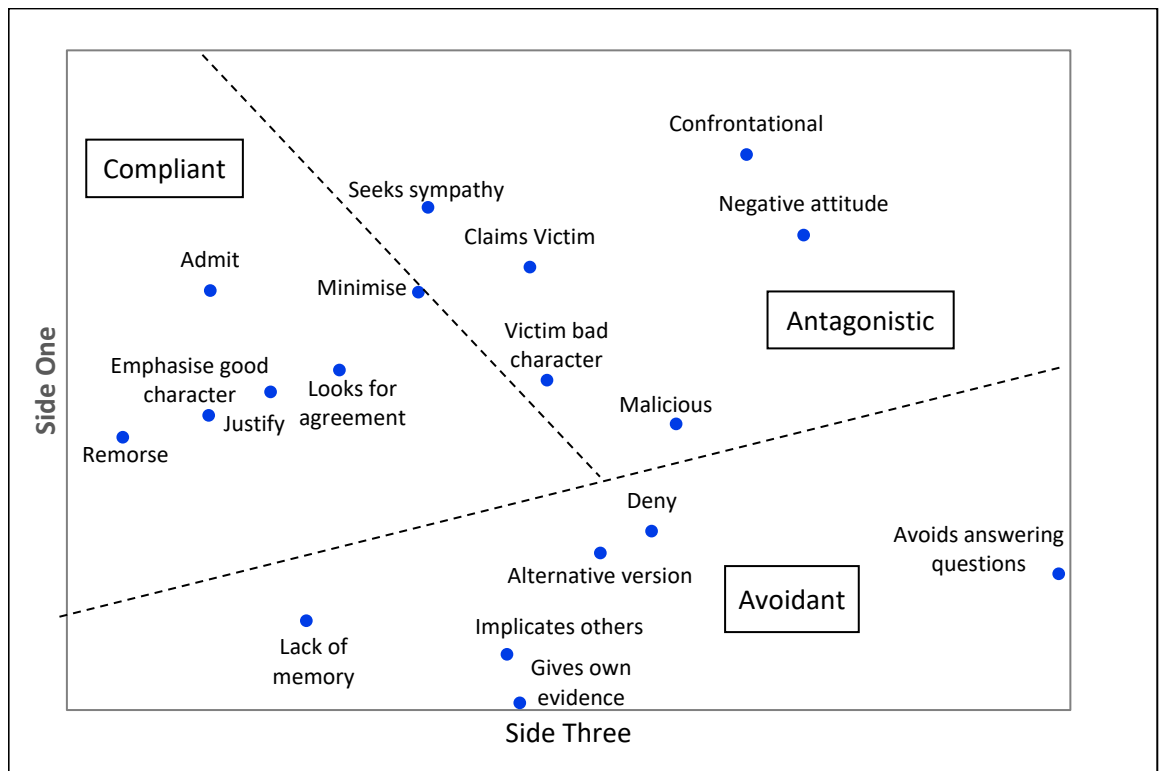


Figure 3.2: Dimensions one and three of a Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews with regional interpretations showing Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant behavioural styles.

The SSA plot was divided into three facets using an axial interpretation (Borg & Shye, 1995) starting from the bottom right-hand corner to the top left-hand corner of the plot. This method of using axial regions to interpret an SSA has also been used in research identifying the range of tactics used by interviewing officers (Alison, et al., 2008). The axial region interpretation of the SSA shows a movement from non-cooperative (from the bottom right of the SSA plot) to more cooperative (top left of the SSA plot) strategies and the three behavioural styles represent three ways of managing the blame attributed to the suspect. At the bottom right-hand corner, the suspect strategies were the most avoidant, where suspects were the least engaged in the interview and claimed to be the least involved in the crime. Moving to the centre of the plot, the strategies represent suspects who were more engaged in the interview although in an antagonistic way and who focussed their responses on blaming others and

claiming they (i.e., the suspect) were the victim. Finally, as the plot moves down towards the top left-hand corner it contains the most compliant strategies where suspects were engaged with the interview through accepting blame (admit) but also justifying, minimising or showing remorse for their actions and appealing to the interviewer of their good character or to obtain sympathy. These findings suggest that suspect behaviour during interview could be explained in terms of how *cooperative* they were with the interviewer and how they managed *blame*. A description of each behavioural style is given below.

Avoidant: this behavioural style represented suspects who *avoided answering questions, denied the offence, provided an alternative version of events, as well as their own evidence, implicated others and claimed a lack of memory* for the offence.

Antagonistic: this behavioural style represented suspects who claimed the allegations against them were *malicious*, who were *confrontational* and who evidenced a *negative attitude* towards the interviewer, emphasised the *victim's bad character*, claimed that they (i.e. the suspect) were the *victim* and *sought sympathy* from the interviewer.

Compliant: the final behavioural style represented suspects who *admitted to the offence, justified and minimised their behaviour, showed remorse for their actions, looked for agreement* from the interviewer, and *emphasised their good character*.

The frequency and percentage for each strategy is shown in table 3.2 grouped into the three behavioural styles.

Table 3.2: Combined (N = 146) frequency and percentage of suspect strategies by behavioural style

Behavioural style	Behaviour Label	Frequency
Avoidant	Deny	93 (64%)
	Avoids answering questions	47 (32%)
	Alternative version	68 (47%)
	Gives own evidence	39 (27%)
	Implicates others	31 (21%)
	Lack of memory	65 (45%)
Antagonistic	Victim bad character	47 (32%)
	Claims Victim	42 (29%)
	Seeks sympathy	60 (41%)
	Malicious Allegation	38 (26%)
	Negative attitude	28 (19%)
	Confrontational	27 (18%)
Compliant	Admit	94 (64%)
	Justify	92 (63%)
	Emphasise good character	65 (45%)
	Minimise	60 (41%)
	Remorseful	53 (36%)
	Looks for agreement	18 (12%)

Table 3.2 shows that the Compliant behavioural style has two strategies which were used in almost two thirds of all interviews (admit and justify) and the Avoidant behavioural style has one strategy used in almost two thirds of all interviews (Deny). The Antagonistic behavioural style has an overall lower frequency of strategy use and no particular strategy stands out as being dominant.

To demonstrate how each behavioural style can be broken down, example quotes (taken from Study Two) for each strategy within each region are provided in Table 3.3

Table 3.3: Example quotes for each strategy within each of the three behavioural styles

Behavioural Style	Suspect strategies	Example quote
Avoidant	Denial	"I didn't throw one punch"
	Lack of Memory	"I can't remember"
	Avoids answering questions	"No comment"
	Alternative version of events	"Coz that's not what happened, I said you can stop him"
	Implicates others	"Greg said it was ok, I've stolen from there before"
Antagonistic	Provides own evidence	"You can check with the garage"
	Claims victim	"A police officer pushed me to the bedroom and sat on my back"
	Seeks sympathy	"I would just like to say, I suffer from anxiety and depression"
	Negative attitude	"That's what the statement says – I've already answered that question"
	Confrontational	"NO THAT'S NOT WHAT I SAID" (use of capitals denotes shouting)
Compliant	Malicious allegation	"It's all lies"
	Victim bad-character	"she's an alcoholic"
	Admit	"I kicked her"
	Good character	"I don't generally drink, I don't do drugs"
	Remorse	"I'm extremely sorry"
	Looks for agreement	"You know what it's like when the adrenaline is going"
	Minimise Justify behaviour	"I was just pushing her away" "She knows exactly what buttons to press"

A case study example is provided for each of the three behavioural styles to demonstrate how they play out within an interview.

Avoidant case study: C68 is a 23-year-old male arrested for an immigration offence – facilitating the illegal entry of another. C68 flew in with another male who had travelled on false documentation. C68 Denied any knowledge of the false documentation "it's not mine", gave an Alternative account "no I didn't know, I submitted my papers, spoke to [other suspect] and said let's go together", provided their Own evidence "but you can get lots of maps at the hotel, there were three in my room", claimed a Lack of memory "can't remember how much ticket was" and Avoided answering some questions "no comment".

Antagonistic case study: C52 is a 26-year-old male who was found leaning over a bridge stating he was going to end it all. C52 was detailed under Section 138 of the Mental Health Act (1983) then later identified and arrested for multiple assaults occurring earlier that evening. C52 claimed he was the Victim “she’s tried to give me a smack with a shoe, so”, claimed the allegations were Malicious “now they’re sitting there setting me up with the Old Bill”, discusses the Victim’s bad character “because he’s a bit- a severe alcoholic”, Looks for agreement from the interviewer: “it just seems a bit odd don’t it?”, was Confrontational towards the interviewer “No that’s not what I said. No, that’s not what I said. That’s not what I said at all” (underline denotes emphasised words) and had a Negative attitude towards the interviewer: “well, ah you know what I give up mate”.

Compliant case study: C35 is a 46-year-old male arrested for the distribution and making of indecent images after the internet at C35’s home was used to access indecent images of children. C35 Admitted the offence “yeah there will be lots of them” (images), Justified his behaviour “I have an addictive personality, I have been trying to stop doing it for ages”, Minimised his actions “it was only photos and movies”, emphasised his Good character “I have done relief work in foreign countries”, showed Remorse “I’m so ashamed, I’ve ruined my wife’s life, my family, my parents. I’ve brought shame” and Looked for agreement from the interviewer “who wouldn’t? I’m a man, that happens occasionally, I get an erection”.

Section One has identified that when looking at strategy use for the whole sample, three behavioural styles emerged based on the co-occurrence of strategy used. What the analysis has not addressed was whether each individual case (interview) could fit into one of the three behavioural styles; whether suspects preferred one particular behavioural style or whether they used a range of strategies across all three behavioural styles during one interview. The next section explored this question by considering a range of methods for classifying cases to facets before using the most robust method and applying it to the sample of interviews.

Results Part Two – Classifying cases to behavioural styles

The range of strategies used within an interview was analysed for all 146 interviews.

The range of strategies used per interview was between 1 and 17 (out of a maximum number of 18 strategies). The mean number of different strategies used was 6.8 and the median was 7.

The range of strategies used per interview for each behavioural style is presented in Table 3.4²².

Table 3.4. Means, Medians and standard deviations for the range of strategies used by behavioural style across the whole sample (N = 146).

Behavioural style (6 strategies per style)	Range of strategies used		
	Median	Mean	SD
Avoidant	2 (33%)	2.5	1.6
Antagonistic	1 (17%)	1.7	1.7
Compliant	3 (50%)	2.6	1.8

As shown in Table 3.4, on average, each interview contained strategies from all three themes, with suspects using more strategies from the Compliant and Avoidant behavioural styles and fewer strategies from the Antagonistic behavioural style. The next section analysed each individual case (interview) to explore whether suspects preferred one particular behavioural style or whether they used a range of strategies across all three behavioural styles during one interview.

There are a number of approaches academics have used to classify cases to the facets (e.g. *Antagonistic*) identified from an SSA (e.g. Almond, Duggan, Shine & Canter, 2005; Fritzon & Brun, 2005). At the simplest level, a case could be classified as belonging to one facet if only variables from that facet and no other facets were present in the case. When analysing the data using this method only 18% (n = 27) of cases could be classed as using only one behavioural style and of these, 13% (n = 19) of cases used only strategies from the avoidant behavioural

²² Suspect strategies were coded as either present or absent therefore the frequency of each strategy used is not known (i.e. the number of times a suspect used a particular strategy within an interview).

style with the remaining 5% ($n = 8$) of cases using only strategies from the Compliant behavioural style. However, as highlighted above, the behavioural styles identified in the SSA should not be considered as mutually exclusive but as behaviours occurring as part of a wider *process* of interpersonal interaction. The classification system used needs to reflect that suspects are likely to use strategies from more than one behavioural style but may still show a preference for one particular behavioural style (Shye, Elizur, & Hoffman, 1994).

A review of other research which has attempted to classify cases to behavioural styles identified two approaches: a more conservative method adopted by Fritzon and Brun (2005) and a more lenient method used by Almond et al. (2005). In Fritzon and Brun's method each case was scored based on the number of variables it contains from each facet and converted to a percentage, if the facet contained an unequal number of variables. A case was then classified as belonging to a particular facet if the percentage score for that facet was greater than, or equal to, the sum of scores for the other facets (e.g. a case with 70% of variables in facet one, 20% in facet two and 10% in facet three would be classified as facet one). Cases were considered to be hybrids between two facets if they contained approximately the same percentage of variables for each of those facets (e.g. 40% of variables from facet one, 50% of variables from facet two and 10% of variables from facet three would be classified as a hybrid of facets one and two). Cases were not classified as either a pure or hybrid if they contained less than a third of the variables in any facet, or if they contained roughly equal numbers of variables from more than two facets. In Almond et al.'s (2005) method, a case was classified as belonging to one particular facet if the score of that facet contained more variables than the score of any of the other two facets. Using the same example above, if a case contained 40% of variables from facet one, 50% of variables from facet two and 10% of variables from facet three it would be classified as a pure facet two. When applied to the current data, 10% difference may mean that this case has only one more variable in facet two compared to facet one and

therefore may not reflect a strong enough preference for one particular fact. As a result, the stricter Fritzon and Brun (2005) method is used.

Using the Fritzon and Brun (2005) method, just over half of the cases (52%, $n = 76$) could be classed as a pure case. This meant that the score for one behavioural style was greater than, or equal to, the sum of scores for the other two behavioural styles in these cases. Most of these cases were classified as *Compliant* ($n = 39$, 27%) and *Avoidant* ($n = 28$, 19%). A further 23% ($n = 34$) of cases could be classified as a hybrid of two behavioural styles which meant that these cases contained approximately the same number of variables for two behavioural styles which was greater than the sum of variables for the remaining behavioural style. The most common hybrid was *Avoidant/Compliant* (12%, $n = 17$).

The remaining cases (25%, $n = 36$) could not be classified as a pure or hybrid behavioural style. Of these, 19 (13%) cases had a roughly equal number of variables from all three behavioural styles and the remaining 17 (12%) cases contained less than a third of the variables related to any behavioural style. Of these 17, 14 (9%) were cases where the suspect only used *Avoids answering questions* which represents suspects who gave “no comment”, remained silent or gave a prepared statement. In the remaining three cases, one suspect just admitted (*Admit* variable) to the offence and used no other strategies, another gave no comment (*Avoids answering questions*) but also displayed a *Negative attitude* and one suspect just *Admitted* and *Denied* (this interview lasted just over 5 minutes, the suspect gave an account, admitted to part of the offence but denied another part). These results have been visually depicted in Figure 3.3.

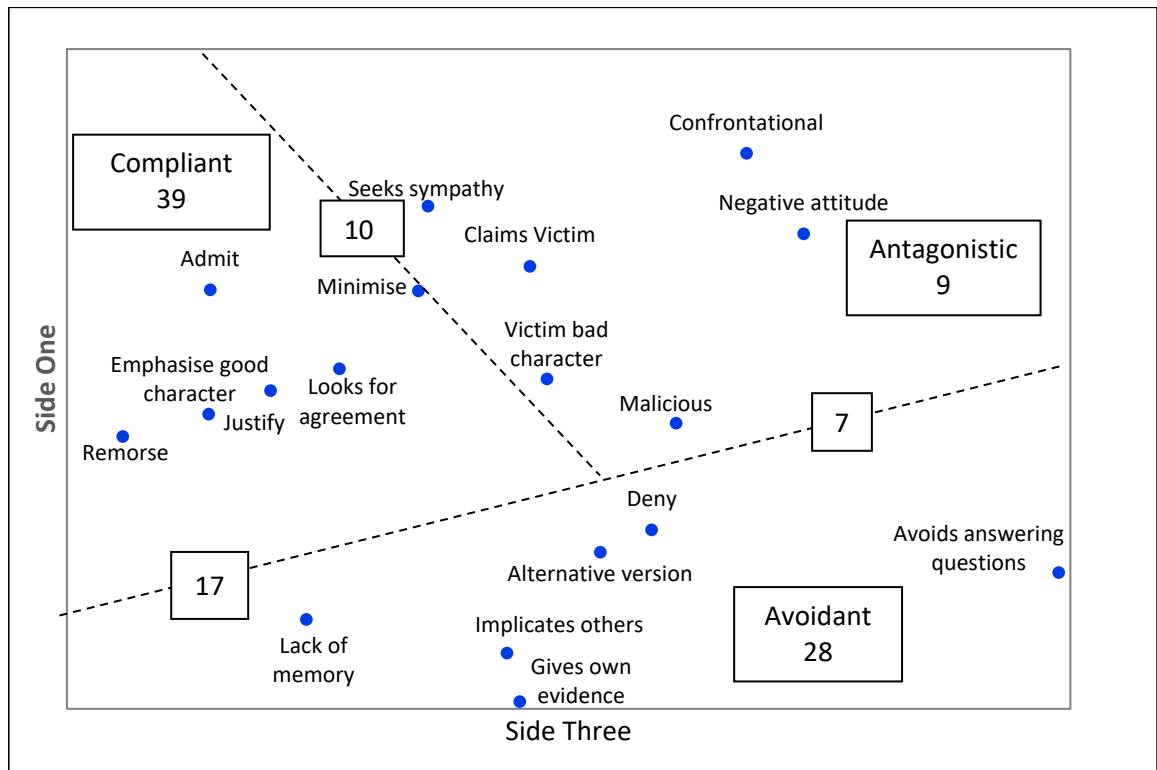


Figure 3.3. A breakdown of how each case was classified into the three behavioural styles or hybrid behavioural styles. The numbers under each behavioural style name represent the total number of cases which were considered as a pure behavioural style and the numbers which sit on the dotted lines between behavioural styles represent the number of cases which were considered hybrids of two behavioural styles. Thirty six (25%) cases could not be classed as either a pure or hybrid behavioural style ($N = 146$).

Discussion

This chapter examined the verbal strategies suspects used in real-life high-volume crime police interviews. In Study One, the strategies were developed and coded through directly observing a sample ($n = 66$) of police interviews at two different police stations and in Study Two, these strategies were further refined and tested with a sample ($n = 80$) of audio-digitally recorded police-suspect interviews. Eighteen reliable suspect strategies were identified which could be plotted into three behavioural styles based on their co-occurrence of use. The behavioural styles represented how *cooperative* suspects were with the interviewer and how they managed the attribution of *blame* made against them in being suspected of committing a crime. At the bottom right-hand corner, the strategies represent suspects who rejected or avoided blame and were the least engaged in the interview and their potential role in the crime

and this behavioural style was labelled *Avoidant*. The middle of the plot represented suspects who blamed others and were more engaged in the interview but in a competitive manner and this behavioural style was labelled *Antagonistic*. The top left hand side of the plot represented suspects who admitted to the offence and were most engaged and cooperative with the interviewer and this behavioural style was labelled *Compliant*.

In part two of the results, the behavioural styles were tested against each individual interview. A range of methods for classifying cases (interviews) to themes (behavioural styles) were considered before identifying Fritzson and Brun (2005) as the more conservative and meaningful method. Using this method, just over half of the sample could be classified as preferring one of three behavioural styles and in total, three quarters of the sample showed a preference for one (pure) or two (hybrid) behavioural styles. The findings suggest that during a police interview, the majority of suspects adopted an *Avoidant*, *Antagonistic* or *Compliant* style, or a combination of two of these behavioural styles. This analysis provided partial support for the theory that suspect behaviour can be divided into psychologically distinct behavioural styles and therefore provides an interviewer with insight into how a suspect may behave overall to questioning. For example, if a suspect begins an interview with being confrontational towards the interviewer, the interviewer may expect the suspect to use other strategies from this behavioural style in response to questioning. Or if a suspect begins their initial account with blaming someone else for the crime then the interviewer may expect the suspect to use strategies from the Antagonistic behavioural style. However, the findings also demonstrate that a quarter of the sample did not show a preference for one particular behavioural style. Only 19 (13%) of these were suspects who used strategies from all three behavioural styles and the rest were made up of suspects who predominantly avoided responding at all. Whilst the use of a particular strategy may demonstrate a preference in the suspect for an overall behavioural style it can only be used as an approximate guide. It may be that a small number of suspects start an interview with one behavioural style but due to factors at play within the interview (e.g. the

behaviour of the interviewer or the introduction of evidence) the suspect changes their overall strategy and moves into a different behavioural style. Equally, suspects may show a preference for one behavioural style but occasionally use specific strategies from the other behavioural styles which over the course of the interview spreads their overall strategy use across more than one behavioural style. The impact of other factors (such as the characteristics of the case) is addressed in Chapter Five and changes in strategy use during the course of an interview is addressed in Chapter Six.

Previous research

The behavioural styles identified in Arnold (2006) were similar to those found in this thesis, despite the inclusion of incorrect variables in Arnold (2006) and the addition of new suspect strategies in this thesis. The biggest change in the structure of the SSA was that the fourth behavioural style, Deniers which was identified in Arnold (2006) but not in Sully (2005), was not found in the present research. This behavioural style represented two variables associated with the outcome of the interview (No further action and Bailed) as well as a third variable that focussed on helping others rather than the suspect (Protect others). It is possible that the incorrect inclusion of these variables altered the placement of the other variables causing an erroneous fourth behavioural style to emerge. The movement of strategies in the remaining behavioural styles meant that two of the labels given to them differed. The Hostile Behavioural style from Arnold (2006) is now the Avoidant behavioural style because the hostile strategies that were within this behavioural style (Confrontational and Negative attitude) have moved to what was originally called the Malicious behavioural style. The Malicious behavioural style has been renamed to the Antagonistic behavioural style to capture more adequately the combination of the suspect's position toward the allegation and their interpersonal behaviour. The Compliant Behavioural style remains broadly unchanged.

As outlined in the introduction, Irving and Hilgendorf (1980) proposed that suspects will use strategies during an interview which they have planned to use but that their choice of

strategy may change in response to police questioning. This thesis supports this hypothesis by demonstrating that suspects do indeed use strategies during an interview. The findings that strategies fit into particular behavioural styles suggests suspects may have planned an approach to the interview. But given that not all suspects show a preference for a particular behavioural style, these findings suggest that something, possibly the interviewer, leads them to change their strategy choices.

Moston and Stephenson (2009) identified a number of strategies which they termed denial strategies. These included claiming not to remember, which was placed under 'Denial of perception', or commenting on self-image (e.g. "I'm usually a passive person"), which was placed under 'Denial of motivation'. Many of the strategies identified by Moston and Stephenson (2009) have been found in the present research, however this thesis has demonstrated that these strategies were not necessarily associated with denying. For example, commenting on self-image is similar to emphasising 'Good character' which was included in the *Compliant* behavioural style where suspects also admitted to the offence.

Many of the suspect strategies presented in this chapter can be found in the research carried out by Alison and colleagues. For example "Efforts to present self in a favourable light" (p. 419, Alison et al., 2013) is similar to 'Emphasises good character' in the present thesis, or "Suggests lines of enquiry to interviewer unprompted..." (p. 419) is similar to 'Provides own evidence' in the present thesis. The strategies identified by Alison and colleagues formed part of an Interpersonal Behaviour Circle (IBC) which is based on two behaviour dimensions: authoritative-passive and confrontational-cooperative. The three behavioural styles identified in this study are similar to the confrontational-cooperative dimension however this thesis proposes a third facet and argues that suspects can move from Cooperative to Confrontational to Avoidant. The difference in findings may reflect the difference in focus for the research. Alison et al. (2013) focussed on the communication between interviewer and interviewee, and the aim of their research was to help interviewers effectively build rapport and elicit

information from a suspect. As a result, their research has not focussed on the suspect and on why suspects use certain strategies, which could involve reasons beyond just the interviewer's behaviour.

Alison and colleagues did focus on a suspect's use of what they identified as Counter Interrogation Techniques (CITs) however these were developed through engaging with experienced police interviewers and hypothesised that suspects were influenced to use these CITs from reading terrorist training manuals. The strategies they identified may be considered 'counter' from the interviewer's perspective but may serve a very different purpose from the suspect's point of view and the use of strategies found in the present research is unlikely to be explained as coming from terrorist training manuals.

Although this was a field study of real police interviews, the strategies identified are similar to those found in previous laboratory-based research (Hartwig et al. 2007). Granhag and Hartwig (2008) were more interested in the decision-making of mock-suspects and proposed Fiske and Taylor's (2013) theory of cognitive self-regulation. Using this theory they propose that all suspects, regardless of guilt or innocence, will view a police interview as a threatening situation and therefore use self-regulatory strategies to manage this threat (Granhag & Hartwig, 2008). Granhag and Hartwig argue that the common objective of these self-regulatory strategies is to try and restore control and they differentiate between behavioural (e.g. remaining silent) and cognitive strategies (e.g. deciding what to admit, deny and avoid discussing).

Granhag and Hartwig (2008) further differentiate suspect behaviour by dividing suspects into those who are 'guilty' or 'innocent' of the crime and argue that innocent suspects will behave differently due to the *Illusion of Transparency* (Savitsky & Gilovich, 2003) and the *Just World Hypothesis* (Lerner, 1980). As this study used real-world data it was not possible to establish guilt and innocence and therefore not possible to test this theory. However, in the majority of crimes, suspects are most likely arrested because they have been implicated in some

way to an offence. For many offences, particularly interpersonal ones (such as common assault), suspects are often culpable to some degree (e.g. they are often arrested at the scene after a struggle). This thesis therefore proposes that only in rare cases would a suspect consider themselves 'innocent' in the way in which Granhag and Hartwig present them and therefore the majority of real-world suspects are unlikely to behave like the innocent suspects in Granhag and Hartwig's studies.

The findings presented in this chapter partially support the self-regulation theory proposed by Granhag and Hartwig. The behaviour of suspects in this thesis can be interpreted as suspects responding to a threatening situation (being arrested and suspected of committed a crime) and managing this threat by using self-regulatory strategies. However, the 'threat' that suspects are responding to is not expanded on in Granhag and Hartwig's findings, whereas this thesis proposed that the 'threat' is one of blame. The self-regulatory strategies identified in this thesis appear to be grouped in terms of how they are managing this threat of blame rather than how suspects restore control. The next section introduces theories from interpersonal communication, specifically those focussing on attribution and moral disengagement; these are proposed to underlie the behaviours displayed by suspects during an interview, in particular their use of strategies.

Theories of interpersonal communication

Farr (1982) proposed a theory to explain the behaviour of individuals during any interview situation, made up of four fundamental theories in interpersonal communication, which can be applied to the current findings. Firstly, the theory of attribution (Heider, 1958) which argues that people assign the cause of behaviour about others and themselves to either internal (personal) or external (situational) factors. Attribution is an important part of a police-suspect interview. One of the main aims of the interviewer is to establish whether the suspect carried out the act they have been accused of and if they did, what his/her intention was for carrying out this act. For example, determining whether a man punched another man because

he wanted to hurt him (internal) or because the other man had punched him, and he was protecting himself (external).

The second part of Farr's (1982) theory is that attribution is subject to Actor-Observer bias (Jones & Nisbett, 1971) which is the tendency to attribute other people's behaviour to internal causes whilst attributing our own actions to external causes. Suspects are aware that their responses to questioning and overall behaviour in the interview are going to be evaluated by the interviewer to make a judgement on their involvement in the offence. Specifically, suspects will feel under threat as they will think that the interviewer will attribute their actions to themselves rather than the situation. The important distinction here is that *all* suspects, regardless of guilt or innocence, will feel under threat as by being arrested on suspicion of committing a criminal act, all suspects assume that the interviewer is attributing responsibility to the suspect. The strategies associated with each approach to attributing responsibility also support this second part of Farr's (1982) theory. All three behavioural styles have strategies associated with them that suggest suspects believe the interviewer is attributing responsibility to themselves and use these strategies to manage this. Suspects who deny responsibility (*Avoidant*) also provide an alternative version of events, provide their own evidence and implicate others. These are all strategies used to convince the interviewer that they are telling the truth. Suspects who claim others are responsible (*Antagonistic*) use strategies that seek to challenge the evidence against them (claim the allegations are malicious), as well as strategies that undermine the victim (emphasise the victim's bad character) whilst also using impression management strategies for their own character (claiming they are the victim, seeking sympathy from the interviewer). Finally, even suspects who attribute responsibility to themselves (*Compliant* behavioural style) use a number of strategies to manage the perceived judgement by the interviewer (minimise and justify their actions). They demonstrate positive personal characteristics (being compliant, showing remorse) and demonstrate anxiety about the consequences of their situation (showing nervousness and concern for the future).

The third part of Farr's (1982) theory incorporates Goffman's (1959) theory of the self in everyday life by arguing that interviewees will put on a performance during the interview to manage the impression they give to the interviewer that confirms the identity of themselves that they wish to convey. This research has also demonstrated support for Goffman's theory. The *Compliant* behavioural style includes strategies such as emphasising their good character, minimising or justifying behaviour, and the *Antagonistic* behavioural style includes a number of strategies relating to the suspect's image such as seeking sympathy from the interviewer and claiming they are the victim. The *Avoidant* behavioural style includes the strategies to deny culpability, provide an alternative version of themselves or implicate others.

The fourth and final part of Farr's theory draws on Mead's (1934) theory that interviewees are self-reflexive and will consciously monitor and reflect on their behaviour and on how the interviewer may view their behaviour and adapt accordingly. The findings that suspects do not always stick to one particular behavioural style indicates that something may be causing suspects to move between behavioural styles. The interaction between suspect and interviewer over time is considered in Chapter Six of this thesis.

Heider's (1958) theory of attribution has been expanded upon by many academics since it was first introduced. In particular, Shaver (1985) has proposed five dimensions of responsibility which compliment Heider's theory: i) causality (did the suspect cause the act), ii) knowledge (was the suspect aware of the consequences of their actions), iii) intentionality (was the crime intentional or an accident), iv) coercion (was the suspect under free-will), and v) moral wrongness (how morally wrong was the act). Shaver (1985) argues that people take into account all five dimensions when assessing the attribution of responsibility. This thesis proposes that the fifth dimension, moral wrongness, plays an important role in driving suspect behaviour. Malle, Guglielmo and Monroe (2014) have argued that "[b]ecause blame imposes social and psychological costs on the person blamed, quite some effort goes into managing and curtailing moral criticism" (p. 174). Malle et al. (2014) highlight that blame is a social act but that research

has tended to predominantly focus on the cognitive processes of blame. The authors also discuss a number of blame management strategies people can use which include denial, justification, and excuses – many of which map onto the strategies identified in this thesis. Holmberg and Christianson (2002) differentiated between interviewers who used Humanity or Dominance approaches to interviewing, with the latter resulting in suspects being less likely to confess. The researchers' Dominance factor included the suspect feeling condemned by the interviewer, as a result of the interviewer expressing disapproval of the suspect's behaviour. The Humane factor was associated with an absence of condemnation and included variables such as the interviewer showing empathy and a positive attitude towards the suspect. Each of the three behavioural styles contained at least one strategy that involves attributing blame. In the *Avoidant* Behavioural style, suspects refused to accept blame or avoided discussing blame, in the *Antagonistic* Behavioural style, suspects predominantly attributed blame to others and in the *Compliant* Behavioural style, suspects accepted blame but could also minimise the amount attributed to them.

The impact that morality can have on human behaviour has been well-documented in research (e.g. Bandura, 1991). Bandura (1991) argues that human behaviour is regulated by a sense of morality which guides our involvement in 'good' behaviour and deters us from doing 'bad' behaviour (such as committing a crime). Individuals who carry out 'bad' behaviour will convince themselves that they were still morally acceptable through a process of moral disengagement. Bandura and colleagues (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara & Pastorelli, 1996) propose that moral disengagement strategies can include individuals justifying their behaviour, displacing responsibility, minimising behaviour or blaming ones adversaries. This thesis argues that these same strategies, used for moral disengagement when an immoral act has been committed, are used when a suspect is accused of carrying out a criminal act.

Bringing this all together, this thesis proposes that all suspects, regardless of guilt or innocence, will feel under threat in the interview due to the attribution of responsibility,

(Heider, 1958; Shaver, 1985) which is further compounded by the perceived actor-observer bias, being made by the interviewer (Jones & Nisbett, 1971). This manifests in self-regulation behaviours them (Goffman, 1959) that seek to manage the moral criticism made against which are similar to those used by individuals carrying out moral disengagement (Bandura, 1991; Malle et al., 2014). Finally, suspects will change their behaviour during the course of the interview as they monitor and reflect on theirs and other's behaviour and the behaviour of the interviewer (Mead, 1934).

Limitations

The data from this chapter was drawn from two different studies – one using direct observation and one using digital audio-recorded interviews. The limitations of direct observational research have been discussed in detail in Chapter Two of this thesis, but using digitally recorded interviews also suffers from a number of limitations. By not being present in the interview room the researcher was unaware of any behaviour that occurred before and after the digital recorder was turned on. In Study One, the researcher did observe conversations taking place between the interviewer and suspect before and after the tape-recorder was turned on. A minority of these conversations were related to the crime and suspects would occasionally use strategies during these conversations. For example, at the end of the interview, some suspects would apologise for their actions which would be coded as the strategy *Remorse*. For the majority of field studies on police-suspect interviews, the tape-recording of the interview is the most common form of data analysed since the Police And Criminal Evidence Act (PACE, 1984) introduced the mandatory recording of all police-suspect interviews. Previous research found that 'off camera' conversations did take place (Moston & Stephenson, 1993), some of which were considered coercive (McConville, 1992; McConville, Sanders & Leng, 1991), however the majority of research has found this behaviour to be rare (Brown, Ellis, & Larcombe, 1992, Irving & McKenzie, 1989). Whilst laws such as PACE minimise the likelihood of police questioning suspects away from the tape-recorded interview, they do not prevent suspects

from using strategies during these periods and therefore this data may have been missed in Study Two.

The refined coding scheme used in Study Two only recorded verbal suspect strategies to ensure the variables were both reliable and valid. However, this meant that non-verbal or extra-linguistic behaviour (Robson, 2011) were not coded and could mean some suspect strategies are not included in the data analysis or that the nuanced use of a particular strategy has been lost. For example, Nervousness often manifests itself in non-verbal behaviour such as shaking. The resulting limitation is that strategy use, particularly in Study Two was most likely under-reported and the overall method of coding was not as sensitive as it could have been. This is partially addressed in Chapter Six.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to examine suspect strategies during police interview and explore whether the strategies could be grouped into behavioural styles which represented a preference by suspects for using a particular approach. The analysis has shown that suspects used a number of strategies during an interview and that these strategies can be grouped into three behavioural styles based on how cooperative a suspect behaves during the interview and how they manage the attribution of blame. When these behavioural styles were tested against the individual cases, just over half of the sample could be classified as predominantly using one behavioural style and a small proportion of suspects used strategies from all three behavioural styles. The findings partially support previous research in this area however a new theory of suspect behaviour has been proposed which better reflects the research findings. The next chapter explores whether these findings can be developed into a communications model taken from hostage negotiation research.

Chapter Four – Developing a Model of Suspect Behaviour

Abstract

This chapter introduces Taylor's (2003) Hostage Cylindrical Model taken from hostage negotiation research. Taylor's model presents negotiator and hostage-taker behaviour in a three-dimensional cylinder based on three levels: cooperation, motivation and intensity. The findings presented in Chapter Three were compared to Taylor's model. The three behavioural styles presented in Chapter Three were similar to the three levels of cooperation identified in Taylor's model. The 18 suspect strategies presented in Chapter Three were categorised into one of the three types of motivation identified in Taylor's model (instrumental, identity and relational). The SSA produced in Chapter Three was mapped onto Taylor's model and the results showed partial similarity with the levels of cooperation and motivation fitting into the model but not intensity. The findings are discussed in terms of how they can be integrated into the theories of interpersonal communication outlined in Chapter Three and recommendations are given for how the model could be used to help interviewers persuade a suspect to become more cooperative.

Introduction

In Chapter Three, a model of suspect behaviour was presented which divided suspect behaviour into three behavioural styles based on how cooperative suspects were during the interview and how they managed the attribution of blame. This model has not previously been identified in research on suspect behaviour. Whilst a new model of suspect behaviour could be developed from these initial findings, previous research (e.g. Alison et al., 2013) has demonstrated the benefit of applying models from related disciplines (e.g. Leary's IBC theory), therefore a review of wider literature was carried out. Through reviewing wider research areas, specifically those which have looked at behaviour in terms of levels of cooperation, a model was identified from the field of hostage negotiation (Taylor, 2002, 2003) which held similarities to

the findings presented in Chapter Three. Taylor (2002) developed the Hostage Cylindrical Model to depict the behaviour of negotiators and hostage-takers during the course of a hostage negotiation. The model is presented visually in Figure 4.1 and is made up of three facets: *levels of interaction*; *motivation*; and *intensity*. The vertical axis represents the first facet – the level of interaction which the negotiator or hostage-taker uses during the negotiation. These levels are (1) **Avoidance**, e.g. the individual does not want to talk about a particular issue; (2) **Distributive**, e.g. the individual wants to argue about it and uses strategies which are self-interested and coercive; or (3) **Integrative**, e.g. the individual is willing to talk about it. Cooperation between the hostage-taker and negotiator underlines the three levels of interaction with cooperation increasing as a person moves from Avoidance to Distributive to Integrative. The main aim for a negotiator is to move a hostage-taker towards an Integrative approach.

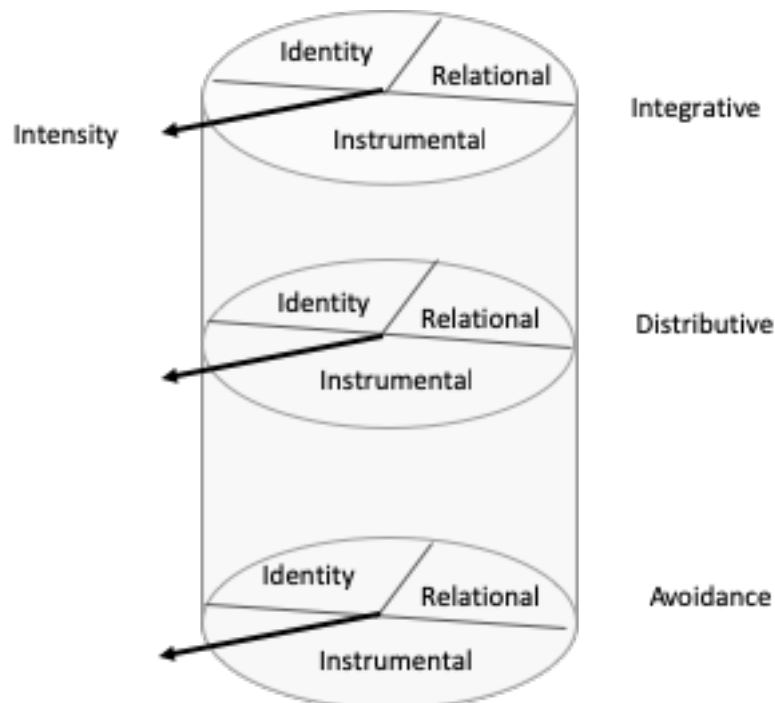


Figure 4.1. schematic representation of the Hostage Cylindrical Model taken from Taylor (2003).

At each level of interaction, there is a second facet based on the motivation behind the behaviour which is defined as 1) **Identity**, where the focus is on defending an individual's self-identity or face; 2) **Relational**, where the focus is on the relationship between the hostage-taker

and the negotiator and how to establish, maintain, or take advantage of the relationship; and 3) **Instrumental**, where the focus is problem-solving through maximising gains and minimising losses. The final facet reflects the **Intensity** of communication with more intense forms of communication featuring at the boundary of the cylinders and represented by the arrow in Figure 4.1. For example, in the Avoidance-Instrumental region of the model, Taylor (2003) found strategies which involved the negotiator trying to withdraw from participating (e.g. *Avoidance*) near the centre of the model whereas more extreme strategies, where the negotiator was actively trying to prevent a successful negotiation (e.g. *Retract*), towards the edge of the model.

The three motivation facets manifest in different ways depending on which interaction facet they are in. Taylor (2003) provided example direct speech quotes from Negotiators for each combination of interaction and motivation facet (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Taylor's (2003) Hostage Cylindrical Model example quotes for each combination of Interaction (Avoidance, Distributive, Integrative) and each Motivation (Identity, Relational, Instrumental) facet.

Interaction-Motivation facet	Example quote
Avoidance-Identity	"I didn't say that"
Avoidance-Relational	"I don't really care"
Avoidance-Instrumental	"I don't know if they'll let me do it."
Distributive-Identity	"You sound a bit immature to me"
Distributive-Relational	"You're not showing any good faith here."
Distributive-Instrumental	"I will not make any more concession today."
Integrative-Identity	"I understand the fact that you're very intelligent, and I appreciate that."
Integrative-Relational	"I think you guys have something in common there"
Integrative-Instrumental	"I'm going to let you get Tracey."

(Taylor, 2003, p. 207)

To develop the model, Taylor (2003) coded dialogue from three examples of conflict interactions: actual hostage negotiations (nine transcripts), police-simulated hostage negotiations (12 transcripts), and divorce mediations (23 transcripts). Taylor (2003) used transcripts of interviews rather than listening to recorded interviews and divided every word uttered into what he termed interaction 'episodes' and 'thought units' (Taylor, 2003). An important distinction between Taylor's study and this thesis is that Taylor (2002), similar to

Alison et al. (2013), focussed on the behaviour of the negotiator, but coded and analysed the behaviour of both hostage-taker and negotiator to develop the coding scheme.

Taylor's cylindrical model combined existing theories on negotiator communication and motivation. Early negotiator research looked at negotiation as an act of bargaining and initially just differentiated between cooperative and competitive behaviour, but a third category, termed Avoidance (withdrawn), was introduced later to categorise behaviour when the least amount of cooperation is seen, and which often occurs at the start of negotiation when the situation is at the height of crisis (Taylor, 2003). Taylor's (2003) model also built on this work by including the overall goal of the interaction between hostage taker and negotiator. Taylor (2003) argued that a hostage negotiation can essentially be divided into either *instrumental* (external) and *expressive* (internal) goals and then further divided expressive into *Identity* and *Relational*. These three motivational constructs are taken from: social exchange theory (*Instrumental* e.g. Roloff, 1981), social psychology (*Relational* e.g. Donohue, 1998) and self-presentation or "saving face" theories (*Identity*, e.g. Goffman, 1959).

A review of previous research on suspect behaviour during police-suspect interviews indicates that the cylindrical model has not been applied to this area before; however, some academics have highlighted its potential. Abbe and Brandon (2013) suggest that applying the model to suspect interviews may help to understand a police-suspect interview as a type of negotiation: "Investigative interviewing is fundamentally an attempt at social influence, with an interviewer attempting to gain the participation of, disclosure from, or admission from, a source" (Abbe & Brandon, 2013, p. 242). Wells, Taylor and Giebels (2013) highlight the similarities between understanding what drives a hostage crisis towards a resolution and turning a non-cooperative suspect into a cooperative suspect.

Combining the three levels of interaction (Avoidant, Distributive, Integrative) and three types of motivation (Instrumental, Relational and Identity) results in nine different communication styles that an individual can adopt at any one time; what Taylor (2014) refers to

as “communicative frames” (p. 11). The model is designed to be practically useful for an interviewer to code the interviewee and interviewer behaviour either during or after the interview and use this to track the interviewer’s progress from trying to move an interviewee from uncooperative to cooperative. For example, Abbe and Brandon (2013) highlight how this model can help interviewers understand what building rapport actually means by describing rapport in terms of social influence. They explain that by understanding what motivates the suspect, the interviewer may apply more effective techniques at achieving cooperation. The model therefore provides a useful framework to explain suspect behaviour and inform interviewers on how best to manage the interview which is one of the main aims of this thesis.

The aim of this chapter was to map Taylor’s Hostage Cylinder Model to the SSA outlined in Chapter Three to identify whether it can be applied to the data presented in this thesis and help to develop a theoretical mode of suspect behaviour.

Method

Taylor’s thesis (2003) was fully reviewed to determine the method by which Taylor analysed his data, developed the Hostage Cylindrical Model and to fully understand the theories he had drawn on to define and explain his research. Where possible the data presented in Chapter Three was re-analysed or re-coded in line with Taylor’s approach. The first part of Taylor’s model (the level of interaction) could be directly compared with the SSA presented in Chapter Three. The second part of Taylor’s model (the types of motivation) required coding each of the 18 strategies identified in Chapter Three into one of three types of motivation (Instrumental, Relational or Identity) based on the definitions provided by Taylor. As the model is a 3D cylinder (see figure 4.1) it required interpreting another side of the SSA presented in Chapter Three. The SSA presented in Chapter three was one of three dimensions presented as ‘best fit’ but there are two other sides of the three-dimensional model which should depict the

three types of motivations running down the model. The third part of Taylor's model (the intensity of communication) could be assessed visually by identifying which strategies sat on the outside of the model.

Results

The first level of Taylor's (2002) model, which describes the level of interaction (Avoidance, Distributive, Integrative), is very similar to the three behavioural styles identified from the SSA presented in Chapter Three (Avoidant, Antagonistic, Compliant) and shown in Figure 4.2. In Taylor's (2003) model, *Avoidance* includes individuals who do not want to talk about a particular issue; in the current model these compare with those avoiding blame for the crime they are accused of and avoiding engagement with the interviewer. *Distributive* in Taylor's model is defined as the individual wants to argue about an issue and uses strategies which are self-interested and coercive; this is similar to *Antagonistic* in the present study which is defined as blaming others for the crime and being antagonistic towards the interviewer. Finally *Integrative* in Taylor's model is defined as an individual who is willing to talk about an issue; this is similar to *Compliant* in the current model as suspects who admit blame and are cooperative towards the interviewer.

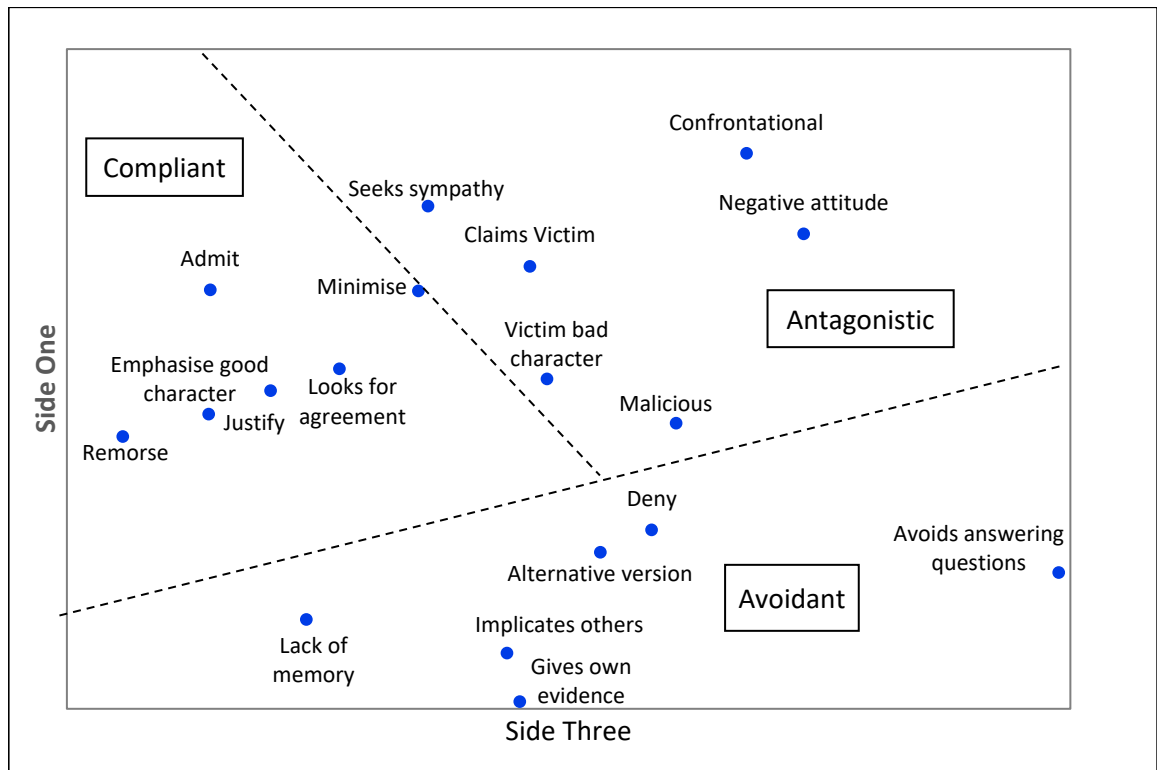


Figure 4.2. A Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews. Sides one and three are displayed for the three-dimensional space using Yules Q.

The second facet to Taylor's (2003) model demonstrated that the three levels of interaction (Avoidant, Antagonistic, Compliant) could be further divided into three subgroups based on the motivation for using each strategy. The three motivations Taylor identified were *Identity*, *Instrumental* and *Relational*.

The strategies for each behavioural style were coded to determine if they represented *Identity*, *Relational* or *Instrumental* motivations and therefore, similar to Taylor's model, represented nine combinations of behavioural style and motivation. To demonstrate how each behavioural style/motivation facet was broken down, example quotes for the nine regions, taken from the coding carried out in Study Two, are provided in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Nine combinations of behavioural styles and motivational facets with suspect strategies and example quotes given for each one.

Motivational facet	Suspect strategies	Example quote
Avoidance-Identity	Denial; Lack of memory	"I didn't throw one punch"; "I can't remember"
Avoidance-Relational	Avoids answering questions	"No comment"
Avoidance-Instrumental	Alternative version of events; Implicates others; Provides own evidence	"Coz that's not what happened, I said you can stop him"; "Greg said it was ok, I've stolen from there before"; "You can check with the garage"
Antagonistic-Identity	Claims victim	"A police officer pushed me to the bedroom and sat on my back"
Antagonistic -Relational	Seeks sympathy; Negative attitude; Confrontational	"I would just like to say, I suffer from anxiety and depression"; "That's what the statement says – I've already answered that question"; "NO THAT'S NOT WHAT I SAID" (use of capitals denotes shouting)
Antagonistic -Instrumental	Malicious allegation; Victim bad-character	"It's all lies"; "she's an alcoholic"
Compliant-Identity	Admit; Good character; Remorse	"I kicked her."; "I don't generally drink, I don't do drugs"; "I'm extremely sorry"
Compliant -Relational	Looks for agreement	"You know what it's like when the adrenaline is going"
Compliant -Instrumental	Minimise; Justify behaviour	"I was just pushing her away"; "She knows exactly what buttons to press"

Figure 4.3 visually displays how the motivational facets identified by Taylor (2003) can be applied to the SSA in Chapter Three. The three levels of interaction are presented using the dotted lines showing the *axial* role of the level of interaction from the top left (Avoidant) to the middle (Antagonistic) through to the bottom right (Compliant). Within these three behavioural styles is an *angular* interpretation demonstrating the three types of motivation (Identity, Instrumental and Relational) and represented by the continuous black lines that emanate from a central point.

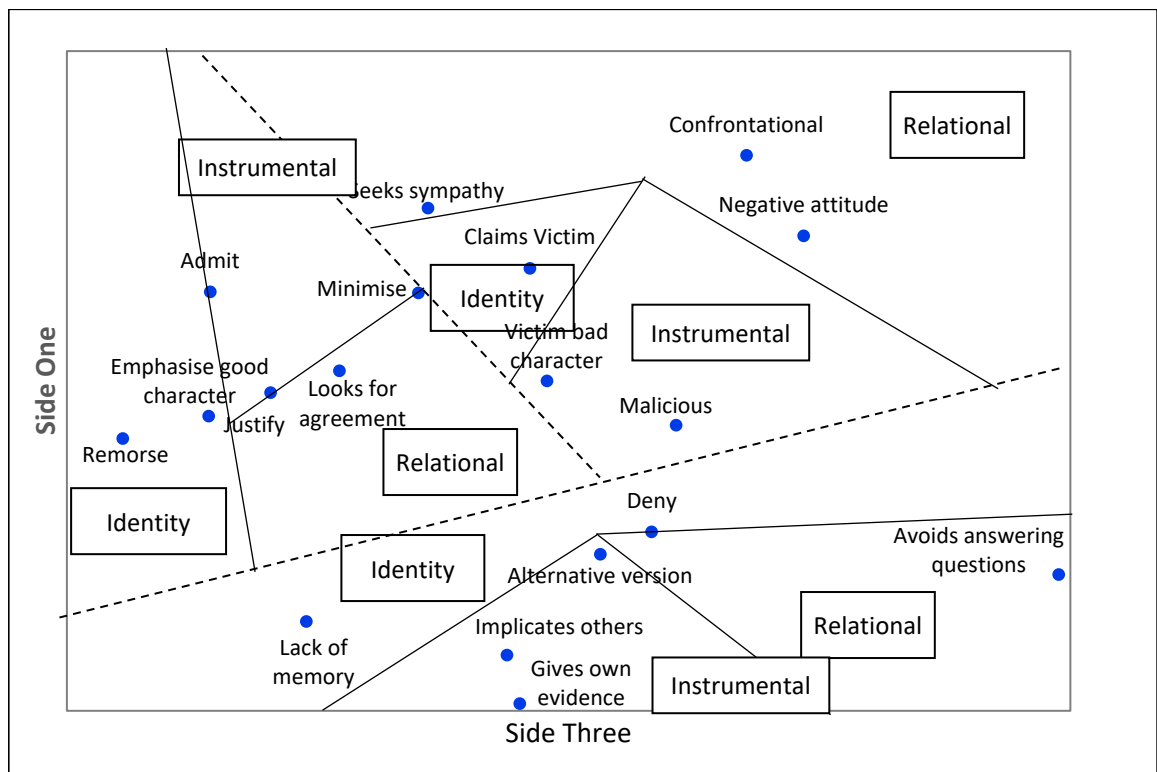


Figure 4.3: Dimensions one and three of a Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews with regional interpretations showing Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant behavioural styles, and Identity, Instrumental and Relational motivations.

Figure 4.3 demonstrates that each behavioural style contains the same three motivations. For example, the region in the bottom right of the plot (Avoidant-Relational) represents suspects who were *avoiding* interaction with the interviewer by not answering questions. Whereas the top right of the plot (Antagonistic-Relational) represents suspects who were more engaging with the interviewer but in an *antagonistic* way by demonstrating a *Negative Attitude* and being *Confrontational*. The centre-left of the plot (Compliant-Relational) represents suspects who were engaging with the interviewer in a more cooperative way by *looking for agreement* from the interviewer.

Table 4.2 and Figure 4.3 also indicate that there is a preference for a particular motivation within each behavioural style based on the number of strategies for that motivation. In the *Avoidant behaviour style*, there are three strategies related to the Instrumental motivation compared to only two for Identity and one for Relational. In the *Antagonistic*

behavioural style, there are three strategies for Relational, two for Instrumental and one for Identity. In the *Compliant behavioural style*, there are three strategies related to the Identity motivation, two for Instrumental and one for Relational.

The final facet included in Taylor's model considers the intensity of each suspect strategy based on its position in the plot and how far it is from the centre of the configuration. This final facet would entail interpreting and partitioning the SSA using a *radial* approach which interprets variables at the centre of the SSA as most closely associated with each other and variables in the outer part of the SSA as less associated with each other. Combining a *radial* interpretation with the *axial* and *angular* interpretation outlined above produces what Borg and Shye (1995) describe as a Cylindrex and is the method for interpreting the SSA used by Taylor (2002). To explore Taylor's (2002) final facet, an alternative projection of the three-dimensional plot was produced to visualize the plot from a different angle. A two-dimensional view of sides two and three of the plot (Figures 4.2 and 4.3 present sides one and three of the plot) is presented in Figure 4.4

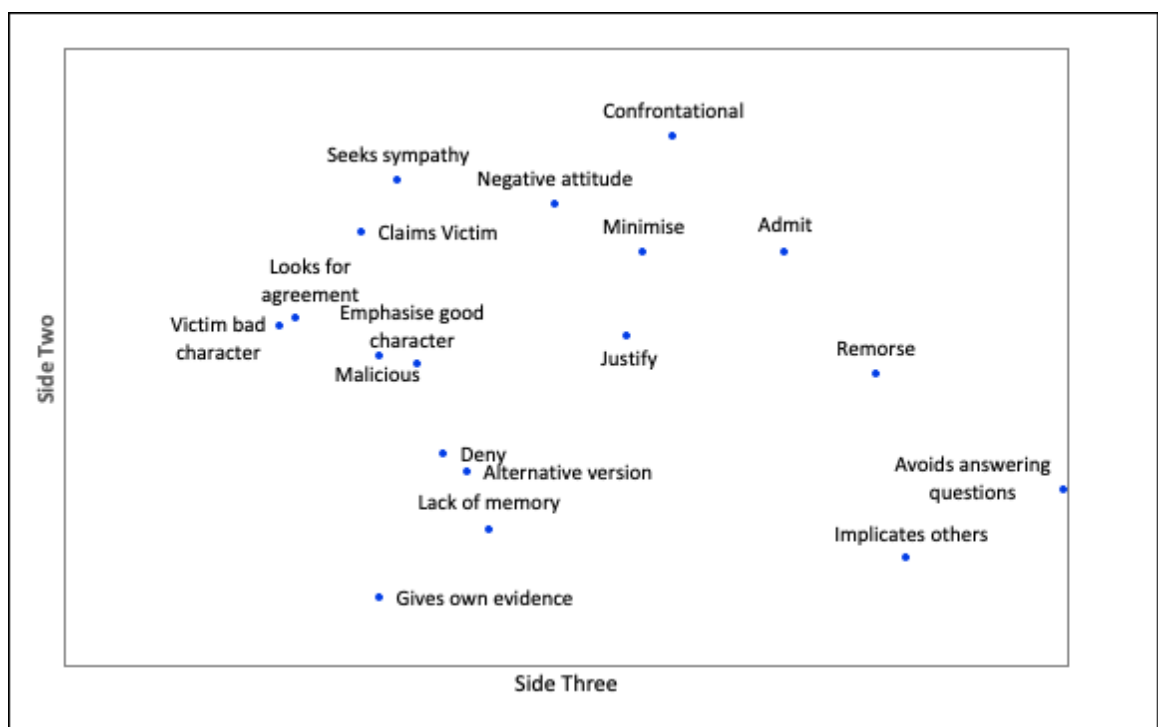
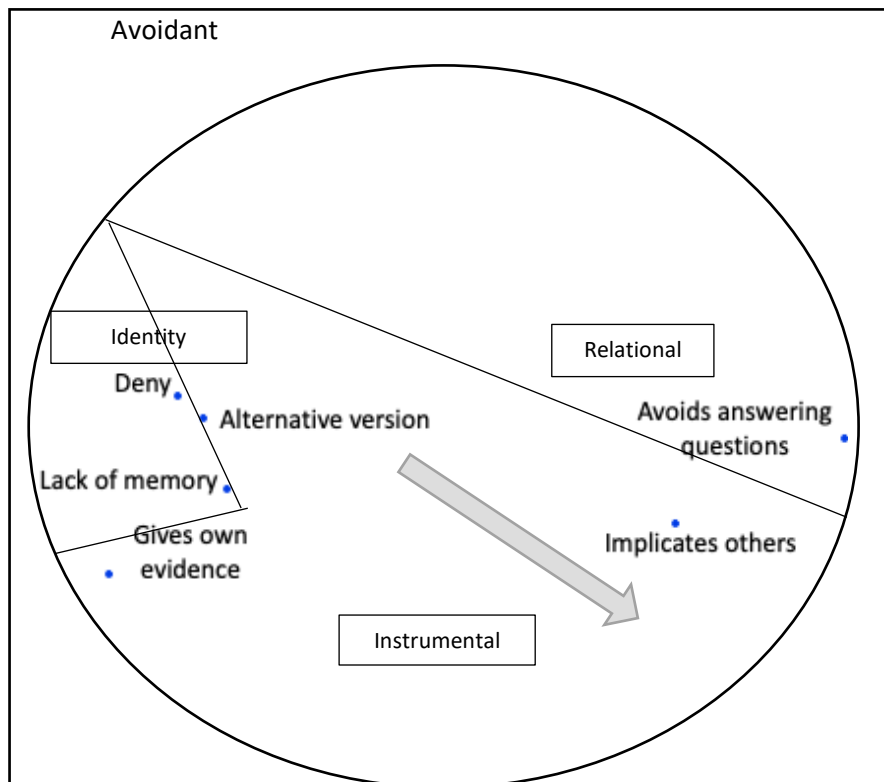
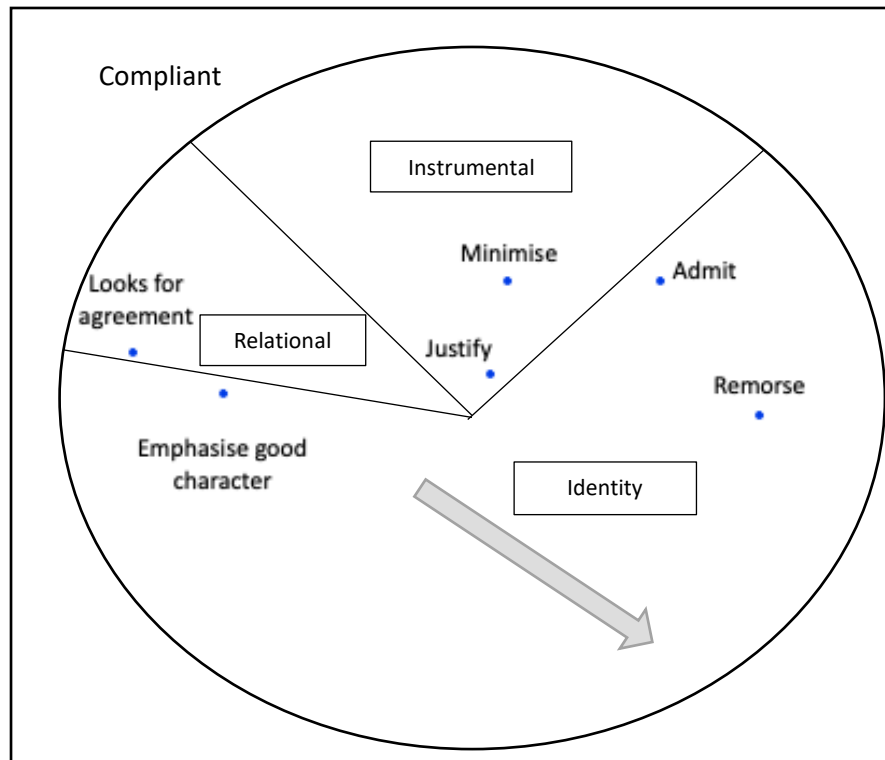
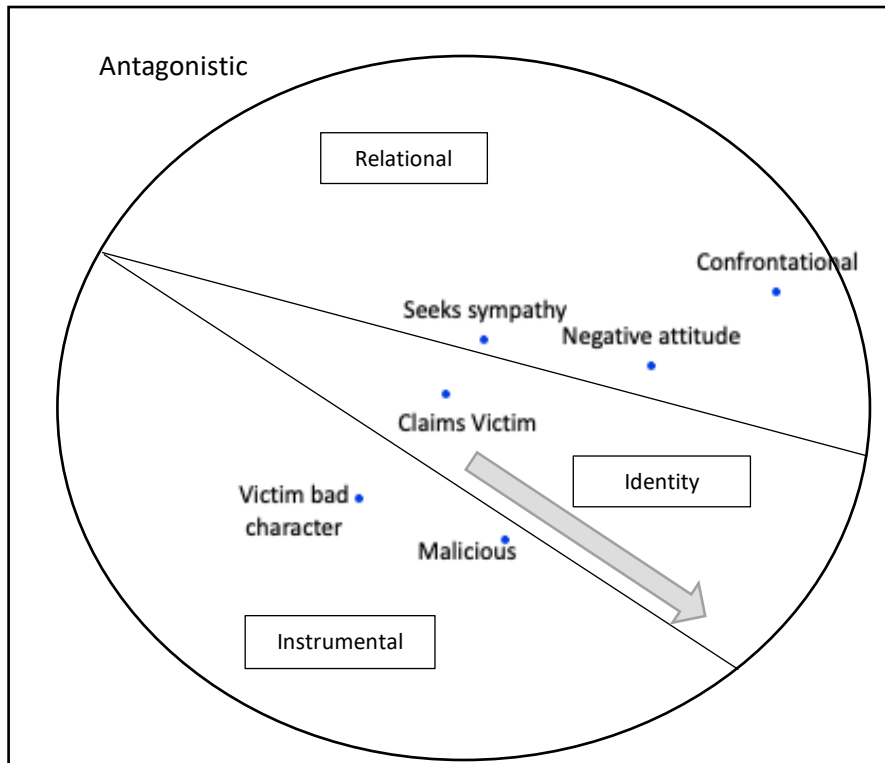


Figure 4.4: Dimensions two and three of a Smallest Space Analysis of suspect behaviour observed in 146 interviews.

For clarity, figure 4.4. has been broken down into each behavioural style – Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant and presented in Figures 4.5 to 4.7. Each figure has been overlaid with the three motivational styles – Identity, Instrumental and Relational. An arrow has been added to each figure to denote how the intensity of each strategy should be considered based on how far away it is from the centre of the plot.





Figures 4.5-4.7. Dimensions two and three of the SSA configuration showing the motivation facet, and the intensity facet depicted using an arrow. The configuration has been divided into Avoidant (top), Antagonistic (middle) and Compliant (bottom) levels of interaction.

On the basis that the variables in the centre of each facet are more closely associated with each other, the variables on the outside of the facet are therefore least associated with other variables. Using Taylor's (2003) analysis, Figure 4.5 indicates that for the *Avoidant* facet the more extreme strategies used by suspects were to *Avoid answering questions* (to give 'no comment') and to *Implicate others*, as these sit further away from the main cluster of strategies. For the *Antagonistic* facet (Figure 4.6) the more extreme variables were *Confrontational*, *Malicious* and *Victim bad character*. Finally, for the *Compliant* facet (Figure 4.7) the more extreme variables were to show *Remorse*, *Look for agreement* and *Emphasise Good Character*. The classification of strategies at the edge of the Avoidant and Antagonistic behavioural styles as extreme makes intuitive sense (e.g. an Avoidant suspect resorts to not answering any further questions or an Antagonistic suspect resorts to becoming Confrontational). However the strategies found at the edge of the Compliant behavioural style do not intuitively reflect extreme suspect behaviour.

Discussion

This chapter applied Taylor's (2003) Hostage Cylindrical Model as a lens over the model of suspect behaviour presented in Chapter Three and two of the three facets of Taylor's model (interaction and motivation) fitted well but the third (intensity) did not. The three main behavioural styles (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant) were thematically similar to those presented by Taylor and each strategy within these behavioural styles could be further divided into three motivational facets – Identity, Instrumental, and Relational. The third facet – intensity of strategy use – did not map as easily onto the current data indicating that strategies at the edges of the SSA merely represent strategies that are used less frequently rather than reflecting a specific theoretical construct. The lack of support for the third facet could be due to a number of differences between Taylor's research and this thesis. This thesis recorded much fewer strategies compared to Taylor (2003) and only kept strategies in for further analysis if they

frequently occurred. As more intensive behaviours tend to occur less frequently, it may be that the more intensive strategies were not recorded or taken forward for further analysis.

As outlined in the introduction, Abbe and Brandon (2013) highlighted one of the benefits of applying Taylor's model to police interviews is to think of an interview as a negotiation where the interviewer is attempting to persuade the suspect to engage, to disclose, or admit to the offence. By applying Taylor's model to the data presented in this thesis, this chapter expands on the negotiation perspective further by considering negotiation from the suspect's point of view and proposes that suspect behaviour can be seen in terms of how they *negotiate* the attribution of blame made against them.

In Chapter Three, Goffman's (1959) theory of social identity was put forward to explain that suspects will use strategies to try and manage the impression others have of them in a similar way to what Taylor (2003) proposed. However, by applying Taylor's motivational facet to the suspect strategies, this chapter proposes that suspect strategies can be categorised into two further motivations: Instrumental and Relational and that each strategy can be placed into one of nine communicative styles a suspect can use at any given point (the combination of the three interactional styles and the three motivational styles). In Chapter Three these strategies were identified as *generally* representing the behavioural style they fitted in with one or two strategies given as examples of managing their identity. This study has also tentatively proposed that a particular behavioural style may be more associated with a particular motivation. Suspects using an Avoidant behavioural style tended to show an Instrumental motivation, suspects using an Antagonistic behavioural style tended to show a Relational motivation and suspects using a Compliant behavioural style tended to show an Identity motivation. These findings make intuitive sense. Suspects who admit to the offence (Compliant) are more likely to be concerned with restoring their self-image (Identity) after admitting to an undesirable act. Suspects trying to convince an interviewer that someone else is to blame (Antagonistic) may be more likely to try and build a relationship with an interviewer to persuade them (Relational)

that they are telling the truth. Finally, a suspect who rejects or avoids discussing blame (Avoidant) may be less focussed on internal (expressive) goals and more focused on external (instrumental) goals to minimise losses and maximise gains.

Chapter Three found that some suspects did not show a preference for a particular behavioural style and others preferred a combination of two behavioural styles. By applying Taylor's (2003) model this study suggests that whilst suspects may begin with a particular behavioural style in mind (e.g. to be avoidant) their behaviour can change throughout the interview, and based on Taylor's research findings, this may be largely due to the interaction during the course of the interview between the suspect and interviewer. This is explored in more detail in Chapter Six.

Limitations

The main limitations of the present study were in *how* Taylor's (2003) Hostage Cylindrical Model was applied to the current dataset. The coding of each strategy into one of three motivations has not been reliability tested and requires further research to fully test these coding decisions. More broadly, both Taylor's cylindrical model and this thesis have assumed motivation or intent through the definitions of each coded strategy. For example, the strategy *Seeks Sympathy* is defined in the current study as 'Suspect says something which might gain sympathy from others' (for example, "I just wanted to spoil my little girl for Christmas") (see definitions in Appendix I). Taylor (2003) defines the strategy *PosSelf* (promoting self-worth) as "Boasting about personal superiority over the other party in terms of ability or situation" (p. 123). It is difficult to fully know whether the motivation is correct without directly asking suspects why they used certain strategies and, even then, suspects may not fully know or be honest if asked.

Interpreting the SSA to identify a cylindrical model of suspect behaviour which is similar to Taylor's model is based on the regionality hypothesis proposed by Shye (1978) which is

discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. The regionality of variables requires both an empirical (through the correlational-coefficient) and theoretical (cylindrical model) justification (Guttman & Greenbaum, 1998). However, the model still required human interpretation of the analysis and therefore needs to be independently tested.

The coding scheme developed by Taylor (2003) shared some similarity with the coding scheme used in this chapter, but the method used to develop the coding scheme differed. Taylor (2003) coded every word uttered and divided these into what he termed interaction 'episodes' and 'thought units' which may have resulted in a more exhaustive list of strategies than those used in the current study. Chapter Six addresses this limitation through coding all utterances made by a suspect in one interview. The focus of behaviour in Taylor's (2003) model was on the negotiator rather than the hostage-taker albeit it was then also applied to all forms of interaction during a hostage incident. As a result, Taylor's model is also a model of communication, covering the interaction between both hostage-taker and suspect. Further analysis of the model of suspect behaviour proposed in this chapter should also consider the interviewer's behaviour and particularly how it might influence the suspect's behaviour. This is explored in Chapter Six.

The cylinder model is based on what Taylor (2002) describes as conflict situations (simulated and real hostage negotiations and divorce mediations). In this context, one would expect most interactions to begin avoidant or competitive rather than cooperative as, if they were cooperative, there would be little need for a negotiator or mediator. Research has generally shown that police interviews are largely cooperative in nature (e.g. Baldwin, 1993) and most interviews would not be described as a 'conflict situation'. This may explain why the third facet (Intensity) was not supported in the present study as if the interviews contained less conflict, suspects may be less likely to show extreme forms of behaviour.

Implications

Taylor (2014) proposes that interviewers can change their behaviour to match the motivations of the suspects (known as style matching) to help move a suspect to become more cooperative. By adding the motivational facet to the existing theory of suspect behaviour, this study suggests that interviewers may be able to use motivation to understand *how* to turn a suspect from uncooperative to cooperative by meeting the suspect's goals through the interviewer's own behaviour. This is explored in more detail in Chapter Six and the implications of how this model could be applied by police interviewers is explored in more detail in Chapter Seven.

Conclusion

The model of suspect behaviour identified in this thesis is similar to the Hostage Cylindrical Model developed by Taylor (2003). The model of suspect behaviour conceptualises, in a three-dimensional space, how suspects communicate in a police-suspect interview based on how they negotiate the attribution of blame. Suspects who refuse to accept blame are more likely to be avoidant and uncooperative in their communication style. Suspects who blame others for what happened are more likely to be antagonistic in their communication style and suspects who accept blame are more likely to be cooperative in their communication style. By applying Taylor's model to the data, a second facet to each of the three behavioural styles was identified and proposed a motivational basis for each strategy labelled Instrumental, Relational and Identity. The next Chapter explores whether the characteristics of the case (such as a suspect's age or criminal history) impact on the suspect's use of strategies during the interview.

Chapter Five – Case Characteristics and Suspect Behaviour

Abstract

The combined data from Chapter Three (N = 146) were analysed to understand whether suspect behaviour differed as a function of case characteristics. The suspect's individual socio-demographic (age, gender, ethnicity, vulnerability), criminological (criminal history, offence type, and co-defendant) and wider contextual (legal advice and interview outcome) variables were recorded and compared with strategies from the three behavioural styles of suspect behaviour identified in the previous chapters (Compliant, Antagonistic, and Avoidant). The main significant effects were found for suspects using the Antagonistic behavioural style. Older, white British suspects, and suspects arrested for domestic offences were more likely to use Antagonistic strategies. Suspects who were arrested for violent offences and cautioned or who did not use a Legal Advisor were more likely to use the Compliant behavioural style. Suspects who used the Avoidant behavioural style were more likely to be younger and more likely to receive No Further Action. The results indicate that certain case characteristics seem to be associated with how a suspect will behave during an interview, however the relationship is most pronounced for suspects who use an Antagonistic behavioural style.

Introduction

This study sought to understand whether suspect behaviour differed as a function of case characteristics. In Chapter Three, the focus of analysis was on the behaviour displayed by suspects during interviews, but the background characteristics of the case were also recorded. These included individual socio-demographic (age, gender, ethnicity, and whether the suspect was vulnerable), criminological (criminal history, offence type, and presence of a co-defendant) and wider contextual (legal advice, interview duration and interview outcome) variables. There is an extensive amount of research examining the impact of case characteristics on suspect behaviour, however it has predominantly focussed on two dichotomies of behaviour: whether a

suspect admits or denies and whether a suspect talks or uses his/her right to silence (see Deslauriers-Varin, Lussier, & St-Yves, 2011 for a review). This research is briefly reviewed before outlining some of the limitations of this research and how the current study overcame these issues. More recent research on suspect behaviour is presented before outlining the aim of the current study to identify whether case characteristics were a function of more complex suspect behaviour in the form of suspect strategies.

The impact of case characteristics on suspect behaviour

Research has consistently shown that the strength of evidence against the suspect has had the most impact on the suspect's decision to confess (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Kebbell, Hurren & Roberts, 2006; Moston, Stephenson & Williamson, 1992; Phillips & Brown, 1998; Softley, et al., 1980; Soukara, Bull, Vrij, Turner & Cherryman, 2009). Research has also consistently shown that suspects who received legal advice were significantly less likely to confess (Brown, 1997; Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Moston et al. 1992; Pearse, Gudjonsson, Clare & Rutter, 1998; Philips & Brown, 1998) and significantly more likely to remain silent (Baldwin, 1992; Moston, Stephenson & Williamson, 1993). Beyond these two variables, the relationship between suspect behaviour and the remaining case characteristics is more complex.

In terms of individual socio-demographic variables (age, gender, ethnicity, and vulnerability of the suspects), research has found that younger suspects were more likely to confess than older suspects (Baldwin & McConville, 1980; Bucke & Brown, 1997; Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Moston et al. 1992; Moston et al. 1993; Pearse et al. 1998, Philips & Brown, 1998; Softley et al. 1980) but others have found no relationship between age and confession (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Leo, 1996; Neubauer, 1974). Only two studies found differences based on the ethnicity or gender of the suspect with white males found to be more likely to confess than other ethnicities and women were more likely to confess than men (Bucke & Brown, 1997; Philips & Brown, 1998; Leo, 1996). The majority of research has found no ethnicity

differences (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Neubauer, 1974; Pearse et al. 1998) nor gender differences (e.g. Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Leo, 1996; Moston et al. 1992; 1993; Neubauer, 1974; Pearse et al. 1998). Despite a large body of research that has examined vulnerable suspects, the majority of this research has focussed on why a suspect may falsely confess rather than how these vulnerabilities may affect the strategies a suspect uses during an interview (see Gudjonsson, 2003 for a review). Two studies which have specifically looked at suspect behaviour found no differences in admissions between suspects with mental health issues and those without (Pearse et al. 1998; Philips & Brown, 1998).

When analysing Criminological Characteristics (criminal history, offence type and presence of co-defendants), research has generally found that suspects with a criminal background were less likely to confess (Neubauer, 1974; Pearse et al. 1998; Softley, 1980). This is particularly the case when the suspect has also received legal advice and when the evidence against the suspect was strong (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Moston et al. 1992). However, other studies reported the opposite finding (Baldwin & McConville, 1980; Mitchell, 1983). Research has generally shown that suspects with a criminal history were also more likely to exercise their right to silence (Leo, 1996²³; Moston et al. 1993; Pearse et al. 1998; Philips & Brown, 1998). The relationship between the type of crime a suspect has been arrested for and whether they confessed is complicated with some researchers finding confession rates differed depending on crime type (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Mitchell, 1983; Neubauer, 1974; Sigurdsson & Gudjonsson, 1994) and others found no difference (Leo, 1996; Moston et al. 1992). Even when a significant relationship has been found, the findings were mixed with some researchers finding suspects were more likely to confess if arrested for a non-violent or property offence (Mitchell, 1983; Neubauer, 1974), others found more confessions in those arrested for drug offences (Sigurdsson & Gudjonsson, 1994), whereas others still have found fewer

²³ Leo (1996) found that suspects with a criminal record were more likely to invoke their Miranda rights which is their right to remain silent and their right to have a legal an attorney present during the interrogation.

confessions from suspects arrested for drug offences (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011). There is very little research on the role of a co-defendant has on a suspect's behaviour. Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson, (1994) found that suspects were more likely to confess if there was a co-defendant.

Research has also examined factors affecting the final outcome of an interview, specifically the decision to charge, bail, caution, or release a suspect without charge.

Unsurprisingly, most research has found that suspects were more likely to be charged if they admitted to the offence and more likely to be released if they did not admit (Leo, 1996; Moston et al. 1993; Softley et al. 1980). Surprisingly, research both in the UK and US has found that suspects who use their right to silence (invoked their Miranda rights in the US) were more likely to be charged (Leo, 1996; Moston et al. 1993), whereas other research has found the opposite (Neubauer, 1974). A summary of the key findings on the relationship between case characteristics and whether a suspect confesses are presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Summary of research findings on the relationship between case characteristics and whether a suspect confesses/admits with an overall trend based on these findings

Study	Socio-demographic variables				Criminological variables			Wider contextual variables		
	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Vulnerable	Criminal history	Co-defendant	Offence type	Legal Rep	Strength of evidence	Interview outcome
Baldwin & McConville (1980)			↓		↑					
Brown (1997) review								↓		
Bucke & Brown (1997)	Women ↑	White ↑	↓							
Deslauriers-Varin et al. (2011)	ns	ns	ns		↓		Drug ↓	↓	↑	
Gudjonsson & Petursson (1991)			↓						↑	
Kebbell et al. (2006)									↑	
Leo (1996)	ns	White ↑	ns		Ns		ns	↓		Charged ↑
Mitchell (1983)					↑		Non-violent ↑			
Moston et al. (1992)	ns		↓		↓		ns	↓	↑	
Moston et al. (1993)	ns		↓							Charged ↑
Neubauer (1974)	ns	ns	ns		↓		Non-violent ↑			
Pearse et al. (1998)	ns	ns	↓	Ns	↓			↓		
Philips & Brown (1998)	Women ↑	White ↑	↓	Ns	Ns			↓	↑	
Sigurdsson & Gudjonsson (1994)						↑	Drug ↑			
Softley et al. (1980)			↓		↓				↑	Charged ↑
Soukara et al. (2009)									↑	
Overall trend	Ns	?	↓	Ns	?	?	?	↓	↑	↑

ns = not significant

Table 5.1 shows that the most consistent relationships between confessions and case characteristics are found in the wider contextual variables. A clear and consistent relationship has been found between a suspect's use of a Legal Advisor as well as the strength of evidence against the suspect and whether they confess. The table also shows that suspects who confess are more likely to be charged. The relationship between Criminological variables and confessions is the most contradictory, particularly when comparing a suspect's criminal history or the offence they were arrested for and rates of confessions. The weakest relationships can be found in the socio-demographic variables which, with the exception of age that has consistently negatively correlated with confessions, have been found in the majority of studies to have no relationship with confession rates.

A summary of the relationship between case characteristics and whether a suspect remains silent are shown in Table 5.2. Only the studies and case characteristics measured are contained in the table.

Table 5.2: Summary of research findings on the relationship between case characteristics and whether a suspect remains silent

Study	Criminological variables		Wider contextual variables	
	Criminal history		Legal Advisor	Interview outcome
Baldwin (1992)			↑	
Leo (1996)	↑			Charged ↑
Moston et al. (1993)	↑		↑	Charged ↑
Neubauer (1974)				Charged ↓
Pearse et al. (1998)	↑			
Philips & Brown (1998)	↑			

Table 5.2 shows that the relationship between case characteristics and whether a suspect remains silent is more consistent compared to confessions. Research has consistently shown that suspects with a criminal history and those who use a Legal Advisor are more likely to remain silent. The only contradictory finding is with the outcome of the interview with Neubauer (1974) finding that suspects were less likely to be charged if they remained silent.

Some of the conflicting results summarised in Table 5.1 have been attributed to differences in how each measure has been defined and coded. The next section outlines the key methodological issues with past research and explains how the present study addressed them.

Methodological Issues

Whilst the case characteristics explored in previous research were predominantly objective measures and therefore can be reliably coded (e.g. gender, age), some of the variables were more complex to define. Three variables in particular have varied in terms of how they have been measured and recorded: offence type, interview outcome and weight of evidence.

The same offences have been grouped into different 'offence types' depending on the study. For example, Neubauer (1974) coded robbery and narcotics as 'person offences' whereas Moston et al. (1992; 1993) coded robbery as a 'property offence' and narcotics as a 'drug offence'. More recently, UK law has begun to differentiate between domestic²⁴ and non-domestic violence but only a handful of studies have made this distinction (e.g. Philips & Brown, 1998). The coding of offences is further compounded when considering the motivation for committing the offence. For example, a suspect arrested for criminal damage for a broken window could have committed the crime to gain access to a laptop on the table; because he/she was retaliating for a neighbour dispute; or because he/she was trying to gain entry into his/her ex-partner's house. The motivation behind the offence differs in all three scenarios and this difference in motivation could impact on the behaviour of the suspect during the interview. The present study ensured that the coding of offence type was clearly defined, and also accounted for the motivation behind the offence by including details of the relationship between the suspect and the victim. A description of how each offence type was coded can be found in Chapter Two.

²⁴ Domestic violence - defined as an offence where there is 'controlling or coercive behaviour in intimate or familial relationships' (see https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/482528/Controlling_or_coercive_behaviour_-_statutory_guidance.pdf)

The way in which the outcome of the interview has been coded can also vary. For example, Moston et al. (1992) coded police bail as part of being released without charge, whereas recent statistics show that just over half of suspects on police bail are ultimately charged for the offence²⁵. To understand whether the outcome of the interview is impacted by suspect behaviour, police bail was considered as a separate category in the current study.

Despite the 'weight of evidence' being the strongest predictor in how a suspect will behave during a police interview, this has also been one of the most complicated variables to define. Moston et al. (1992; 1993) coded this variable by asking interviewers whether they thought the weight of evidence against a suspect was weak, moderate or strong. The researchers acknowledge that the more important question is the suspect's (rather than the interviewer's) perception of the strength of evidence against them. Deslauriers-Varin et al. (2011) tried to address this by asking incarcerated offenders, after they had been convicted, for their perception of the strength of evidence against them, however this is still a subjective measure, given after the fact, and can only be applied to suspects who were convicted of their crime. This variable was therefore not included in the present study due to the difficulties in defining and coding.

Whilst the research outlined above has identified some relationships between suspect behaviour and case characteristics, many of the relationships identified have not been replicated and some are even contradictory. The conflicting findings may be due to the over-simplification of suspect behaviour (e.g. admit or deny). The next section explores research which has looked at more complex suspect behaviour in the form of strategies.

Wider suspect behaviour

As outlined in Chapters One and Two, a number of studies have identified that suspects vary considerably in how they behave during an interview and rather than just admitting or denying, talking or remaining silent, suspects use a range of strategies that can impact on how

²⁵ For the eventual outcome of Bail see (http://www.college.police.uk/News/College-news/Documents/College_of_Policing_Pre-charge_Bail_Briefing.pdf accessed on 040817).

they are dealt with by the interviewer (e.g. Alison, et al. 2013; Alison, et al. 2014a,b) or, in a laboratory setting, may indicate whether they are lying or telling the truth (e.g. Hartwig, et al. 2014). The findings reported in Chapters Three demonstrated that suspects consistently use 18 strategies which can be grouped into three behavioural styles (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant). These behavioural styles differentiated suspect behaviour in terms of the level of cooperation they showed towards the interviewer and in how they managed the attribution of blame. Considering suspect behaviour in terms of the overall style of engagement (Avoidant, Antagonistic or Compliant) may overcome some of the conflicting research findings and result in a clearer relationship between the variables. For example, the conflicting findings when comparing crime type and confession rates may be better explained by identifying that suspects arrested for particular crimes will take a particular approach to how they behave during the interview (such as being Compliant, Avoidant or Antagonistic). This finding could also inform police interview planning and help develop effective methods for recognising, preparing for, and potentially countering, common strategies used by suspects.

The majority of the research cited above²⁶ was carried out before a number of changes took place in UK police interviewing practices. For example, some of the studies were carried out prior to the PACE Act (1984) or the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994), as well as the introduction of the PEACE model for structuring interviews in 1991. Suspect behaviour is likely to be impacted as a result of these changes. For example, Bucke and Brown (1997) found that there was a reduction in suspects using their right to silence after the introduction of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) which meant that jurors could draw adverse inferences from a suspect's use of silence.

In summary, the present study provided a different approach to identifying the impact of case characteristics on suspect behaviour by focussing on the strategies used by suspects during

²⁶ with the exception of Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Leo, 1996; and Neubauer (1974) which were carried out in North America which uses a different legal system

a police interview. The study addressed the question of whether the characteristics of the case influence the extent to which suspects are Avoidant, Antagonistic or Compliant in interviews. Given the dearth of literature on suspect strategies, this study did not attempt to set hypotheses for how the characteristics might impact on suspect behaviour.

Method

The data from studies one (n = 66) and two (n = 80) were combined with two cases removed (one from each study) due to missing data on the interview duration leaving a total sample size of N = 144.

Descriptive statistics

Table 5.3: Frequency and percentage of case characteristics for the whole sample (N = 144)

	Male	81% (n = 117)
	White British	79% (n = 113)
Socio-demographic (N = 144)	Average age (median)	26 years
	Age range	14-57 years
	Vulnerable	45% (n = 65)
	Known to the police	79% (n = 114)
Criminological (N = 144)	Co-defendants	36% (n = 52)
	Violent offence	31% (n = 45)
	Theft/Deceit offence	23% (n = 33)
	Domestic Offence	29% (n = 41)
	Other offences	17% (n = 25)
	Legal Advisor present	54% (n = 78)
Wider Contextual (N = 144)	Interview duration range	4-150 minutes
	Average interview time	22 minutes
	No further action (NFA)	17% (n = 24)
Interview outcome (N = 142²⁷)	Caution	13% (n = 19)
	Bailed	40% (n = 58)
	Charged	27% (n = 39)
	Fixed Penalty Notice (FPN)	1% (n = 2)

²⁷ Two cases (again one from each study) had missing data on the outcome of the interview. As this only formed a small part of the analysis, these cases were kept in the sample.

As shown in Table 5.3, the majority of the sample consisted of white, male suspects in their mid-twenties. Just under half of the sample had some form of vulnerability which was broken down into a mental health issue (20%, n = 29) a young person (<18 years old) (13%, n = 19), being a foreign national (12%, n = 17), having a learning difficulty (1%, n = 1), or other (5%, n = 7²⁸).

The majority of the sample were known to the police having previously been a suspect (79%, n = 114) and just over a third of the sample (n = 52) had co-defendants. The most common type of offence was violent (31%, n = 45) closely followed by domestic (29%, n = 41) offences. Other offences (17%, n = 25) mainly included drug related offences (n = 13) and driving offences (n = 8). Just over half of the sample had requested advice from a Legal Advisor (54%, n = 78). The most common outcome was to Bail the suspect (40%, n = 58), followed by Charging them (27%, n = 39) and No Further Action (NFA) (17%, n = 24). Only two participants received a Fixed Penalty Notice (FPN) therefore this was combined with Caution (13%, n = 19) for analysis.

Each behavioural style (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant) was not mutually exclusive as suspects used a range of strategies from all three behavioural styles therefore suspects were given a score based on the number of strategies used within each behavioural style. As the interview duration varied (ranged between 4 and 150 minutes), the number of strategies used by a suspect were divided by the duration of the interview in minutes to allow for the possibility that longer interviews were more likely to contain more strategies than shorter ones. The results are provided in the Table 5.4.

²⁸ Other vulnerabilities included drug or alcohol dependency (n = 4); epilepsy (n = 2 one participant was both epileptic and drug dependent); diabetes/insulin dependency (n = 1); history of heart attack (n = 1).

Table 5.4. Means, Medians and standard deviations for strategy use across the whole sample (N = 144).

Behavioural style (6 strategies per style)	Number of strategies used			Number of strategies used per minute of interview		
	Median	Mean	SD	Median	Mean	SD
Avoidant	2 (33%)	2.5	1.6	.11	.12	.09
Antagonistic	1 (17%)	1.7	1.7	.06	.07	.09
Compliant	3 (50%)	2.6	1.8	.11	.13	.12

As shown in Table 5.4, suspects used most strategies from the Compliant and Avoidant behavioural styles and fewest strategies from the Antagonistic behavioural style.

The number of strategies used per interview, grouped by behavioural style (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant) and controlling for interview duration were the dependent variables (DV) for this study. For ease these are referred to as Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant behavioural styles for the remainder of the chapter.

Data Screening

Prior to carrying out the analysis, the DVs were analysed to check for univariate and multivariate normality. Box plots for each DV revealed that they were not normally distributed therefore indicating violations of the assumptions of multivariate normality. The Avoidant behavioural style had a total of eight outliers (+/- 2 SD from the mean) two of which were extreme outliers (+/- 3 SD from the mean). The Antagonistic behavioural style had three outliers, one of which was extreme, the Compliant behavioural style had seven outliers, two of which were extreme outliers. Two outliers were found in more than one DV resulting in a total of 16 outlier cases.

The raw data for these 16 cases was reviewed and no data entry nor coding errors were identified. There were some differences when comparing the outliers with the whole sample. The outliers were less likely to be arrested for domestic offences (13%, n = 2 compared to 29%, n = 41), more likely to use a Legal Advisor (75%, n = 12 compared to 54%, n = 78), more likely to be

cautioned (31%, $n = 5$ compared to 13%, $n = 19$) and less likely to be bailed (19%, $n = 3$ compared to 40%, $n = 58$). However, the most startling difference between the two samples was the average interview duration (8.2 minutes compared to 22 minutes). The average number of strategies used for all three behavioural styles was lower for the 16 outliers compared to the total sample but when comparing strategy use by interview duration the average strategy use was much higher for the outliers compared to the sample as a whole, particularly for the Avoidant behavioural style ($m = .25$ compared to $.12$) and Compliant behavioural style ($m = .30$ compared to $.13$). The difference in interview duration and strategy use by interview duration suggested that these cases were outliers because the amount of strategies used within the short interviews resulted in the 'strategy use by interview duration' being higher compared to the rest of the sample. As these are real world data, these cases were retained for the remainder of the analysis, but all analyses were carried out twice, once with and once without these 16 cases. Any differences in the findings as a result of removing these cases are highlighted in the relevant section. A table summarising the full results can be found in the Appendix J.

Results

The results are broken down into the three case characteristics (individual socio-demographic, criminological, and wider contextual) and the outcome of the interview. A series of between-subjects' multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were carried out for each independent factor (case characteristics) and all three dependent variables (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant behavioural styles). Where the data violated the assumptions of multivariate analysis (e.g. Box's Test of Equality of Covariance) the 16 outliers discussed above were removed and the same multivariate analysis was run again. Where the data continued to violate the assumptions of multivariate analysis, bivariate non-parametric analysis (Kruskal Wallace) was carried out to compare each independent variable (case characteristics) with each dependent variable (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant) in turn. The independent variable

'Age' was the only continuous variable and was therefore analysed separately using non-parametric correlation coefficient analysis (Spearman's Rho). The multiple dependent variables in the form of suspect strategies meant that regression analysis was not possible. The results therefore cannot test whether any significant findings are the result of factors inter-correlating with each other. The dependent variables are made up of individual suspect strategies therefore any significant relationships between suspect behavioural styles and case characteristics may be the result of a dominant suspect strategy within the behavioural style. These issues are addressed in more detail in the discussion.

Individual socio-demographic characteristics

A series of between-subjects' multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were carried out for each independent factor (Gender, Ethnicity, Vulnerability) with the three behavioural styles (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant) as dependent variables. The means and standard deviations for each socio-demographic variable are presented in Table 5.5. The multivariate effect of Gender was not significant, $F(3,140) = 0.69, p = 0.56$. The multivariate effect of Ethnicity was significant, $F(3,124) = 3.17, p < 0.05$. Inspection of the univariate ANOVA showed that Ethnicity was significantly different for suspects using Antagonistic strategies $F(1,126) = 9.03, p < 0.01$ and an analysis of the mean scores indicated that non-white British suspects were significantly less likely to use Antagonistic strategies. The multivariate effect of Vulnerability was not significant, $F(3,140) = .86, p = 0.47$. Vulnerability included being a Foreign National, a Young Person or having Mental Health issues. As these variables are qualitatively different, they may have a different impact on the behaviour of the suspect therefore these variables were each compared with the three dependent variables. The multivariate effect of being a Foreign National was not significant, $F(3,124) = 2.28, p = 0.08$. However, inspection of the univariate ANOVA showed that being a Foreign National was significantly different for suspects using Antagonistic strategies $F(1,126) = 5.24, p < 0.05$ and an analysis of the mean scores indicated that Foreign National suspects were significantly less likely to use Antagonistic strategies. The

multivariate effect of Mental Health was not significant, $F(3,124) = 2.12, p = 0.1$. However, Inspection of the univariate ANOVA showed that Mental Health was significantly different for suspects using Antagonistic strategies $F(1,126) = 5.10, p < 0.05$ and an inspection of the mean scores indicated that suspects with mental health issues were significantly more likely to use Antagonistic strategies. The multivariate effect of being a Young Person was not significant, $F(3,140) = 1.85, p = 0.14$.

Table 5.5. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and socio-demographic variables.

Dependent Variables		Avoidant strategies by interview duration		Antagonistic strategies by interview duration		Compliant Strategies by interview duration		N
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Gender	Male	.12	.09	.07	.09	.13	.12	117
	Female	.14	.09	.07	.08	.15	.14	27
Ethnicity ^{a*}	White British	.11	.06	.08	.07	.11	.09	100
	Non-white British	.11	.05	.03**	.05	.11	.09	28
Vulnerability ^b	Yes	.12	.08	.06	.07	.13	.10	65
	No	.12	.10	.08	.10	.14	.14	79
Foreign national ^a	Yes	.10	.04	.03	.05	.13	.10	15
	No	.11	.06	.07*	.07	.11	.09	113
Young person	Yes	.15	.09	.03	.05	.13	.10	19
	No	.12	.09	.08	.09	.14	.12	125
Mental health ^a	Yes	.10	.07	.09*	.08	.12	.09	27
	No	.11	.06	.06	.07	.11	.09	101

^a N = 128. These variables violated the assumptions of running a MANOVA therefore the outliers were removed and the MANOVA was no longer violated. The figures reported excludes the outlier data.

^b This variable violated the assumptions of running a MANOVA even when the outliers were removed therefore the full data are presented here. A Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance of ranks was also carried out and the results were not significant for all three behavioural styles (Avoid $(X^2(1) = .07, p = .79)$, Antagonistic $(X^2(1) = .82, p = .37)$, Compliant $(X^2(1) = .01, p = .91)$).

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The independent variable Age was found to have a negative correlation with the use of Avoidant strategies ($r = -.13, p < .05$) and a positive correlation with the use of antagonistic

strategies ($r = .15, p < .05$). In other words, older suspects were less likely to use an Avoidant behavioural style and more likely to use an Antagonistic behavioural style.

Criminological characteristics²⁹

A series of between-subjects' multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were carried out for each independent factor (Known offender, Co-defendants, Offence type) with the three behavioural styles (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant) as dependent variables. The means and standard deviations for each dependent variable for the criminological factors are provided in Table 5.6. The category Other Offences was removed from the Offence Type variable for this analysis. Other offences was a catch-all category which included a range of offences (e.g. drug offences, driving offences, possession of firearms, immigration offences, etc.). Offences included in this category were therefore not meaningfully related whereas, as outlined in the introduction, offences in the other three categories were. Including the Other Offences into a comparison of the means across all four categories may obscure any significant findings overall.

Table 5.6. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and Criminological variables

Dependent Variables		Avoidant strategies by interview duration		Antagonistic strategies by interview duration		Compliant Strategies by interview duration		N
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Known Offender ^{a,b}	Yes	.11	.06	.07	.07	.11	.09	102
	No	.10	.06	.05	.06	.13	.08	25
Co-defendants ^a	Yes	.11	.06	.05	.05	.10	.09	47
	No	.10	.07	.08*	.08	.12	.09	81
Offence Type ^{c***}	Violent	.12	.09	.07	.07	.16*	.14	45
	Theft/Deceit	.12	.07	.04	.08	.09	.09	33
	Domestic	.11	.10	.12***	.07	.13	.10	41

²⁹ The offence type 'Other' was removed from further analysis. When included in the MANOVA the Box's M test for equality of covariance matrices and Levene's test of equality of error variance for the Compliant strategies were both significant ($p < 0.05$) therefore violating the assumptions of a MANOVA. This was still the case even when the 16 outliers were removed.

^a N = 128. This variable violated the assumptions of running a MANOVA therefore the outliers were removed and the MANOVA was no longer violated. The figures reported exclude the outlier data.

^b The offence history for one participant is unknown (N = 127).

^c The offence type 'Other' was removed from the analysis (N = 119).

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The multivariate effect of Known Offender was not significant, $F(3,123) = 1.22, p = 0.31$.

The multivariate effect of Co-defendants was not significant, $F(3,124) = 2.28, p = 0.08$.

A between-subjects multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was carried out for each the independent factor (Offence type) with the three behavioural styles (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant) as dependent variables. There was a statistically significant main effect of Offence type on strategy use: $F(6,230) = 4.77, p < .001$. Follow up univariate ANOVAs revealed significant differences between the type of offence suspects were arrested for and (i) their use of an Antagonistic behavioural style: $F(2, 116)=10.03, p < .001$, partial eta squared=.15 and (ii) their use of a Compliant behavioural style $F(2, 116)=3.5, p < .05$, partial eta squared=.06. Post hoc Bonferroni analysis revealed that suspects were more likely to use Antagonistic strategies if they were arrested for Domestic offences compared to Violent ($p < .01$), and Theft/deceit offences ($p < .001$) and suspects were more likely to use Compliant strategies if they were arrested for Violent offences compared to Theft/deceit offences ($p < .05$). The means and standard deviations for each behavioural style as a function of offence type are provided in Figure 5.1.

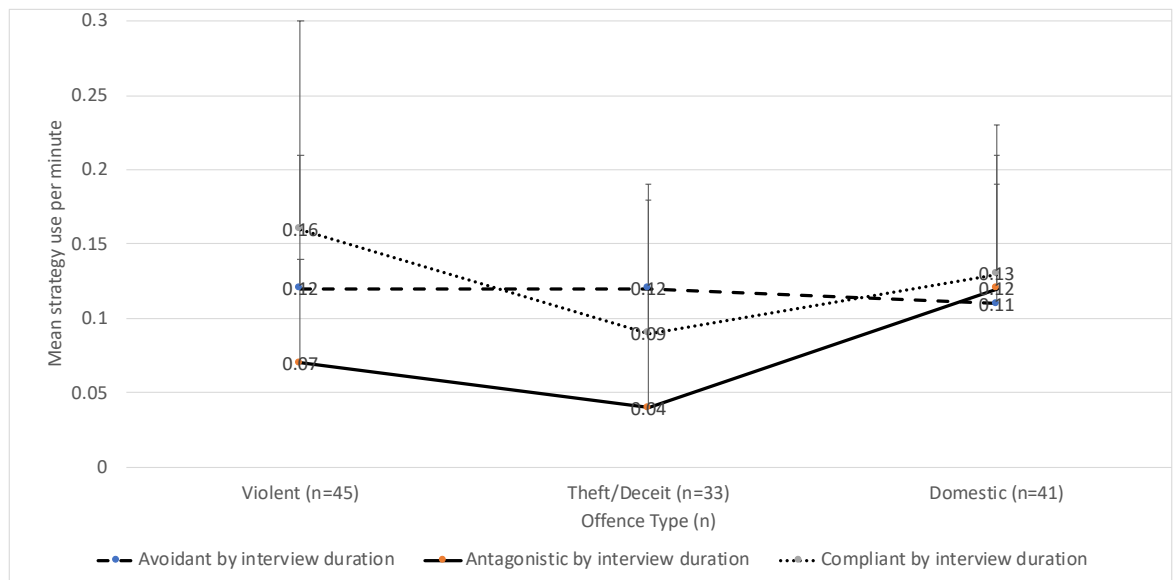


Figure 5.1: Means and standard deviations for the number of strategies used for each behavioural style as a function of offence type ($N = 119$).

As shown in Figure 5.1, there was little difference in the number of Avoidant strategies used during an interview across all three suspect behavioural styles. Suspects arrested for Domestic offences used more Antagonistic strategies than suspects arrested for Violent or Theft/deceit offences and suspects arrested for Violent offences used more Compliant strategies than suspects arrested for Theft/deceit offences.

Wider contextual characteristics

A between-subjects multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was carried out for the independent factor (Legal Advisor) with the three behavioural styles (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant) as the dependent variables. The means and standard deviations for each dependent variable are shown in Table 5.7.

Table 5 7. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and the suspect's use of a Legal Advisor

Dependent Variables	Avoidant strategies by interview duration		Antagonistic strategies by interview duration		Compliant Strategies by interview duration		N	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Legal Advisor used ^{a**}	Yes	.10	.06	.07	.08	.09	.09	66
	No	.11	.06	.07	.07	.14**	.08	62

^a N = 128. This variable violated the assumptions of running a MANOVA therefore the outliers were removed and the MANOVA was no longer violated. The figures reported exclude the outlier data.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The multivariate effect of using a Legal Advisor was significant, $F(3,124) = 4.39$, $p < 0.01$.

Inspection of the univariate ANOVA showed that Legal Advisor use was significantly different for suspects using Compliant strategies $F(1,126) = 10.63$, $p < 0.01$ and an analysis of the mean scores indicated that suspects who used a Legal Advisor were significantly less likely to use Compliant strategies.

Interview Outcome

A between-subjects multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was carried out for the Outcome of the interview (No Further Action (NFA), Caution/Fixed Penalty Notice (FPN), Bailed or Charged) as factor and the three behavioural styles (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant) as dependent variables. The means and standard deviations for each dependent variable are show in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and the outcome of the interview

Dependent Variables	Avoidant strategies by interview duration		Antagonistic strategies by interview duration		Compliant Strategies by interview duration			
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	N	
Outcome ^{a***}	NFA	.14*	.06	.10	.07	.10	.08	22
	Caution/FPN	.08	.05	.04	.08	.19**	.09	15
	Bailed	.10	.06	.06	.07	.08	.07	55
	Charged	.11	.06	.07	.07	.14	.09	34

^a N = 126. This variable violated the assumptions of running a MANOVA therefore the 16 outliers were removed and the MANOVA was no longer violated. The figures reported exclude the outlier.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The multivariate effect of interview Outcome was significant, $F(9,366) = 5.46, p < 0.001$. Inspection of the univariate ANOVAs showed that the Outcome was significantly different for suspects using Compliant $F(3,122) = 10.25, p < 0.001$ and Avoidant $F(3,122) = 4.11, p < 0.01$ behavioural styles but not for the Antagonistic $F(3,122) = 2.62, p = 0.054$ behavioural style. Post hoc Bonferroni analysis revealed that suspects who used a Compliant behavioural style were more likely to be Cautioned/FPN than Bailed ($p < .001$) or NFA ($p < .01$) and suspects who used an Avoidant behavioural style were more likely to receive NFA than be Cautioned ($p < .01$) or Bailed ($p < .05$).

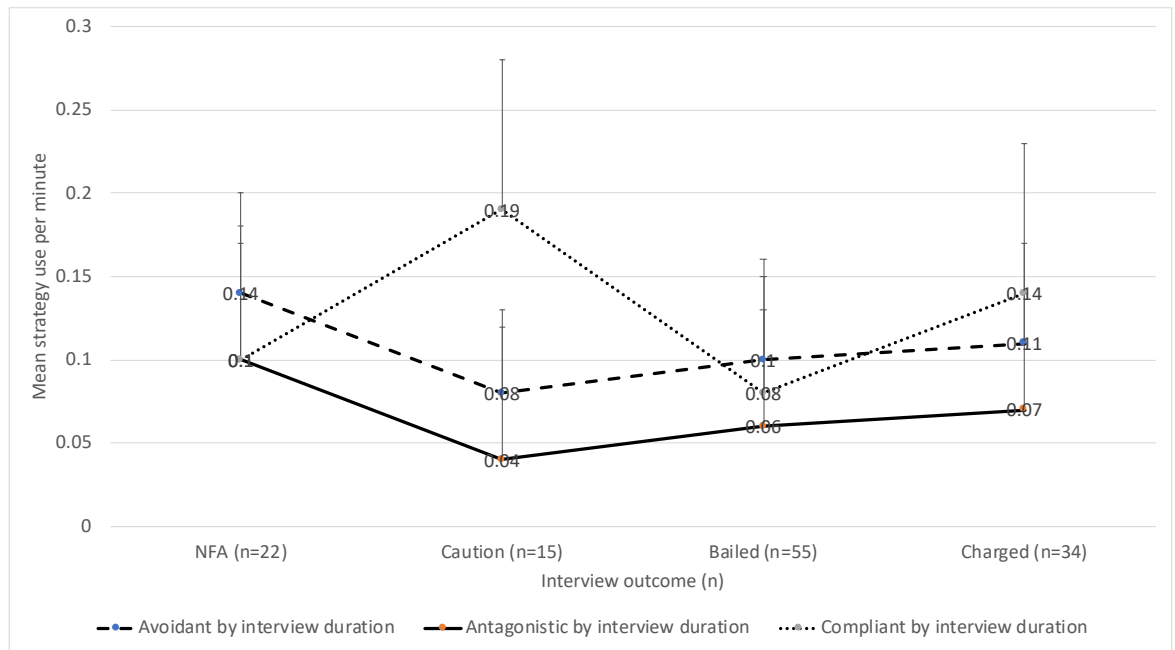


Figure 5.2: Means and standard deviations for the number of strategies used for each behavioural style as a function of outcome (N = 126)

Figure 5.2 shows that suspects who received NFA were more likely to have used an Avoidant behavioural style and suspects who were Cautioned were more likely to have used a Compliant behavioural style.

Summary of Case characteristics significant results

Table 5.9 shows all the significant differences found between the case characteristic and the suspects use of strategies (Avoidant, Antagonistic, and Compliant).

Table 5.9. Means and standard deviations for the comparison between strategy use by interview duration for each behavioural style (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) and all case variables where a significant difference has been found

Dependent Variables		Avoidant strategies by interview duration		Antagonistic strategies by interview duration		Compliant Strategies by interview duration		N
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Ethnicity *	White British	.11	.06	.08	.07	.11	.09	100
	Non-white British	.11	.05	.03**	.05	.11	.09	28
Foreign national	Yes	.10	.04	.03	.05	.13	.10	15
	No	.11	.06	.07*	.07	.11	.09	113
Mental health	Yes	.10	.07	.09*	.08	.12	.09	27
	No	.11	.06	.06	.07	.11	.09	101
Age*	(r)	-.13*	-	.15*	-	.04	-	144
Co-defendants	Yes	.11	.06	.05	.05	.10	.09	47
	No	.10	.07	.08*	.08	.12	.09	81
Offence Type ***	Violent	.12	.09	.07	.07	.16*	.14	45
	Theft/Deceit	.12	.07	.04	.08	.09	.09	33
	Domestic	.11	.10	.12***	.07	.13	.10	41
Legal Advisor used**	Yes	.10	.06	.07	.08	.09	.09	66
	No	.11	.06	.07	.07	.14**	.08	62
Outcome***	NFA	.14*	.06	.10	.07	.10	.08	22
	Caution/FPN	.08	.05	.04	.08	.19**	.09	15
	Bailed	.10	.06	.06	.07	.08	.07	55
	Charged	.11	.06	.07	.07	.14	.09	34

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Discussion

The aim of this study was to determine whether a suspect's overall behavioural style during an interview was affected by the characteristics of the case. Whereas previous research has focussed on whether a suspect admits or denies, gives an account or uses his/her right to silence, the current study explored the more complex and nuanced behaviours suspects can display – their use of strategies, such as whether they minimise their involvement in the offence, claim the allegations are false, or provide an alternative version of events. The study found that suspect behaviour did differ depending on the characteristics of the case. The results are

discussed in terms of how they relate to the three behavioural styles – Compliant, Antagonistic and Avoidant.

The results showed that suspects who were arrested for violent offences were more likely to use a Compliant behavioural style. They also found that suspects who used a Legal Advisor were less likely to use a Compliant behaviour style. When looking at the strategies within this behavioural style, this meant that suspects who were arrested for violent offences were more likely to admit to the offence, justify or minimise their behaviour, show remorse, look for agreement from the interviewer or emphasise their good character. The results also found that suspects who used a Compliant behavioural style were more likely to be cautioned. The findings support previous research on the negative relationship between the use of a Legal Advisor and confessing (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Moston et al. 1992; Neubauer, 1974; Pearse et al. 1998; Softley et al. 1980) but do not support research which found a positive relationship between the use of a Legal Advisor and remaining silent (Baldwin, 1992; Moston et al. 1993). Instead, the findings suggest that suspects who use a Legal Advisor are less likely to be cooperative in how they engage with the interviewer.

Previous research did not find a significant relationship between violent offences and confessing. Mitchell (1983) and Neubauer (1974) found that suspects arrested for a non-violent or property offence were more likely to admit whereas the present study found this to be the case for suspects arrested for violent offences. Neubauer (1974) attributed his findings to the likelihood of physical evidence linking suspects to these types of crimes. The suspects arrested for violent offences in the present study may have decided that the evidence was strong therefore a more cooperative approach to the interview was the best approach to take. When considering that these suspects were also more likely to be cautioned, it suggests that this may be an effective strategy. When a suspect's admission is coupled with a number of other Compliant strategies (such as minimising and justifying behaviour, showing remorse, etc.) it may be that this benefits the suspect by reducing the outcome to a caution rather than being charged.

Anecdotally, prior to the interview taking place, if caution was a potential outcome (i.e. the suspect had little or no criminal history) then the interviewer would make it clear to the suspect, either directly or via the Legal Advisor, that admitting to the offence and demonstrating remorse could ensure that they were cautioned rather than charged.

The greatest number of relationships between case characteristics and suspect behavioural style was found with suspects using the antagonistic behavioural style. Suspects using this style were more likely to be white British, older, and have been arrested for domestic offences. There was also some indication that these suspects were more likely to have mental health issues however this was not found at the multivariate level and therefore caution should be taken when considering the implications of this finding. Looking at the specific strategies within the antagonistic behavioural style, this meant that these suspects tended to highlight the victim's bad character, claim the allegations were malicious, seek sympathy from the interviewer, claim they were the victim and behave in an antagonistic manner towards the interviewer and blame others for the offence. There was also an indication that suspects who used an antagonistic behavioural style were also less likely to have been arrested with a co-defendant and less likely to be a foreign national but again both these results were not found at the multivariate level and therefore caution should be taken when considering the implications.

There is no directly comparable research for this variable as previous research has focussed on whether suspects admit, deny or use their right to silence. Previous research has found no difference in confessions for suspects with mental health issues (Pearse et al. 1998; Philips & Brown, 1998) and previous research has tended to conclude that socio-demographic variables are not useful predictors for suspect behaviour (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011) whereas the present study suggests that they may be relevant to a suspect's overall behaviour during the interview and in how they manage the attribution of blame.

The findings that suspects arrested for domestic offences were more likely to use Antagonistic strategies is not surprising. Domestic offences are where the victim was a family

member or intimate partner. As a result, the crime is more likely to have an emotional element to it and the present study suggests that this emotion may play out in the suspect's interaction with the interviewer during the interview. Donohue, Ramesh and Borchgrevink (1991) found that hostage takers involved in domestic violence took a competitive approach throughout their interaction with negotiators. Domestic offences are often based on limited evidence other than the victim's account or injuries. Therefore, a suspect in this scenario may be more able to claim that the allegations are made up or claim that they are really the victim. Bandura et al., (1996) proposes that older youths are more likely to use self-exonerative devices (such as blaming others) when discussing serious assaults.

Suspects who used the Avoidant behavioural style (i.e. more likely to deny the allegations, implicate others, provide an alternative version of events or their own evidence, claim a lack of memory, or avoid answering some or all of the questions) were more likely to be younger and were more likely to receive no further action. The results contradict previous research which has consistently found that younger suspects were more likely to confess than older suspects (Bucke & Brown, 1997; Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Moston et al. 1992; 1993; Pearse et al. 1998, Philips & Brown, 1998; Softley et al. 1980). The results support previous research which found that suspects who denied the offence were more likely to be released without charge (Leo, 1996, Moston et al. 1993; Softley et al 1980). The findings also support Neubauer's (1974) study showing that suspects who remained silent were less likely to be charged. The current findings suggest that the outcome of No Further Action may not just be associated with denying the offence, it may also be associated with suspects who are generally avoidant during the interview and this may suggest that it is an effective approach for some suspects to use. Equally, the findings may reflect that suspects who used an Avoidant behavioural style were actually innocent of the crime they were accused of. When comparing the strategies used by guilty and innocent suspects, Hartwig et al. (2007) argued that innocent suspects were more likely to 'tell it like it is' rather than try to persuade the interviewer that they are telling the

truth and this is similar to some of the strategies included in the avoidant behaviour style (e.g. deny, alternative events, own evidence). However, in Chapter Three it is argued that few suspects are likely to behaviour of innocent suspects in Hartwig's research due to the nature of the majority of high-volume crimes.

Limitations

The limitations of the present study can be broken down into four broad areas – limitations in the analysis, the case variables, the grouping of suspect strategies and sampling differences. Addressing the analysis itself, researchers (e.g. Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Moston et al. 1992) have highlighted the importance of acknowledging the interactional effects between variables. As highlighted in the results section, due to the multiple dependent variables in the form of suspect strategies, multiple regression was not possible. Based on previous research it may be that the significant variables identified in the present study are inter-correlated and a multiple regression would be able to determine which of these variables were still significant when controlling for these inter-correlations. However, this study has increased the complexity of suspect behaviour by focussing not just on whether they admit or deny but on the far more nuanced and real-life behaviour of what suspects actually do in an interview.

A number of variables were not included in the present study that research elsewhere has found to impact on suspect behaviour. A notable absence is the impact of the interviewer's behaviour on the suspect (e.g. Holmberg, 2004; Leahy-Harland & Bull (2016); Soukara, Bull, Vrij, Turner & Cherryman, 2009). The current study also did not consider particular factors which would have required direct engagement with the suspect, such as the impact of suspect's personality characteristics (e.g. Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 1999) or the suspect's perception of the strength of evidence against them which, as outlined in the introduction, has been found to have the biggest impact on a suspect's decision to confess (Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011; Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Kebbell, Hurren & Roberts, 2006; Moston et al. 1992; Phillips & Brown, 1998; Softley et al. 1980; Soukara et al. 2009).

Finally, there are limitations in how the strategies have been grouped into behavioural styles. Chapter Three demonstrated that suspects used a range of strategies from all three behavioural styles and not all suspects can exclusively fit into each behavioural style. Furthermore, some of the significant relationships between behavioural styles and case characteristics may have been caused by a dominant strategy within the behavioural style. For example, suspects with a Legal Advisor were less likely to use a Compliant behavioural style but when looking at individual strategies, suspects who did not use a Legal Advisor were significantly more likely to admit therefore it may be that the use of a Legal Advisor is the dominant strategy within the behavioural style that is impacting on the result. Increasing the dependent variables to include each suspect strategy would not provide any meaningful analysis therefore the strategies needed to be grouped in a way that allowed for further multi-variate analysis. The thesis so far has consistently demonstrated that whilst suspects may use strategies from all three behavioural styles, the three behavioural styles consistently emerge as distinct behaviours and therefore provided a useful framework for the current study. Finally, Chapter Two presented a comparison between the samples drawn in studies One and Two. Suspects in Study Two were less likely to be white British, less likely to have a co-defendant and more likely to request a Legal Advisor compared to Study One. These differences could be due to differences in the methodology used or could reflect differences in the demographics for each sample and therefore the findings from this study could also be due to the differences in demographics for each sample rather than reflect suspect behaviour.

Implications

This chapter has demonstrated that certain case characteristics are associated with how a suspect may behave during the interview. Case variables appear most useful in predicting suspects who will use an antagonistic behavioural style; in particular, suspects who have been arrested for domestic offences are more likely to take this approach during the interview. The

next chapter explores the sequencing and patterning of strategies used by one suspect throughout an interview and identifies when and why the suspect switched between behaviours.

Chapter Six –Analysis of Suspect Strategy use in One Interview

Abstract

This chapter explores the sequence and patterning of suspect strategies in one suspect interview. Drawn from the sample used in Study Two (n = 80), the interview was selected due to the high frequency of strategy use coded in Study Two and the suspect moving from denying to admitting to the offence. The interview was transcribed and every suspect utterance was coded by two researchers using the suspect strategy definitions outlined in this thesis. When analysing strategies based on their behavioural style (Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant), clusters of suspect behaviour emerged and, when incorporating the motivational frame of the suspect's responses (Identity, Relational and Instrumental), the suspect showed an overall preference for strategies from the Identity motivation. The use of different strategies over the course of the interview and the movement between behavioural styles were related to a number of factors including the overall narrative of the suspect, the structure of the interview, the type of questioning used by the interviewer, and the interjections by the legal representative. The results are discussed in terms of how they support the theory of suspect behaviour proposed in this thesis and the potential benefits of an interviewer 'style-matching' (Taylor, 2014) suspect behaviour in order to encourage more cooperative behaviour from the suspect.

Introduction

In Chapter Three, it was identified that suspects used strategies which could be grouped into three psychologically distinct behavioural styles labelled Compliant, Antagonistic and Avoidant. The behavioural styles represented how *cooperative* suspects were in the interview and how they managed the attribution of *blame* made against them in being suspected of committing a crime. When analysing suspect strategy use within each interview, just over half (52%, n = 76) of the sample showed a preference for strategies from one particular behavioural style, but the majority of suspects (86% n = 126) used strategies from more than one behavioural style. These

findings suggested that whilst the three behavioural styles represent psychologically distinct behaviour, they may also underrepresent the changing dynamics of an interview and fail to reflect the complexity of the interaction between the interviewer and the suspect.

The idea that suspects adapt their behaviour during interview was proposed in Chapter Three as part of Farr's theory of interviewee behaviour. Farr draws on Mead's (1934) theory by arguing that interviewees are self-reflexive and will consciously monitor and reflect on their behaviour, and on how the interviewer may view their behaviour, and adapt accordingly.

The research carried out so far in this thesis has only coded whether a strategy was present or absent in an interview and not the prevalence of strategy use nor how strategies were used over the course of an interview. This chapter explores the changing dynamics which may occur within an interview by coding each utterance made by one suspect and exploring how the suspect used strategies *during* the interview.

In Chapter Four, the model of suspect behaviour was further developed by testing it against a model from hostage negotiation research (Taylor, 2003) which introduced a second facet to each of the three behavioural styles. This second facet provided a motivational basis for each strategy labelled Instrumental, Relational and Identity. Whilst each behavioural style provided an indication of a suspect's overall approach to the interview, the motivational facet provided an indication of the goal they were trying to pursue whilst adopting one of the behavioural styles. Importantly, previous hostage negotiation research has found that the motivational facet could be used by negotiators to move a hostage taker from avoidant to cooperative (Taylor, 2014) and Wells et al. (2013) argued that a similar approach could be used to turn a non-cooperative suspect to a cooperative suspect. Abbe and Brandon (2013) have argued that understanding a suspect's motivation can inform the rapport building approach taken by the interviewer. The authors proposed that rapport is a means of facilitating social influence and the aim for an interviewer is to influence a suspect to become more cooperative in order to elicit information. How someone establishes rapport depends on the type of influence being attempted

(Identity, Relational, Instrumental). For example, Abbe and Brandon (2013) proposed that Identity-based rapport should appeal to the suspect's "self-concept, values and worldview" (p. 244) and that a suspect will be "motivated by a desire to maintain a subjective sense of consistency and accuracy among one's internalised values, beliefs and/or behaviour" (p. 244).

Whilst Chapter Five explored whether a suspect's overall behavioural style was associated with the characteristics of the case, such as the type of offence they were arrested for or the characteristics of the suspect, this thesis has yet to explore the impact of the interviewer and their questioning style on the suspect's use of strategies. Previous research in this area has identified how interviewer behaviour can encourage cooperative behaviour from suspects and increase the amount of elicited information. As outlined in Chapter Three, Alison et al. (2013) coded both interviewer and suspect behaviour using ORBIT, a coding framework developed by the authors, which included interview strategies taken from Motivational Interviewing research. They found that motivational interviewing techniques, developed from counselling and designed to aid therapeutic engagement, resulted in more cooperation by suspects and more evidentially useful information. As outlined in Chapter One, the growing consensus in the literature on interviewing techniques is that a more empathic and ethical approach to questioning is more effective at eliciting information (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Granhag, Kleinman, & Oleszkiewicz, 2016; Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013; see Vrij, et al., 2017 for a review).

The cylindrical model developed by Taylor (2002) proposed that negotiator and hostage-taker behaviour can both be mapped onto a model which has nine communication frames similar to the ones identified in this thesis (see Chapter Four). In the negotiation setting, research has shown that when a negotiator matches the hostage-takers 'frame' (a frame is the motivation behind what he/she is saying e.g. instrumental, relational and identity), sense-making takes place between the negotiator and hostage-taker and cooperation is more likely to occur as a result (Taylor, 2014). Taylor defines sense-making as "[m]aking sense of the other person's behaviour and its underpinning motivation" (2014, p.25). Equally when the negotiator does not match the

hostage-taker's frame (e.g. a negotiator offers money when the person's primary concern is to avoid shame) the hostage-taker can feel misunderstood and unvalued and will be less likely to cooperate (Wells, et al., 2013).

Using a more qualitative approach to exploring the interactional dynamics between suspect and interviewer, Komter (2003) analysed an interview with a suspect who initially denied and then admitted to an offence. Komter showed how the interviewer persuaded the suspect to change her account through a series of sense-making practices as they both negotiated until an agreed version of the 'truth' was identified.

Both Taylor (2014) and Alison et al. (2013) developed a coding scheme of interviewer behaviour which has been applied to both interviewer and interviewee. As outlined in Chapter One, this thesis has intentionally focussed on suspect, rather than interviewer, behaviour due to the wealth of research already exploring the latter (e.g. Milne & Bull, 1999) and therefore adapting the coding scheme to include interviewer behaviour is outside the scope of this thesis; it would also require considerable further data collection and analysis. Komter (2003) has demonstrated how qualitatively exploring the sequential interaction of just one police-suspect interview can illuminate the range of techniques and approaches both suspects and interviewers take when negotiating the interview landscape. This chapter combined the analyses used so far in this thesis (the coding of suspect behaviour into strategies) with the principles of conversation analysis used by Komter (2003) to identify the prevalence and sequencing of suspect strategies in one police-suspect interview and explore the function of these strategies and the impact of the interviewer's questions.

When analysing a police interview, it is important to consider the wider context of police interviewing which dictates how police interviews are conducted and structured. As outlined in Chapter One, the PEACE model, developed in 1992, is still at the core of police interview training in England and Wales, and represents the five stages of an interview structure: i) Planning and preparation, ii) Engage and explain, iii) Account, iv) Closure, and v) Evaluation (Shepherds & Milne,

2013). Underpinning the model, particularly for interviews with suspects, is Conversation Management (CM) which is an approach to interviewing designed to encourage suspects to be more cooperative and engage with the interviewer (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013). The interviewer who conducted the interview analysed in this study would have received both types of training; therefore the structure of the interview and the types of questioning asked by the interviewer are considered in the analysis of this interview through drawing on both PEACE and CM training manuals.

Method

Sampling

The interview analysed in this study was drawn from the sample of 80 interviews obtained in Study Two, reported in Chapter Three. As the purpose of this chapter was to understand what might make a suspect use multiple strategies from all three behavioural styles, the top 10% (n = 8) of interviews with eight suspects containing the highest frequency of strategies (see table in Appendix K) were selected for transcription and of these, one interview (suspect C29) was selected for further analysis. C29 (given the alias 'John') was chosen, as John moves between denying and admitting to the offence, and this interview therefore provided a case study to explore why a suspect may change their account. John was a 22 year old male arrested for Burglary after being accused of breaking into his mother's pub with an accomplice and stealing money from the tills. John ultimately admitted to taking the money but initially argued it was owed to him. John was subsequently charged with Burglary.

The interview was transcribed in situ, using a simplified version of Jefferson's (2004) transcription method. This method was chosen as it focussed not only on verbal behaviour but also the para-verbal (e.g. intonation, volume, rhythm of delivery) behaviour which provided further context on the meaning of each utterance and which therefore may change how the

behaviour is coded (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). A copy of the basic transcription notation conventions can be found in Appendix L.

Procedure

The transcript for John was converted into an excel spreadsheet with each row representing the turn of either suspect, interviewer or legal advisor (see Table 6.3 below for an example of how the text was ordered and coded). Although this interview was used in the main sample reported in Chapter Three, it had only been coded using the audio recording, and variables were only coded if they were present or absent (see Chapter Two for a detailed explanation of the method used). The interview therefore needed to be transcribed and re-coded so that every utterance made by the suspect could be coded.

Suspect strategies were coded using the coding scheme, definitions and method outlined in Chapter Two. If the utterance did not fall into any of the existing definitions of suspect strategies then it was left uncoded. Uncoded suspect responses were predominantly made up of short responses to the interviewers' questions (e.g. "yeah" or "no", when they did not represent an admission or denial) or factual responses to questioning (e.g. Interviewer: "where are they", Suspect: "Nottingham"). An example of uncoded suspect responses can be found in Table 6.5. It was important to ensure that uncoded suspect responses did not contain any potentially meaningful suspect behaviour such as suspect strategies. The researcher checked all uncoded responses against the suspect strategies and identified that three responses could potentially be coded as 'Avoids answering questions' strategy but did not quite fit the definition of the variable. For example, *"There's nothing else more to it I've told you the truth and that's (.) all the questions really I've got really to answer to be honest"* (line 77, Table 6.7). The definition of this strategy was therefore extended to include when a suspect threatened to not answer a question. The impact of this change in suspect strategy definitions is considered in the discussion section of this chapter.

The interview was coded from when the interviewer asked the suspect to give their account i.e. Interviewer: “=you’ve admitted that, um, let’s talk about the burglary at the {venue}” (line 15, Table 6.3). Prior to this question, the interviewer asked a series of standard procedural questions (these are part of PEACE training and the majority of suspect interviews carried out under caution follow the same structure) such as confirming who was in the interview room, repeating and explaining the caution and the reason why the suspect had been arrested. This formal part of the interview therefore provided very few, if any, opportunities for the suspect to demonstrate behaviour which would constitute a ‘strategy’ as set out in this thesis.

Reliability analysis

A second coder was asked to code each utterance made by the suspect using the method outlined above. The second coder was given an overview of the purpose of the research, instructions on what data to code and the definitions of each suspect strategy (see Appendix I). The second coder coded the suspect responses and then compared answers with the first coder to discuss any discrepancies. When there were any discrepancies, each coder provided justification for their coding and a decision was taken to amend the code or leave as a discrepancy.

The overall inter-rater agreement for all suspect utterances was 74% before any discrepancies were highlighted. The main disagreements occurred for four main reasons. Firstly, where a suspect response could be two different strategies or just one e.g. “(.) *basicklay* ↑ (.) *I was just takin the muney* ↑ (.) *that what was owed to me*” (Line 16, Table 6.3) was coded by the second coder as *Admit* and *Justifies behaviour* and by the first coder as *Justifies behaviour*. It was agreed that the overall tenet of this particular sentence was to justify behaviour and that there was not a sufficiently clear admission for this variable to also be coded. Secondly, disagreements occurred where a suspect response did not quite fit into a strategy, but was something more than an uncoded response (as outlined above). For example, John said “*I’m willing to pay it back*” (Line 142, Table 6.11) a number of times after admitting to stealing the money. This was coded by the

first coder as *Emphasises good character* but not by the second coder. The coding of this strategy depended on whether a suspect could use both future (e.g. they will pay it back) as well as past (e.g. I tried to pay it back) behaviour to demonstrate that they have good character traits. The coding of this category was kept in but left as a discrepancy due to lack of agreement between coders and is discussed later in this chapter. The third discrepancy type occurred as a result of the meaning of a suspect comment often becoming clearer once the coder had more familiarity with the interview (e.g. by reading the whole interview and then coding again). For example, the suspect comment "*I don't even know the woman that well*" (Line 30, Table 6.4) was coded by the first coder as *Victim bad character* but not by the second coder. Once the second coder had read through the interview they agreed that this comment related to an overall attempt by the suspect to highlight the character flaws of the victim. The fourth and final discrepancy occurred near the end of the interview where the suspect made a series of comments which could either be coded as individual strategies or as one strategy over a series of responses (Lines 148-156, Table 6.12 below). Both coders initially coded as multiple suspect strategies but with discrepancies between coding. After reviewing the section, both coders agreed that the suspect was using two main strategies: *Victimised* and *Seeks Sympathy* over five suspect comments which were only separated due to interruptions or responses made by the interviewer.

After resolving these discrepancies the overall agreement was 92% with four discrepancies remaining. One related to an ambiguous comment: "*No I don't understand that*" (Line 96, Table 6.6) made by the suspect which was coded as *Deny* by the first coder but left uncoded by the second coder. The remaining three discrepancies related to the issue outlined above where the coders could not agree whether "*I'm willing to pay it back*" was a strategy.

Results

The overall frequency of coded suspect strategies was calculated and is presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Overall frequency and percentage of strategy use for John (C29 suspect). The percentage given is the frequency for each strategy divided by the total number of coded strategies

Behavioural style	Motivation	Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Avoidant	Relational	Avoids answering questions	3	6%
		Implicates others	4	8%
	Instrumental	Provides own evidence	2	4%
		Alternative version of events	0	0%
	Identity	Lack of Memory	0	0%
		Deny	5	10%
Antagonistic	Relational	Seeks sympathy	6	12%
		Negative attitude	0	0%
		Confrontational	0	0%
	Instrumental	Victim bad character	3	6%
		Malicious allegation;	4	8%
	Identity	Victimised	3	6%
Compliant	Relational	Looks for agreement	3	6%
		Justifies behaviour	2	4%
	Instrumental	Minimise	0	0%
	Identity	Admit	7	14%
		Emphasise good character	5	10%
		Remorse	3	6%
Total coded behaviour			50	

The most frequently coded strategies were *Admit* ($n = 7, 14\%$), *Seeks sympathy* ($n = 6, 12\%$), *Deny* ($n = 5, 10\%$), and *Emphasise good character* ($n = 5, 10\%$). Out of a possible 18 strategies, 13 were identified as being used at least once during the interview and these ranged across all three behavioural styles (Avoidant $n = 14, 28\%$; Antagonistic $n = 16, 32\%$; Compliant $n = 20, 40\%$). When looking at which motivation appeared to be the most dominant in the interview, Identity made up almost half of the total strategy use by the suspect ($n = 23, 46\%$) followed by Instrumental ($n = 15, 30\%$) and Relational ($n = 12, 24\%$).

As the overall frequency of variables does not provide an understanding of when the variables were used during the course of the interview and in what order, each variable coded was plotted on a graph in the order it was used and presented in Figure 6.1.

Higher order behavioural styles		Strategies	Strategies over time divided into stages of interviewing taken from the PEACE Framework										
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Avoidant	Relational	Avoids answering questions	X			X					X		
		Implicates others		X			X		X			X	
	Instrumental	Provides own evidence					X						X
		Alternative version of events											
	Identity	Lack of Memory											
Denial					X			X X				X X	
Antagonistic	Relational	Seeks sympathy		X X	X	X X							X
		Negative attitude											
		Confrontational											
	Instrumental	Victim bad-character		X X X									
		Malicious allegation							X X X				
	Identity	Victimised			X		X						X
Compliant	Relational	Looks for agreement			X X		X						
		Justify behaviour	X X										
	Instrumental	Minimise											
		Admit	X X X						X X		X X		
	Identity	Good character		X		X	X				X	X	
		Remorse					X				X	X	
Higher order behavioural styles	Avoidant		X X			X	X X X X		X X X X	X	X		X X X
	Antagonistic			X X X X X X	X	X X X			X X X				X X X
	Compliant	X X X X X	X	X X	X X	X X X X	X X			X X X X	X X		
Higher order motivations	Identity	X X X	X X		X X X X X	X X	X X	X X X X	X X	X X X X	X X	X X X	
	Relational	X	X X	X X X X	X X X	X	X			X			X
	Instrumental	X X X	X X X			X X	X X	X X X	X		X		X X

Figure 6.1: : C29 suspect strategies in order of use during the course of the interview. An 'X' demonstrates when the strategy was used. The time has been split into nine segments based on the stages of the interview as outlined in the PEACE framework. The bottom three rows are the strategies collapsed into the three behavioural styles and motivations

Figure 6.1 depicts a timeline plotting the coding of strategies from John's first response (after interview formalities were dealt with) to the end of the interview from left to right. An initial observation of Figure 6.1 shows no obvious pattern in behaviour. When the strategies are grouped into behavioural styles and motivations (the bottom two rows in Figure 6.1) there are clusters of strategies from particular behavioural styles and motivations. Figure 6.1 shows that at the start of the interview, John was coded as using strategies from the Compliant behavioural style, moving briefly into the Avoidant behavioural style, before moving into a series of strategies from the Antagonistic behavioural style. The middle portion of the interview shows strategy use across all three behavioural styles. Near the end of the interview there is a series of clusters of strategies starting with a combination of Antagonistic and Avoidant strategies, moving into the Compliant behavioural style, and finally back into Antagonistic and Avoidant behavioural styles.

When looking at motivation, Figure 6.1 shows no clear pattern of motivation at the start of the interview, but as the interview progresses there is a cluster of Relational strategies before switching between clusters of Identity and Instrumental strategies with the occasional Relational strategy dispersed in between these clusters.

The moments where the suspect appears to change behavioural style and motivations were explored to see the type of questioning being carried out by the interviewer. As a result, the interview was divided into nine phases (indicated by the dotted line between strategies in Figure 6.1) based on the phases of interviewing as outlined in the PEACE interviewing framework; specifically the *Account* and *Closure* parts of the framework. *Planning and Preparation* and *Evaluation* occur outside of the interview room and are therefore not considered in this analysis. *Engage and Explain* is where the interviewer sets out the objectives of the interview and covers the formalities (such as confirming the suspect's name and address). As outlined in the Method section of this chapter, this phase of the interview provides little opportunity for the suspect to talk or use strategies and therefore was not included in the analysis. The *Account* phase of PEACE is further broken down to cover the process interviewers go through to obtain a full

account from the suspect³⁰. *Account* is broadly broken down into *Opening* (taking an initial account from the suspect) and then each topic the interviewer wants to discuss is taken through a cycle of *Review* topic, *Probe* topic, *Clarify* or *Challenge* topic before then introducing the next topic. The *Closure* phase of PEACE is further broken down into *Summarising* the suspect's account, asking the suspect to *Add or Clarify* anything before *Closing* the interview. A brief description of how these phases of PEACE apply to the nine phases of the interview as well as a summary of the suspect's behaviour during each phase is given in Table 6.2.

³⁰ <https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/investigations/investigative-interviewing/#peace-framework>

Table 6.2: Summary of the interviewer and suspect behaviour for the nine phases identified in the transcript for C29 interview. An indication of the duration of each phases is provided through the number of lines of talk

Phase	PEACE Interview Framework	Suspect Behaviour	Lines
1	Opening – request for initial account	Suspect appears to admit to the offence and justifies behaviour but when pushed for further detail, moves into Avoidant strategies	15-28
2	Probing suspect's account	Suspect uses predominantly Antagonistic strategies.	29-41
3	Clarifying suspect's account	Limited use of strategies and all Relational	42-75
4	Challenging suspect's account	Suspect uses strategies from all three themes and begins to use more strategies from the Identity motivation	76-110
5	New topic introduced – how the suspect carried out the burglary	Suspect uses minimal strategies and all from the Identity motivation	111-121
6	New topic introduced – a witness statement with Challenge	Suspect uses strategies from the Avoidant and Antagonistic behavioural styles	122-131
7	Summary of account	Suspect moves into using predominantly Compliant strategies with an Identity motivation	132-138
8	Closing the interview – suspect asked to Add or Clarify– part one	Suspect answers in two parts: two Compliant strategies - Emphasise good character and Remorse	139-145
9	Closing the interview – suspect asked to Add or Clarify– part two	Suspect brings up a separate offence: he is accused of breaching bail conditions by contacting mother. Suspect uses a mixture of Antagonistic and Avoidant strategies.	146-164

Each phase was explored and presented below. The way in which John used each strategy and combination of strategies is discussed and analysed in terms of how it relates to the interviewer's questioning and topic under discussion.

Table 6.3: Phase One segment of transcript for C29 interview (text in bold represents sentence which supports coding of strategy use. IV = Interviewer, DP = detained person).

Line	Speaker	Transcription	Strategy
15	IV1	=you've admitted that, um, let's talk about the burglary at the {venue}	
16	DP	(.) basicklay ↑ (.) I was just takin the muneey ↑(.) that what was owed to me	Justifies behaviour
17	IV1	(2.5 secs) Okay. Start from the beginning	
18	DP	I just hold my hands up to it.	Admit
19	IV1	Okay. [Tel-]	
20	DP	[°that's it°]	
21	IV1	=tel me what happened	
22	DP	Told you what appened. I was j- takin the money that was owed back t'me that was it	Justifies behaviour
23	IV1	[°okay°]	
24	DP	[I jus hold me ands up to it] that's it	Admit
25	IV1	[°okay°]	
26	DP	[there's] no more to be said to be honest].	Avoids answering questions
27	IV1	How much money did yA take	
28	DP	Errm, I think it's sixteen hundred pound. (.) And half of that Sam had. That's the god's honest truth	Admit; Implicates others

As shown in Table 6.3, although John begins by admitting to something: “*I just hold my hands up to it*” (line 18), the vagueness of this comment coupled with justifying his behaviour “*taking the money that was owed...*” (line 22) and the co-presence of an avoidant strategy “*[there's] no more to be said to be honest*” (line 26) indicates that John is not really admitting to the offence of burglary, but is admitting to taking the money. John's opening response is therefore avoidant rather than compliant despite the initial strategy being used is from the Compliant behavioural style. Despite the interviewer using relatively open questions “*=tel me what happened*” (line 21) and prompts to encourage further responses (e.g. lines 23 and 25), John continues to be resistant to expand; reiterating what he has already said before threatening to not answer any more questions: “*there's] no more to be said*” (line 26), and implicating the co-defendant in the offence.

Table 6.4 shows the sequence of the transcript straight after the first phase. In this second phase John does begin to expand on his version of events and moves from Avoidant into Antagonistic strategies.

Table 6.4: Phase Two segment of transcript for C29 interview

Line	Speaker	Transcription	Strategy
29	IV1	(3.5 secs) Okay so you say the money was owed tell me about that.	
30	DP	Basically I'm working my mum's takin every bit of my wages off me every week and I don-(.) I don't even know the woman that well. And that's all there is too it to be honest. I just wanted to go home ↑ and spoil my little girl for Christmas.	Seeks sympathy, Victim bad character, Seeks sympathy
31	SOL	{clears throat}	
32	IV1	(11.5 secs) Okay so you said you were- y-your mum's taken all of your money	
33	DP	Yey=	
34	IV1	=was that money you were earning at the pub [or]	
35	DP	[no] it was money I was earning at work at landscape gardening	
36	IV1	Okay. °Working as a landscape gardener at the time°. How much money were you earning?	
37	DP	two fifty a week	
38	IV1	(7 secs) And how did your mum take the money?	
39	DP	Er- basically I was er-I owed her some money. And of course she's an alcoholic. She doesn't- she couldn't keep track of the money that I was givin her. I owed her seven hundred pound and I paid every penny of it and she's keeps asking me for more money and I know she got more (.) troubles herself to do with the finance of the pub herself	Victim bad character, Emphasise good character, Victim bad character
40	IV1	°okay°=	
41	DP	So she keeps taking all of my money of me ↑	Victimised

The interviewer's style of questioning in this phase encourages more detail from John through the use of active listening techniques such as echoing John's responses back to him (lines 29, 32 and 36). John moves away from Avoidant-relational (*Avoids answering questions*) into Antagonistic-relational (*Seeks sympathy*) and uses a range of Antagonistic strategies to describe his version of events. In Phase One, John has explained that he is not culpable of the crime and it

is in this phase that John goes on to explain that his mother (the victim) is to blame. John's use of Antagonistic strategies therefore follows a logical sequence of behaviours for John to use in order to deliver his version of events.

John portrays himself as a doting father and hard-working son to a merciless mother (line 30). John provides a number of examples of his mother's bad character qualities: her lack of parenting "*I don't even know the woman that well*" and her alcoholism (line 39) which he explicitly links with her being unreliable in her account of how much money she had given him, and her own financial difficulties (line 39). It is John's mother who is taking money from him – making him the real victim (lines 39 and 41) and his actions: "*spoil my little girl for Christmas*" provide an emotive image that represents the identity John wants the interviewer to have of him. Whilst his mother reportedly struggled to keep a record of what she owed her son, he knew that he had "*paid every penny of it*" (line 39). The inclusion of this strategy from the Compliant behavioural-style (*Good Character*) fits alongside his depiction of his mother (*Victim bad Character*).

In the next phase of the interview (lines 42 to 75 of the transcript), only three suspect strategies were recorded (*Looks for agreement* twice and *Seeks sympathy*) despite this being a long phase of interaction. An extract from this phase is provided in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Phase Three segment of transcript for C29 interview

Line	Speaker	Transcription	Strategy
44	IV1	[what was tha-] what was that for?	
45	DP	Erm, a catalogue, a few things I had out of a catalogue	
46	IV1	Catalogue. So a catalogue debt	
47	DP	Yeah	
48	IV1	°Okay°	
49	DP	And I paid it all	
50	IV1	Okay you paid all of that	
51	DP	Yeah	
52	IV1	And how did she take the money off you then?	
53	DP	Basically she was jusht takin it off me	
54	IV1	How was tha- how did she do that	
55	DP	She was just taking the cash of me d’you know what I mean like , got some money from me	Looks for agreement
56	IV1	Forgive me for saying this but, you’re a big strong lad	
57	DP	Yeah	
58	IV1	How’d she take the money off ya?	
59	DP	Sh-she was exactly taking it off me she was asking from me and I was giving it her	
60	IV1	[okay well that’s-]	
61	DP	[and that, I don’t] coz obviously, she kept saying to me that I owed her the money. And it fel- when- every time I was round, it felt like I was treading on eggshells around her.	Seeks sympathy
62	IV1	°okay°	
63	DP	° d’you know what I mean °	Looks for agreement

John uses few strategies in this section, and answers the questions directly and factually.

It is only when the interviewer continues to probe John on *How* his mother took money from him, asking John this question four times (lines 38, 52, 54 and 58), and becoming more challenging in the process “*forgive me for saying this, but you’re a big strong lad*” (line 56) that strategies begin to feature in John’s responses. All three strategies used in this phase are Relational and move from Compliant-Relational: *Looks for agreement*, to Antagonistic-Relational: *Seeks sympathy* when challenged, and then back again.

Phase Four of the interview is picked back up at line 76 where the interviewer challenges John's account that the money was owed to him. Here a shift in John's strategy use takes place as John moves across all three behavioural styles and motivations.

Table 6.6: Phase Four segment of transcript for C29 interview

Line	Speaker	Transcription	Strategy
76	IV1	Okay. So, why then did you steal the money from the pub? What was that about?	
77	DP	There's nothing else more to it I've told you the truth and that's (.) all the questions really I've got really to answer to be honest	Avoids answering questions
78	IV1	Okay. I'm n-I-I'm just a bit confused because you said you (.) you took, there was sixteen hundred pounds there=	
79	DP	=yeah	
80	IV1	You owed her seven hundred pounds, for a catalogue debt=	
81	DP	=yeah	
82	IV1	But she had around about seven hundred back off you	
83	DP	[Yeah]	
84	IV1	[Over a] period of time. Why would you then go and steal the money from the pub? What's that got to do with the catalogue debt [and the money owed]	
85	DP	[I just wanted to go home] and spoil my little girl for Christmas	Seeks sympathy
86	IV1	Okay. (3 secs) And when you say go home, go home where?	
87	DP	To my family	
88	IV1	Where are they?	
89	DP	Nottingham	
90	SOL	Are you, sorry if I could sort of read between what you're both saying is that you would have paid back but [perhaps over] a longer time [{inaudible}]	
91	DP	[Yeah I woul-I woul-] [that is- that's it] I will pay her back you know what I mean, I'd- [I'd be] more than happy to pay her back	Emphasise good character
92	IV1	[Okay]	
93	IV1	So she left you with no money	
94	DP	She left [me with no] money yeah and it was coming up to Christmas=	Victimised, Seeks sympathy

95	IV1	[Basically] =Okay. But you weren't entitled to the money that she took? er- that you took from the pub. <Would you agree wi' that?>	
96	DP	No I don't understand that	Deny
97	IV1	Okay, you- you owed her seven hundred and fifty [pounds]	
98	DP	[yeh]	
99	IV1	She took seven hundred and fifty pounds from you	
100	DP	Yep	
101	IV1	(.) The money in the pub then isn't part of the debt is it because that debt's been settled	
102	DP	No I un [derstand that]	
103	IV1	[so, so] why did you take the money from the pub, what's-what's that got to do with the, the catalogue debt?	
104	DP	I don't know. But like I say I'm sorry and I'm willing to pay the money back	Remorse, Emphasise good character
105	IV1	◦okay◦ So you can-you can't explain it=	
106	DP	=no=	
107	IV1	=Okay. Where's the money now? Have you spent it?	
108	DP	Yep	
109	SOL	◦but just you said you didn't have it all anyway did you◦=	
110	DP	=yeah that's what I'm saying [Sa-Sam had half of it that's the god's honest truth d'you know what I mean I would, stand up in court and tell em straight for that=	Implicates others; Looks for agreement, Provides own evidence

In Table 6.6, the interviewer probes John on his explanation for how he was entitled to the money he took by asking a *Why* question (“*So, why then did you steal the money from the pub?*” line 76). John had already explained in Phase Two why he took the money, which was to give his daughter Christmas presents (Table 6.4). The identity John is trying to portray – the ‘good father’ – therefore also becomes challenged. John moves from Compliant-Relational (*Looks for Agreement*) in Phase Three, to Avoidant-Relational: “*there’s nothing else more to it*” (line 77) in response to the challenge. The interviewer softens his challenge to John by deflecting the misunderstanding to the interviewer’s own confusion (line 78) and John continues on the Relational

theme but moves from Avoidant to Antagonistic, using the same language as he did in Phase Three “*spoil my little girl for Christmas*” (line 85).

Phase Four is also where the Legal Advisor interjects for the first time in the interview (Lines 90 and 109). This seems to reinvigorate the line of defence John has been trying to portray but not quite managing to deliver yet, which is that if his mother had allowed him to pay the money back over a longer period of time he would not have had to steal from her. In this defence, he repeats the use of strategies that focus on his Identity – *Emphasise Good Character* and *Victimised*.

The interviewer asked the *Why* question for a third time (line 103) and, whilst John still does not appear to fully agree with the comments made by the interviewer, he seems to give up trying to deliver his counter-narrative and moves into Compliant-Identity strategies: *Remorse* and *Emphasises good character*.

The second interjection by the Legal Advisor (line 109) provides a further opportunity for John, this time to not accept full responsibility for the theft by highlighting that there was a co-defendant involved who also had some of the money. After this interjection, John moves from Compliant to Avoidant strategies (*Implicates others* and *Provides own evidence*) (line 110).

Phase Five is shown in Table 6.7 below and, similar to Phase Three, is where John uses minimal strategies other than to admit to the offence.

Table 6.7: Phase Five segment of transcript for C29 interview

Line	Speaker	Transcription	Strategy
111	IV1	[?had half of it?] =Okay. So tell me how you did the burglary?	
112	DP	I just smashed a window and come in↑	Admit
113	IV1	What window did you smash?	
114	DP	The back window	
115	IV1	And how did you do that	
116	DP	Just with a hammer↑	
117	IV1	Did you use anything to cover the window?=-	
118	DP	=yeah duct tape	
119	SOL	{clears throat}	
120	IV1	(13 secs) who's idea was it?	
121	DP	(1.2 secs) Mine	Admit

In this phase, the interviewer moves from challenging John's account, and asking *Why* questions, to questions focussing on the instrumental aspects of the crime. This part of the interview is less about blame and more about the functionality of the offence. As John has admitted to the act (taking money) but not the crime (burglary) he responds with minimal strategies other than the Compliant strategy – *Admit*.

Phase Six represented the next shift in both John's behaviour and the interviewer's questioning as the interviewer introduces a statement made by a separate witness – Alex.

Table 6.8: Phase Six segment of transcript for C29 interview

Line	Speaker	Transcription	Strategy
122	IV1	(1.5 secs) And when Alex says that you approached him to help is that true?	
123	DP	No. (2 secs) Last time I got told about Alex was when I was on my 28 days in {inaudible} he robbed my mum as well↑. Apparently.	Malicious allegation; Implicates others.
124	IV1	°okay° So when Alex says in his statement that you approached him first [was he-]	
125	DP	[I don't even] really know Alex that well to be honest. I don't really know him.	Malicious allegation
126	IV1	But he-he's told us that you approached him first	
127	DP	No=	Deny
128	IV1	=And asked him to help you with a- an enterprise	
129	DP	No=	Deny
130	IV1	=Is that (.) [linked to the burglary?] It's not true °okay°	
131	DP	It's not [true]	Malicious allegation

As shown in Table 6.8, John moves straight into using an Avoidant strategy (*Deny*) after the introduction of a witness statement. The overlapping talk and quick successive responses (as noted by the use of '=') indicate that John is becoming exercised by this line of questioning. Throughout this phase, John moves between two main Antagonistic (*Malicious Allegation*) and Avoidant (*Deny*) strategies and their combined use reflect John's approach to this line of questioning. The use of the word "*enterprise*" (line 128) suggests John's intentions for carrying out the crime were more about making money than making sure his family have presents at Christmas and this further challenges John's identity as the doting father.

In Phase Seven, the interviewer continues the questioning which took place in Phase Five before changing his approach by *Summarising* and beginning to close the *Account* phase. This is shown in Table 6.9 below.

Table 6.9: Phase Seven segment of transcript for C29 interview

Line	Speaker	Transcription	Strategy
132	IV1	(4 secs) °okay° erm, so once you got in through the window tell me what you did	
133	DP	Erm, I've got nothing else more to say but I've just told you the truth and that's (.) really all I'm willing to say. I done it. I took the money and I'm willing to pay it back. And I'm sorry for- wasting your time last time	Avoids answering questions; Admit; Emphasise good character, Remorse
134	IV1	Okay so do you admit carrying out a burglary at {place}↓	
135	DP	Yeah	Admit
136	SOL	{clears throat}	
137	IV1	(6 secs) And who would do it with you?	
138	DP	Er me and Sam	Implicates others

John initially responds with an Avoidant strategy “*I've got nothing else more to say...*” (line 133) demonstrating that he is not willing to continue discussing the offence and further reinforces this by providing a summary of his overall account where he moves into predominantly Compliant strategies “*I took the money and I'm willing to pay it back. And I'm sorry for- wasting your time last time*” (line 133). The interviewer appears to take the cue from John that there is no need for further questioning and allows the summary to continue before moving into the final *Closing* phase of the interview which is covered in Phases Eight and Nine.

In the last two phases of the interview (Phases Eight and Nine), the interviewer asks John if he wants to *Add* or *Clarify* anything to his account and each phase represents John's two responses to this question. Phase Eight is shown in Table 6.10 below.

Table 6.10: Phase Eight segment of transcript for C29 interview

Line	Speaker	Transcription	Strategy
139	IV1	°okay°. (4.2 secs) OKAY I'm happy with that. Is there anything you want to tell me that you haven't covered (.) that (.) you think is important	
140	DP	No except=	
141	IV1	=Cos <this Is gonna go to a court> obviously	
142	DP	That I'm <willing to pay the money back>	Emphasise good character
143	IV1	Okay you're <°willing to pay the money back°>	
144	DP	(2.5 secs) and I am sorry	Remorse
145	IV1	{[inaudible]} really sorry- {[inaudible]}	

John indicates that he does want to add something “*No except*” (line 140) and when the interviewer explains that John’s case will be going to court (line 141), John adds two statements – one which *Emphasises his good character* (line 142) and one where he showed *Remorse* (line 144). These Compliant strategies may not just be intended for the interviewer’s benefit but also for a wider audience who may hear this transcript read out in court.

In the final phase of the interview (Phase Nine) John introduces a separate offence he has been accused of – an apparent breach of his bail conditions which stipulated that he cannot contact his mother (the victim).

Table 6.11: Phase Nine segment of transcript for C29 interview

Line	Speaker	Transcription	Strategy
146	DP	[and erm, what’s the other thing] er apparently (.) I’ve been contacting my mum. And now there’s another thing I would hand—hold my hands up to this day was I phoned {station 2 } police the other day=	
147	IV1	=Yeah=	
148	DP	=To see if I could get them to go see her to stop her harassing me . I’ve got letters at home coz when I spoke to Jenny my probation officer she was telling me something about even though she’s tryin to contact {inaudible} you’ll get done for it=	Victimised, Seeks sympathy
149	IV1	=yeah=	
150	DP	=I was like alright. I’ve no i- [no intention-]	

151	IV1	[your mother's not on bail you're on bail]	
152	DP	I've no intentions of ringing my mum. She's been trying to get hold of me on my m-baby's mum {baby name}'s mum, my-m-my daughter's mum sorry. Ringing er up at stupid hours in the morning=	
153	IV1	=°okay°=	
154	DP	=and ringing my sister up you know=	
155	IV1	[=Yeh]	
156	DP	[trying to get into my little family I've got=	
157	IV1	=But I-I'm sure Mr {SOL} has explained to you, she's not on bail she can do as she pleases	
158	DP	[Yeah well]	
159	IV1	[The fact you don't want] calls from her [is irrelevant]. It's your contact with her that's the issue=	
160	SOL	=Yeah but i:-it doesn't help if she is [contacting him he's got-]	
161	IV1	[I appreciate that but] but she's not bound by the law [whereas] you are. [It doesn't help that, yeah doesn't help-]	
162	SOL	[no] [no but she is ?justifies?-]	
163	DP	I haven't phoned er. [Once] in the slightest=	Deny
164		[okay] =no.	
165	DP	Bu there's still phone records that are on- some where on the phone	Provides own evidence
166	IV1	°okay° Um, I mean she did make the allegation that you had been in contact with her after you were arrested	
167	DP	[No]	Deny
168	IV1	[But, I]-I've discussed that with [Mr {SOL} okay]	
169	DP	[that's not true]	Malicious allegation
170	IV1	Um, so in relation to the burglary is there anything else [that you-]	
171	DP	[no that's it] that's everything	

It appears that John had bail conditions which, based on the conversation outlined in Table 6.11, meant that John was not allowed to contact his mother whilst on bail but that there had been some contact between them. John uses the interviewer's add or clarify question (line 139) twice: once to provide his compliant strategies shown in Phase Eight; and again to discuss

this separate offence in Phase Nine. It is possible that John had initially only intended to discuss this separate offence when he said “*No except=*” (line 140) but changed tack when the interviewer mentioned that the case will go to court.

John tries to highlight his predicament, which is that regardless of who contacts who, John will still be breaching his bail conditions if found to be in contact with his mother (line 148) and in which he continues to pursue his Identity as the victim. This offence is separate to the one under discussion and as such the interviewer provides little opportunity for John to expand on this issue and little empathy towards John (line 151, 157, 159, 161). This is despite the legal advisor’s appeal to the interviewer (lines 160 and 161). John uses Antagonistic and Avoidant strategies for the remainder of the interview as his version of events is not allowed to be considered.

Discussion

In this chapter, a transcribed interview was qualitatively analysed to explore the prevalence and sequencing of suspect strategies, identifying the function of these strategies and the impact of the interviewer’s questions. The initial analyses of individual strategy use over time provided no obvious pattern of behaviour, with John using a range of strategies from all three behavioural styles. However, when just focussing on the three behavioural styles (Compliant, Antagonistic and Avoidant) and the three motivations (Instrumental, Identity and Relational), clusters of behaviour were identified which showed a pattern of movement which could be broken down into nine phases of the interview. The nine phases represented stages from the *Account* and *Closure* parts of the PEACE interview framework and specifically the topic and style of questioning used by the interviewer within these phases.

The use of different strategies over the course of the interview and the movement between behavioural styles were related to a number of factors including the overall narrative John was trying to portray, the structure of the interview, the type of questioning used by the

interviewer, and the interjections by the legal representative. Each of these factors are considered below.

John's narrative

The movement between behavioural styles over the course of the interview reflected the overall narrative presented by John. John began the interview admitting to the fact (taking money) but not the crime (stealing from his mother), and as such used strategies from both the Compliant and Avoidant behavioural styles. John wanted to demonstrate that his mother was really to blame and that John was the victim therefore he moved into a predominantly Antagonist behavioural style. Despite who was to blame, John was not challenging the fact that he had taken money, and would therefore ultimately be charged with the offence. With this prospect in mind, the best course of action open to John as the interview nears the end was to admit to the offence and show remorse with the hope that this might reduce the penalty. This is further demonstrated by John specifically emphasising his good character and showing remorse when the interviewer explicitly mentions that the case will go to court (Phase Eight).

Underlying the movement between behavioural styles was a dominant Identity motivation which also underpinned his whole narrative. John wanted to demonstrate that his motivation for taking the money was good; he wanted to be a good father to his daughter and he was going to pay his mother back. John was being portrayed as a 'thief' by his mother and the other witness, but he portrayed himself as a hard-working father and a victim to his mother. John was not contesting the allegation as such but was challenging the portrayal of his motivation behind his actions, and the depiction of his character, and this can be seen in the increasing dominance of strategies related to the Identity motivation as the interview progresses. Chapter Three proposed that the attribution of blame influences how a suspect will behave during an interview and specifically, moral wrongness, one of the five dimensions of attribution proposed by Shaver (1985). John does not contest the four other dimensions of attribution: he admits that

he took the money (causality), shows awareness of the consequences of his actions (knowledge), he did it intentionally (intentionality), and under free will (coercion).

Despite the clusters of strategies from one behavioural style there were many instances where John used strategies across behavioural styles. The co-use of strategies fitted with John's overall narrative such as portraying his mother's bad character alongside his own good character despite these strategies fitting into two different behavioural styles. All but one of the phases (Phase Four) contained either a dominant behavioural style with one or two strategies from another behavioural style or a hybrid of two behavioural styles (see Chapter Three for a description of hybrid styles). As outlined in Chapter Three, the behavioural styles represent the overall preference of an approach by a suspect, and suspects do not need to only use strategies from one behavioural style for that style to still be the dominant one. However this study has also identified that the prevalence of strategies from one behavioural style may not always reflect that this is the dominant style. In Phase One, John started the interview using strategies from the Compliant behavioural style but moved into Avoidant strategies near the end of the phase. Despite John admitting and justifying his behaviour, his overall approach at the start of the interview was Avoidant. Future research should explore whether certain strategies in combination with other strategies can change the overall meaning of those strategies and reflect a dominant behavioural style.

The interview with John was chosen as he used strategies from all three behavioural styles (and therefore did not show a preference for one particular behavioural style) and because he moved from denying to admitting to the offence. This study has demonstrated that despite the movement between behavioural styles, the behavioural styles could still be identified within the interview. As outlined in Chapter Four, the Suspect Cylinder Model is designed to show how suspects move between behavioural styles during an interview and that not all suspects will show an overall preference for one particular style. This study has demonstrated that the movement between styles occurred at different phases of the interview and as a result of the questioning

style of the interviewer and the interjections made by the solicitor. These factors are explored below.

Phases of interview

The interview with John was broken down into nine phases based on the PEACE interviewing framework and specifically the *Account* and *Closure* phases of the framework. John's overall behavioural style changed as he went through the phases of the interview. When the interviewer probed or challenged John's version of events he moved into more Antagonistic and Avoidant behavioural styles whereas when the interviewer clarified or summarised his account he moved into a more Compliant behavioural style.

The topics covered in each phase also impacted John's behaviour and indicate that John was adapting his behavioural style in response to the topics under discussion. The introduction of evidence (e.g. the witness statement) resulted in John moving from a Compliant Behavioural style to a mixture of Avoidant and Antagonistic behavioural styles. When the interviewer explicitly mentioned that John's case would go to court, John used a Compliant behavioural style which may have been intended not just for the interviewer but also the wider audience. Previous research has found that both interviewers and suspects orient their responses to multiple audiences, including the courts (e.g. Stokoe & Edwards, 2008).

Interviewer questioning

In this study, the interviewer's questions were not explicitly coded into strategies but considered through the lens of the type of training the interviewer would have received on how to question the suspect and specifically on their use of a Conversation Management approach to interviewing. When faced with a suspect moving into uncooperative responses (Phase One), the interviewer used active listening questions which encouraged John to expand on his answers and saw him move from Avoidant to Antagonistic (e.g. Phase Two). When the interviewer challenged John's account, John moved into Avoidant responses. When the interviewer reformulated his

challenge, allowing John to save face, John moved into Antagonistic and ultimately Compliant responses (Phase Four). The questioning approach used by the interviewer is in line with the more empathic and ethical approach to questioning which has been shown to be effective at dealing with uncooperative suspects (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Granhag, et al., 2016; Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013; Vrij, et al., 2017) and may therefore explain why John changed his behavioural style to become more cooperative.

There were a number of instances where the interviewer's questioning focussed on John's identity. In Phases Two and Four, the interviewer asked questions which allowed John to expand on his identity as a father and a victim and which resulted in John moving into more Compliant strategies. Equally there were moments where the interviewer challenged John's identity – in Phase Four when asking *why* John stole the money and in Phase Six when introducing a conflicting account given by a witness – and John moved into Avoidant and Antagonistic strategies. The questioning approach used by the interviewer was similar to the techniques outlined by Abbe and Brandon (2013) as ones which could effectively influence a suspect who is identity-focussed.

Identity was found to be an important motivation for the suspect, however the analysis of strategy use showed that the suspect also used strategies from the Relational and Instrumental motivations. Whilst the interviewer's behaviour was not specifically coded in terms of whether it was Relational, Identity or Instrumental focussed, there was some indication that the interviewer matched the style of John's responses in a similar way to what Taylor (2014) has proposed. In Phase Two the interviewer engages with the suspect at a relational level after the suspect has become Avoidant-Relational and in Phases Three, Five and Seven the interviewer focusses more on the instrumental aspects of the crime after the suspect has used an Antagonistic-Identity (Phase Three), Avoidant-Instrumental (Phase Five), and Antagonistic-Instrumental strategy (Phase Seven) respectively.

One of the important questions this study cannot answer is whether the interviewer intentionally used these techniques and was consciously adapting his questioning to the suspect's behaviour. There are two indications that at least some of the interviewer's behaviour was intentional and reflexive. Firstly, it is interesting to note that the interviewer chose not to read out a statement by the victim (John's mother); a statement existed as the interviewer refers to one at the end of the interview in relation to the separate offence (Phase Nine). It is possible that the interviewer specifically chose not to discuss the victim's statement as to do so might have increased John's perception of being accused which could have further threatened his identity and moved him more completely into the Avoidant behavioural style. In Phase Six, John moved into predominantly Antagonistic and Avoidant strategies in response to the witness statement. Secondly, in Phase Nine the interviewer did not use any of the techniques he had used earlier with the suspect (e.g. summarising and reflecting back questions, reformulating challenges) and John uses Avoidant and Antagonistic strategies. The focus of this interview was on the offence of burglary, and not breaching of bail, and therefore it is possible the interviewer chose not to use techniques which could have elicited more information from the suspect regarding this separate offence.

Taken overall, the interviewer appears to use questioning techniques that demonstrate a level of sense-making of John's behaviour, effectively navigating around topics, engaging with John when he becomes Avoidant, moving John back into 'safe spaces' when he becomes Antagonistic and exploring John's Identity as a father and a victim, all of which can be associated with John's movement into Compliant strategies.

Legal Advisor comments

The Legal Advisor's interjections also occurred at times where John's overall behavioural style shifted. These interjections were, as would be expected, supporting John's account and at times helped to provide the more nuanced version of events that John had not quite managed to

articulate. The analysis suggests that the Legal Advisor's interjections may impact on the suspect's behavioural approach in a similar way to the interviewer, but not in a way that supports the interviewer's overall goal for the interview. For example in Phase Four, John had moved into a Compliant-Identity behavioural style but the Legal Advisor interjected to clarify John's response to a question by highlighting that John did not take all of the money, which focussed on the Instrumental aspects of the crime. John responded by moving into an Avoidant-Instrumental behavioural style. However it is difficult to draw firm conclusions on the relationship between the Legal Advisor's interjections and John's subsequent behaviour due to the few instances where these interjections occur.

Limitations and Recommendations

This study analysed only one interview and the findings from this analysis cannot therefore be generalised to other interviews. Further systematic analysis of interviews is required to test whether a relationship between interviewer and suspect strategies exists and further explore the impact the interviewer and other third parties have on the suspect's use of strategies and overall behavioural style.

Whilst this chapter has highlighted the potential impact that interviewer behaviour has on the suspect, a limitation of this thesis is that it has not focussed on interviewer behaviour. This thesis has intentionally focused on suspect behaviour due to the dearth of research taking this approach. However, further research would benefit from the development of such a framework similar to those developed by Alison and colleagues (2013) or Taylor (2002) so that the analysis of suspect and interviewer behaviour could be combined for an overall communication framework to be developed.

Due to its exploratory nature, this study has not been able to determine if the interviewer behaviour in the case study caused the subsequent suspect behaviour (and vice versa) or the strength of association between interviewer and suspect behaviour (e.g. the

indications of style matching of motivational themes). Future research should consider using sequencing analysis such as proximity analysis (Taylor, 2006) to demonstrate where the behaviour of suspect or interviewer was directly followed by another behaviour and, over time, whether there is a pattern for this occurring. This would require interviewer behaviour to be coded using a developed coding scheme.

There is a discipline of research which has looked at the behaviours of suspects and other contexts which explore the attribution of responsibility. These are not within the scope of this thesis but should be considered in future research. Qualitative research has identified a number of discursive techniques used by suspects during police interview (e.g. Auburn, Drake & Willig, 1995; Edwards & Fasulo, 2006; Edwards & Potter, 1993; Haworth, 2006; Kidwell, 2009; Stokoe & Edwards, 2008). Similar strategies have also been identified in the wider qualitative literature such as research examining witnesses under cross-examination in court (e.g. Drew, 1992, Galatolo & Drew, 2006; Galatolo & Mizzau, 2005), politicians under scrutiny by the media (e.g. Edwards & Potter, 1992) or couples during counselling (e.g. Edwards, 1995). The purpose of this chapter was to explore how the existing pre-defined suspect strategies were deployed over the course of an interview and how the use of these strategies interacted with the interviewer and other third party interaction. This chapter began to explore the function of these strategies and of the interviewer's questioning; however, this research would benefit from more detailed qualitative analysis of language and interaction in police-suspect interviews, and specifically without the *a priori* assumptions associated with the suspect behaviour coding framework developed for this thesis.

When analysing suspect behaviour in this interview, the narrative and storytelling approach taken by John was prominent. For example, the manner in which John portrayed himself during the interview can be likened to a character rather than a real person (e.g. *spoil my little girl for Christmas*). Further research would benefit from exploring the narrative and storytelling nature of suspect accounts, drawing from research in Narrative Psychology. For

example, Bruner (2009) has argued that all narratives are stories or versions of events that are constructed and interpreted by a narrator, and how a story is told reveals much about the storyteller.

Coding at this granular level required more sensitive and nuanced interpretation of strategies. This meant that the strategies 'Avoids answering questions' and 'Emphasise good character' needed to become more sensitive in their definitions. In Chapter Three it was acknowledged that the coding of strategy use, particularly in Study Two, was most likely under-reported and the overall method of coding was not as sensitive as it could have been. This was required in order to ensure the strategies were reliable. However, this chapter has demonstrated that for more detailed coding of suspect strategy use *within* an interview, the definition of variables may need to be more sensitive to include the more nuanced responses made by suspects.

Finally, this study has demonstrated an important point raised in Chapter Five regarding the coding of offences. John was arrested for Burglary which previous research would have coded as a 'property offence' (e.g. Moston et al., 1992; 1993) whereas in this thesis it was coded as a Domestic offence due to John's relationship with his mother. The findings from this analysis have demonstrated the importance of understanding the relationship between the suspect and the victim when considering the suspect's overall approach to the interview.

Chapter Seven - General Discussion

Introduction

The central aim of this thesis was to explore the behaviours suspects display in real-world police interviews. The specific focus was on identifying the strategies suspects use during an interview, the factors impacting on when and how suspects use these strategies and whether these strategies form part of an overall behavioural style. The outcome of these studies was to enhance our understanding of the theories of suspect behaviour and to provide practical guidance to police on effective interviewing techniques. This chapter provides a summary of the key findings contained in this thesis, considers the limitations of this research and proposes a theoretical framework for understanding suspect behaviour. This chapter also provides recommendations for practitioners and future research.

The Introduction of this thesis provided an overview of key research which has explored suspect behaviour. In it, I highlighted the impact that early direct observational research had on our understanding of what actually happens in a police-suspect interview (Irving & Hilgendorf, 1980; Softley, et al, 1980) and why we needed to re-enter the interview room again but this time focus on the suspect's rather than the interviewer's strategies. I highlighted how the mandatory tape-recording of interviews resulted in a growing interest on suspect behaviour but how the focus was on when and why suspects confess, deny, remain silent or choose to give an account (e.g. Deslauriers-Varin et al. 2011) rather than the complexity of behaviour that can occur in an interview setting. I briefly summarised studies looking at detecting deception to highlight how research in this area has broadened the focus on suspect behaviour by identifying that mock-suspects self-reported using strategies during an interview (e.g. Hartwig, et al, 2014). I then provided a review of relevant research which has directly observed suspect strategy use in real-world police interviews (Alison, et al, 2013; Alison, et al, 2014a; Arnold, 2006; Moston & Stephenson, 2009; Sully, 2005) and which demonstrated that suspects' use of strategies requires

further exploration. I summarised how police interview training (e.g. PEACE) has evolved over the years to highlight both how much of an impact psychological research has had on this discipline but also how the focus on advanced interviewing skills and more serious and specific offences (e.g. sexual offences, murder, and terrorism) has meant that police officers dealing with high-volume crime receive the least amount of training. I proposed that as a result of these gaps in the literature and the focus of predominantly laboratory-based research in this area, theories around suspect behaviour do not adequately cover the complexities of suspect behaviour. In particular, I argued that the majority of suspects, particularly those arrested for interpersonal offences, are most likely arrested because they have been implicated in some way in the offence and it is the extent of their culpability and the intent of their actions that is being questioned. The next section provides a summary of the key findings for each chapter.

Key Findings

Chapter Two provided an overview of the methodology used to collect and analyse data on suspect strategies. The chapter provided a detailed explanation of how suspect strategies were identified and coded in two studies across three samples. Study One was the first in the UK since the early 1980s in which a psychologist directly observed police interviews by being physically present in the interview room at two different police stations. Study Two addressed the methodological limitations associated with directly observing police interviews. The strategies identified in Study One were further refined in Study Two using a more rigorous and reliability-tested coding scheme with a sample of tape-recorded suspect-interviews drawn from a different police station. The data from Studies One and Two were combined and 18 reliable suspect strategies were taken forward for subsequent analysis. Chapter Two also provided an overview of how ethical challenges with the research were managed and outlined the method (Smallest Space Analysis – SSA) used to both analyse the data and develop a theoretical model of suspect behaviour.

The data from Chapter Two were analysed using SSA, and the findings presented in *Chapter Three*. Three behavioural styles emerged from the SSA labelled Avoidant, Antagonistic and Compliant. The behavioural styles represented the differences in how cooperative suspects were during the interview and how they managed the attribution of blame. The *Compliant* style represented suspects who were the most cooperative with the interviewer and attributed blame to themselves. Suspects using the *Antagonistic* style engaged with the interviewer in a more competitive manner and used strategies to blame others. Suspects using the Avoidant behavioural style were the least engaged in the interview and used strategies to avoid or reject blame. When these behavioural styles were applied to each individual interview, the analysis revealed that whilst just over half of the suspects could be classified as using predominantly one behavioural style, the remaining suspects used a mixture of behavioural styles, indicating that not all suspects showed a preference for an overall approach to the interview.

A new theory adapted from Farr (1982) was proposed to explain suspect behaviour and which draws on theories of interpersonal communication. The first draws on the theory of attribution (Heider, 1958) and the argument that a suspect will be fully aware that one of the main aims for interviewing them is to establish whether they carried out the act they have been accused of and the intentions of their actions. In particular, that the moral wrongness of their actions will be discussed (Shaver, 1985). The threat that the suspect feels is further compounded by the Actor-Observer bias (Jones & Nisbett, 1971); suspects will think that the interviewer will attribute their actions to themselves rather than the situation. This is based on the premise that all suspects, regardless of guilt or innocence, have been arrested on suspicion of committing a criminal act therefore all suspects assume blame is being attributed to them. As a result of feeling under threat, and specifically, the attribution of moral wrongness, suspects self-regulate their behaviour (Bandura, 1991; Malle et al., 2014) to manage the impression they give to the interviewer (Goffman, 1959). Finally, suspects will change their behaviour during the course of

the interview as they monitor and reflect on their behaviour and the behaviour of the interviewer (Mead, 1934).

In *Chapter Four* the model of suspect behaviour presented in Chapter Three was further developed by testing it against an existing communications framework taken from hostage negotiation research (Taylor, 2002). The three behavioural styles identified in Chapter Three were similar to those found in hostage-negotiation research and by applying the data to Taylor's model, the strategies could be further divided based on one of three motivational goals of the suspect – *Identity*, *Relational* and *Instrumental*. The addition of these motivational goals meant the model was expanded on that outlined in Chapter Three by proposing that suspect behaviour was not just aimed at managing the impression a suspect wants to convey (*Identity*) which had previously been applied to the data using Goffman's (1959) theory, but that suspects also attempted to manage the relationship with the interviewer (*Relational*) and maximise gains and minimise losses (*Instrumental*). By applying Taylor's model to the data, each strategy could be placed into one of nine communicative styles which a suspect could use at any given point (by combining the three interactional styles and three motivations) and which was presented as a cylindrical model of suspect behaviour.

Chapter Four demonstrated the potential benefit from viewing suspect behaviour in terms of a negotiation between the suspect and interviewer, where the suspect is negotiating the attribution of blame made against them, and their overall behaviour towards the interviewer will vary depending on how they choose to negotiate blame (to accept blame, blame others or avoid/reject blame). The introduction of motivational goals attached to each strategy meant that the model had practical implications to police interviewers. The Suspect Cylindrical Model could help interviewers map suspect behaviour during the course of an interview and help identify counterstrategies they could use to move a suspect towards a more Compliant behavioural style where they provide an account or admit to the offence. This required understanding a suspect's

motivation for his/her actions and meeting the suspect's goals through the interviewer's own behaviour (Abbe & Brandon, 2013).

Mapping the data onto Taylor's model helped to visually depict how dynamic suspect behaviour could be over the course of an interview rather than considering suspect behaviour in terms of fixed behavioural styles. A suspect may begin with an overall aim as to how cooperative they will be with the interviewer (e.g. to be Avoidant) but their behaviour is driven by their underlying motivation (e.g. Relational) and as a result they may change their behavioural style. The next two chapters explored what factors might impact on a suspect's decision to use certain strategies and Chapter Six specifically explored how a suspect used these strategies during the course of an interview.

In *Chapter Five*, the combined data from Studies One and Two were analysed to identify if there was a relationship between the characteristics of the case and the suspect's behaviour during the interview. The suspect's socio-demographic (age, gender, ethnicity, and whether the suspect was vulnerable), criminological (criminal history, offence type, and presence of a co-defendant) and wider contextual (legal advice, interview duration and interview outcome) variables were recorded and compared with strategies from the three behavioural styles identified in the previous chapters (Compliant, Antagonistic, and Avoidant). There was no directly related previous research to compare with this exploratory study. The most comparable research in this area had predominantly looked at whether a suspect admitted or denied, spoke or used their right to silence. This research had consistently found a relationship between the strength of evidence against a suspect as well as their use of legal advice, with whether suspects admit or exercise their right to silence but in general found that the relationship between case characteristics and suspect behaviour is complex (see Deslauriers-Varin et al, 2011 for a review).

The main significant effects were found for suspects using the Antagonistic behavioural style. These suspects were more likely to be older, white British, and arrested for domestic offences. This behavioural style represents more emotionally charged strategies such as the

suspect being confrontational towards the interviewer or claiming the allegations against them are malicious, and this is reflected in the type of crime the suspect was arrested for (i.e. domestic offences where the victim is intimately related to the suspect). The study also found that suspects who used a Compliant behavioural style were more likely to be arrested for a violent offence and to be cautioned. This suggests that when a suspect's admission is coupled with a number of other strategies that manage how much blame should be attributed to the suspect (e.g. by minimising and justifying their behaviour, showing remorse) it may lead to a suspect be cautioned rather than charged, representing a reduction in the overall outcome. The study also found that suspects who used an Avoidant behavioural style were more likely to be younger and receive no further action. As the Avoidant behavioural style includes both avoiding answering questions and denying the offence, it is unclear if this finding suggests that avoiding answering questions is an effective strategy for suspects to use or that suspects who denied the offence were innocent of the crime and therefore received the appropriate outcome.

In *Chapter Six*, one interview taken from the sample used in Study Two was transcribed and coded to identify the prevalence of strategy use within an interview, and understand when and why suspect's change their strategy use. Whilst the suspect used strategies from all three behavioural styles, the study found that clusters of behaviour emerged which could be related to the overall narrative of the suspect's account, the structure of the interview, the type of questioning used by the interviewer and the interjections made by the legal representative.

When analysing strategies based on the motivational frame of the suspect's responses (Identity, Relational and Instrumental), the suspect showed an overall preference for strategies from the Identity motivation and this increased over the course of the interview. The interviewer used a number of effective questioning techniques and there were examples of the interviewer 'style-matching' (Taylor, 2014) the suspect, all of which were associated with moving the suspect from Avoidant to Antagonistic towards more Compliant strategies.

Research limitations

This thesis took an exploratory approach to understanding suspect behaviour due to a lack of research which has directly addressed the issue of whether suspects use strategies in real-world police interviews. Particular methods of coding and analysis were chosen which support an exploratory approach, but which suffer from their own limitations. This section provides an overall summary of the key limitations to the thesis which can be broadly split into the methods used to: i) collect the data, and ii) analyse the data.

Data collection

The method of directly observing and analysing suspect behaviour used in Study One had not previously been carried out other than in unpublished research (Arnold, 2006, Sully, 2005). A bottom-up approach was taken to identifying and defining the strategies used by suspects, by directly observing suspect behaviour and developing a coding scheme which was then refined over the course of data collection. This coding scheme has been refined and tested on three different suspect populations and a small sample has been coded by a second coder with good reliability scores. However, the research needs to be replicated by other researchers for the reliability and validity of this method to be fully tested.

There are a number of other ways in which suspect strategies could be coded. For example, Taylor (2003) divided interviews into time segments, coding every utterance and then grouping these into thought units before using content analysis to group these into variables equivalent to the strategies identified in this thesis. This method ensured every utterance made by the suspect and interviewer was coded and analysed therefore ensuring an exhaustive list of strategies was developed. An adapted version of this method was used to analyse one interview in Chapter Six of this thesis. This allowed for analysis of the prevalence of a strategy whereas the data used in Studies One and Two only coded whether a strategy was present or absent. Future

research should consider coding the frequency of strategy use to understand the dominance of each strategy.

As outlined in Chapter Five, there are a number of methodological issues with how case characteristics should be defined and coded. Chapter Five attempted to address these but some of the variables, particularly the *Type of offence* variable, should be clearly defined and incorporated into the coding framework rather than coded after data has been collected. The type and amount of evidence was not coded for in the study reported in Chapter Five due to the difficulties with defining this variable. However previous research has highlighted the significant impact this variable has on suspect behaviour (e.g. Deslauriers-Varin et al, 2011), therefore defining and coding this variable should be attempted in future research.

The analysis reported in Chapter Six was only carried out on one interview therefore the findings cannot be generalised. Chapter Six also highlighted that further research should define and code interviewer behaviour into a similar coding scheme to the one used for suspect behaviour for more meaningful analysis to be carried out.

Data analysis

SSA's are usually used alongside a 'mapping sentence' to help predict the facets within the SSA (Brown & Barnett, 2004). Guttman and Greenbaum (1998) argue that "[C]onstructing a mapping sentence forces the researcher to identify and explicate simultaneously the theoretical constructs of the research together with the kind of observations needed to test it." (p.16). Future research which seeks to replicate this research should consider using a mapping sentence to inform the subsequent analysis.

The Hostage Cylindrical Model outlined in Chapter Four (Taylor, 2002) was applied to the data post-analysis and further research should test whether this model can be applied to a new dataset and incorporated into the analysis stage. In particular, the application and definition of motivational goals for each strategy needs to be reliability tested.

As outlined in Chapter Five, the case characteristics which were identified as the most significantly associated with suspect behaviour, could be inter-correlated, but the method of analysis used (predominantly multivariate analysis of variances) did not control for this. Previous similar research has used regression analysis such as hierarchical logistic regression (e.g. Deslauriers-Varin et al, 2011) which has been able to identify which factors are the strongest predictors on suspect behaviour. However, previous research has tended to consider only one dependant variable (e.g. whether a suspect confesses or not), whereas this thesis has considered more complex suspect behaviour (strategies) and therefore requires more complex regression models such as canonical variate analysis (Hammond, 2004). It was not possible to carry out this method of analysis due to the large sample size required and the assumptions made of the data that real-world research can struggle to meet (e.g. a normal distribution of variables). Future research should try to overcome these issues with the data.

Finally, the qualitative analysis used in Chapter Six was exploratory and further research is needed on a sample of interviews to determine if the findings can be generalised. The chapter proposed that proximity analysis should be carried out to explore the strength of association between interviewer questioning and a suspect's use of strategies. The chapter also briefly mentioned the wealth of qualitative research which has explored the discourse used by people when managing the attribution of blame, acknowledging that this has not been addressed in this thesis but should be considered for further research.

An integrated theoretical framework

With the limitations to the data and analyses carried out in this thesis acknowledged, the next section proposes a model for explaining suspect behaviour inspired by the findings reported in this thesis. The model is in two parts. Part one is a social-cognitive model of suspect behaviour shown in (Figure 7.1) which pulls together the proposed theories of suspect behaviour. Part two is a communications model of suspect behaviour (Figure 7.2) to demonstrate how suspects

communicate during the interview and draws from Taylor's (2002) Hostage Cylindrical Model. As outlined in the previous section, some aspects of these models are more developed than others due to the exploratory nature of the research contained in this thesis.

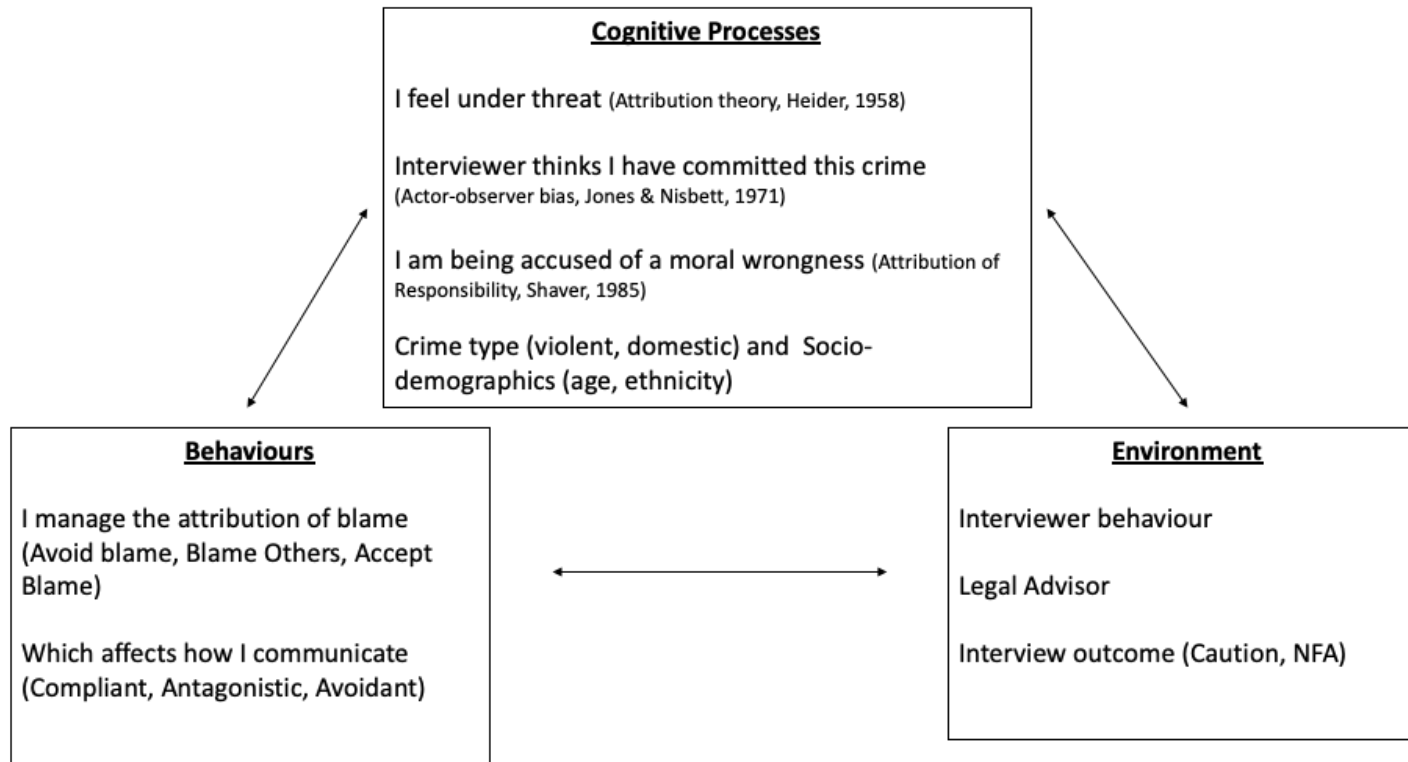


Figure 7.1: Social-cognitive model of suspect behaviour during a police interview

The framework in Figure 7.1 is a social-cognitive model of suspect behaviour which pulls together some of the key findings from this thesis into a model to explain how suspects use strategies during a police interview. Beginning with the *Cognitive Processes*, the model brings together the theory of suspect behaviour introduced in Chapter Three of this thesis and summarised above. The key cognitive processes that are impacting on the suspect's behaviour are due to the attribution of blame associated with being interviewed for a crime. This attribution exists as part of the process of being arrested and accused of committing a crime regardless of the suspect's level of culpability. This model proposes that a key part of the attribution of blame that has not been explored in research on suspect behaviour is how the suspect manages the attribution of moral wrongness. The analysis reported in Chapter Five also indicated that certain characteristics of the case are associated with how a suspect decides to manage the attribution of blame and these are included in the Cognitive Processes. The type of crime the suspect has been arrested for (in particular whether it is a Violent or Domestic offence), and the age and the ethnicity of the suspect, are all factors which may impact on the suspect's approach to the interview. These case characteristics are available to the interviewer prior to the interview; therefore whilst the relationship between the variables is correlational, they may be used to predict how a suspect may behave during the interview and appear most useful in predicting suspects who will use an Antagonistic Behavioural Style. The research findings suggests that older, white British suspects, suspects with mental health issues and suspects arrested for domestic offences are more likely to use antagonistic strategies. The research also indicated that suspects arrested for violent offences are more likely to use cooperative strategies and younger suspects are less likely to be cooperative, preferring to use avoidant strategies. The practical applications of this knowledge are discussed in more detail below.

The *Cognitive Processes* influence the *Behaviours* the suspect could display during the interview. The model processes that suspects can take one of three different approaches to managing the attribution of blame against them – they can avoid blame, blame others, or accept

blame. The way in which the suspect manages the attribution of blame also impacts on their overall communication style with the interviewer. If they accept blame they are likely to communicate in a Compliant manner, if they blame others they are likely to communicate in an Antagonistic manner and if they reject blame they are likely to communicate in an Avoidant manner. As the suspect's behaviour and communication style can change during the interview, this part of the model is explored in a separate communication model in Figure 7.2.

The final part of the Social-Cognitive Model considers the *Environmental* factors which have been considered in this thesis. Chapter Six explored the structure of the interview, the questioning style of the interview and the impact of the legal advisor on the suspect's behaviour in one interview. The Chapter demonstrated that the suspect's behaviour changed depending on these factors. Chapter Five also found that the use of a Legal Advisor was associated with suspects who were less likely to use a Compliant behavioural style and that the suspect's behavioural style was associated with the outcome of the interview. These factors are therefore also included as *Environmental* Factors.

The arrows between the *Cognitive Processes*, *Behaviours* and *Environment* emphasise that each of these factors influence the other. The suspect's behaviour during the interview (*Behaviour*) will impact on how the interviewer will ask them a question (*Environment*) which will impact on how the suspect perceives the interview (*Cognitive Processes*). Equally, the use of a Legal Advisor (*Environment*) will impact on how suspects believe they should manage the attribution of blame against them (*Cognitive Processes*) which will impact on how cooperative the suspect is during the interview (*Behaviours*) and so on. Importantly, there are many factors which this research has not considered which could also feature in this model. In particular, there are a number of *Environmental* factors which have not been considered and which would benefit from further research. For example, research has demonstrated the impact of the interviewer behaviour, the suspect's experience of detention, and the interview room conditions on a suspect's decision to confess (e.g. Gudjonsson, 2003).

The model presented in figure 7.1 proposes the key processes behind why a suspect self-regulates their behaviour during an interview but this research has also explored the interpersonal communication style of the suspect *during* the interview and highlighted the dynamic behaviour of suspects within an interview. Therefore a model of communication is presented in Figure 7.2 to visually depict the suspect's communication behaviour during the interview.

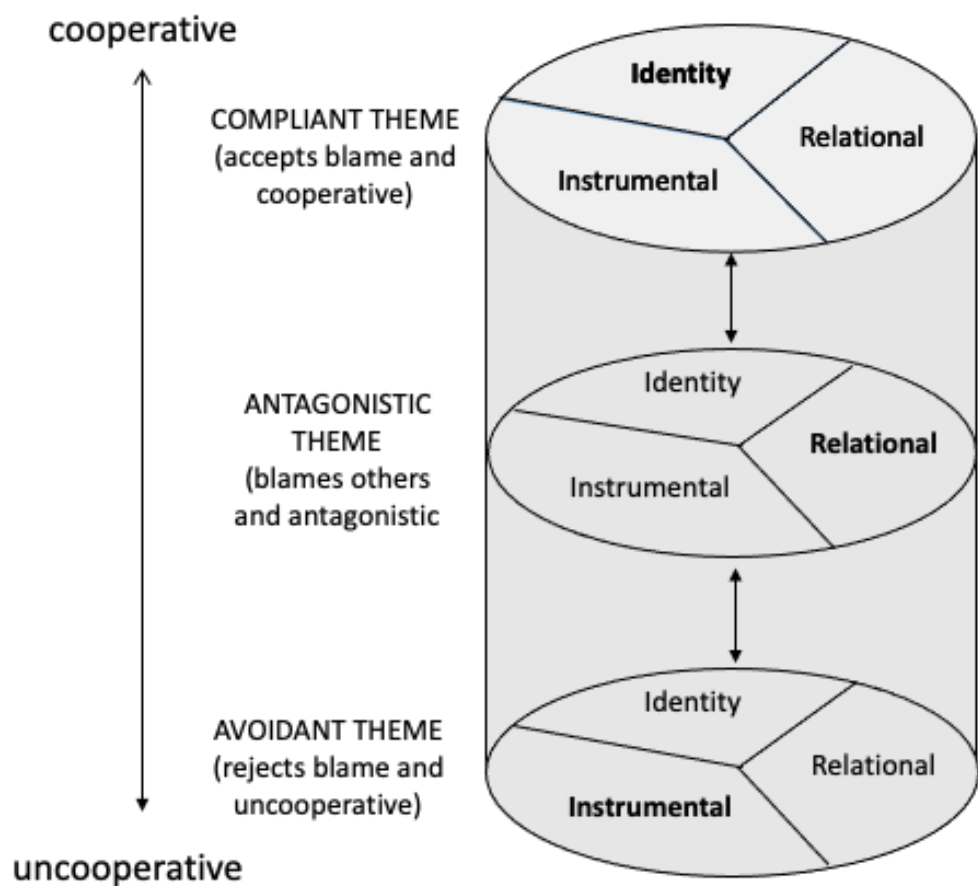


Figure 7.2: Cylindrical model of suspect communication during a police interview

Figure 7.2 is based on the cylindrical model developed by Taylor (2002). Using the concepts developed by Taylor, the suspect behavioural styles identified in this thesis represent how a suspect negotiates the attribution of blame in their interaction with the interviewer. Suspects can be Avoidant: reject blame and be uncooperative towards the interviewer (such as not answering questions or denying the offence); be Antagonistic: blame others and be

antagonistic towards the interviewer (such as being confrontational or claiming the allegations are malicious); or be Compliant: accept blame and cooperate with the interviewer (such as admitting to the offence and showing remorse). A suspect can give one, both, or all three accounts of blame in one interview. For example, they can accept blame for pushing but not hitting; they can accept blame for hitting but want it to be acknowledged that the victim also hit them or hit them first, or they can refuse to accept blame and put all the blame on the victim. Equally they can be Compliant, Antagonistic, Avoidant or a combination of all three in one interview. The relationship between approaches to blame and communication style can be linked to Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle. When a suspect accepts blame they are aligning to the interviewer's conversational goals; they have been accused of committing a crime and have admitted to that crime therefore their overall communication style is Compliant. When suspects blames others for the offence they are still partly aligning to the interviewer's communication goals in that they are giving an account, but not an account that aligns with the interviewer's goals (since the interviewer is questioning them as a suspect for that crime) therefore their communication style is more Antagonistic. When a suspect is avoiding discussing blame they are violating Grice's Cooperative Principle and will be the least cooperative (Avoidant). Taylor (2002) has argued that the Antagonistic and Avoidant behavioural styles can be likened to the 'fight or flight' response to a threatening situation (Selye, 1978).

The strategies associated with each behavioural style represent one of three motivational goals: Identity, Relational and Instrumental. Identity is drawn from theories on self-identity such as Goffman, (1959), also known as 'saving face' where a suspect is motivated to defend or restore his/her self-image. Relational is taken from social psychology theories such as Donohue (1998) where the focus is on the relationship and how to establish, maintain, or take advantage of it. Finally, Instrumental, taken from social exchange theories such as Roloff (1981), is where a suspect's main goal is to maximise gains and minimise losses. Initially this thesis focussed on Identity as the only motivation (as outlined in Chapter Three) but by applying Taylor's model to

the data (in Chapter Four) the two other motivational goals (Instrumental and Relational) were introduced and mapped onto the data. Table 7.1 (taken from Chapter Four) provides examples of how each suspect strategy can be aligned to each motivational facet and behavioural style and provides quotes from the data as examples of how each strategy was coded.

Table 7.1: Nine combinations of behavioural styles and motivational facets with suspect strategies and example quotes given for each one.

Motivational facet	Suspect strategies	Example quote
Avoidance-Identity	Denial; Lack of memory	"I didn't throw one punch"; "I can't remember"
Avoidance-Relational	Avoids answering questions	"No comment"
Avoidance-Instrumental	Alternative version of events; Implicates others; Provides own evidence	"Coz that's not what happened, I said you can stop him"; "Greg said it was ok, I've stolen from there before"; "You can check with the garage"
Antagonistic-Identity	Claims victim	"A police officer pushed me to the bedroom and sat on my back"
Antagonistic -Relational	Seeks sympathy; Negative attitude; Confrontational	"I would just like to say, I suffer from anxiety and depression"; "That's what the statement says – I've already answered that question"; "NO THAT'S NOT WHAT I SAID (denotes shouting)"
Antagonistic -Instrumental	Malicious allegation; Victim bad-character	"It's all lies"; "she's an alcoholic"
Compliant-Identity	Admit; Good character; Remorse	"I kicked her."; "I don't generally drink, I don't do drugs"; "I'm extremely sorry"
Compliant -Relational	Looks for agreement	"You know what it's like when the adrenaline is going"
Compliant -Instrumental	Minimise; Justify behaviour	"I was just pushing her away"; "She knows exactly what buttons to press"

Both models depicted in Figures 7.1 and 7.2 are designed to complement each other to provide a holistic understanding of suspect behaviour but both models are also designed to serve

different purposes. The Social-Cognitive Model of Suspect Behaviour provides the theoretical basis for suspect behaviour to help understand, predict, and potentially change suspect behaviour. The Suspect Cylinder Model is designed to help make sense of suspect behaviour *during* an interview and to visually convey the interpersonal and dynamic nature of suspect behaviour within an interview. The ultimate aim both models are there to serve is to help the interviewer move a suspect into more cooperative behaviour during an interview. The next section outlines how these models can be applied by practitioners to inform the interview strategy they should use.

Practitioner recommendations

The practitioner recommendations from this thesis are split into two sections: recommendations which inform how to plan for the interview and recommendations on interview techniques which could be used during the interview.

Planning before the interview

The Cognitive Processes in the Social-Cognitive Model of Suspect Behaviour (Figure 7.1) provide the interviewer with a basis for understanding suspect behaviour more generally but also for predicting how certain suspects might behave. Understanding that all suspects, regardless of guilt or innocence will perceive the interview as a threatening situation, perceive the interviewer as bias towards assuming their guilt, and perceive that they are being blamed for committing a crime may help to shift an interviewer's overall approach to the interview. As outlined in the introduction, researchers and practitioners alike are moving towards promoting a more ethical approach to interviewing (e.g. Vrij et al., 2017) and research has demonstrated that this is also a more effective way to interview (e.g. Holmberg & Christianson, 2002). When planning an interview, practitioners should consider the suspect's perspective and ensure that when questioning the suspect they can demonstrate empathy and interest in the suspect's point of view. More broadly, the findings also suggest that despite attempts to change the culture of a

police-suspect interview from obtaining a confession to gathering information (e.g. Milne & Bull, 1999) suspects may still view the interview in this way and interviewers may want to spend time planning for how they can manage this perception.

The Cognitive Processes also indicate that certain case characteristics are associated with how a suspect may behave during the interview. It is therefore important to have a full understanding of the suspect's background and the offence he/she has been arrested for when planning for the interview. Considering that older suspects may behave differently to younger suspects and suspects arrested for violent offences may behave differently to those arrested for domestic offences. The way in which the offence is recorded and categorised will also be important.

Understanding a suspect's background and the context around the offence may also help the interviewer predict and plan for which of the three behavioural styles the suspect will initially decide to use during the interview. For example, knowing that a suspect arrested for common assault also has injuries to him/herself could lead an interviewer to predict that the suspect may also consider themselves a victim and that blame should be attributed to the victim instead of him/her. By associating the suspect's overall approach to blame, with their communication style, the interviewer can prepare for a suspect who is more likely to behaviour antagonistically towards them.

More broadly, the framework proposes that suspects will plan their overall approach prior to the interview, therefore what the suspect says and does prior to the interview may provide insight into how they will behave during the interview. The sample in this thesis suggests that the majority of suspects arrested for high-volume crime will have had previous contact with the police (80%, $n = 117$). Therefore the interviewer is likely to have background information on file and may even have previously interviewed the suspect. Anecdotally through directly observing interviews and spending time at the police station in Study One, the researcher often

observed a familial tone between interviewer and suspect and explicit reference of previous contact (particularly for younger suspects).

During the interview

Taylor (2003) proposed that the Hostage Cylindrical Model could be used “in situ” through ‘active listening’ –listening to *how* the suspect is giving his/her account, which might tell an interviewer about the motivation behind the suspect’s speech. Research has shown that interviewers can change their behaviour to match the behaviour of the suspects (known as style matching) to help move a suspect to become more cooperative (Taylor, 2014). Chapter Six identified style-matching behaviours in one interview with a suspect who moved from being Avoidant to Antagonistic to Compliant.

Research emphasises that style-matching does not always work, and its success may depend on a number of factors (Taylor, 2014). For example, Abbe and Brandon (2013) propose that certain assumptions may be required for style matching to work such as the interviewer must have authority, power and appear credible. With these assumptions in mind, the next section proposes what techniques an interviewer could use to move a suspect from either the Avoidant or Antagonistic behavioural styles depending on the three motivations for their behaviour (instrumental, relational and identity). The suspect behaviours described in these scenarios have been taken from the combination of behavioural styles and motivational facets outlined in Table 7.1. These are example scenarios intended to give a provisional idea for the types of interviewer responses which may effectively move a suspect to a more cooperative behavioural style. This thesis has not addressed whether these responses are actually effective other than through the qualitative analysis of one interview.

Instrumental-Avoidant scenario

In this scenario a suspect may give an account which is different to the version of events the interviewer may believe. This alternative account may include implicating others as alternative suspects and providing evidence that supports this alternative account. The

interviewer could use two strategies in this scenario. The first would be to demonstrate to the suspect that the interviewer is in a position of power to test the suspect's version of events, to check the evidence the suspect is providing, or to speak to the person the suspect is implicating. This may move the suspect into becoming more cooperative and engaging with the interviewer as the interviewer is meeting the suspect's instrumental needs (e.g. the interviewer is being instrumental-Compliant). The second strategy would be to introduce the victim's version of events and highlight the inconsistencies between the victim's account and the suspect's account. This may move the suspect to become more antagonistic (the interviewer is being instrumental-antagonistic). It is important to note here that not only can a suspect move from one theme into another, he/she could also change in motivation. Using this second strategy could move a suspect from Avoidant-Instrumental into Antagonistic-Identity if the suspect begins to feel that the interviewer is challenging their identity.

Instrumental – Antagonistic scenario

In this scenario a suspect may claim the allegations against them are malicious or may denigrate the suspect's character. An effective strategy in this scenario may be for the interviewer to demonstrate to the suspect that the interviewer is in a position of power to test the suspect's claims that the account is malicious but also to persuade the suspect to concede that they may be partially responsible (minimise) or that the suspect may be able to justify their behaviour thus moving the suspect into displaying Compliant-Instrumental behaviour.

Relational-Avoidant Scenario

In this scenario the suspect may avoid or minimise interaction by giving no-comment, remaining silent or using their legal advisor to give a prepared statement. When arrested, suspects are read the following rights: *"You do not have to say anything. But, it may harm your defence if you do not mention when questioned something which you later rely on in court."*

Anything you do say may be given in evidence"³¹. This warning is instrumental in nature; it highlights the punishment a suspect may get if he/she does not talk during an interview, whereas avoiding talking could be seen as a relational construct. According to Abbe and Brandon (2013), the best interview techniques to use in this scenario are those where the interviewer tries to establish mutual liking and respect or to introduce mimicry and coordination of communication (taking a Relational-Compliant approach). This approach may lead suspects to feel that the interviewer understands them and can relate to them which in turn may make the suspect begin to like the interviewer. By liking the interviewer, the suspect may want their approval and acceptance or want the interviewer to see the suspect in a particular role and therefore may begin to use strategies such as 'seeking sympathy' (moving into Relational-Antagonistic) or 'looking for agreement' (moving into Relational-Compliant).

Alternatively, an interviewer could use an approach that makes suspects feel uncomfortable by highlighting to the suspect that they are breaking turn-taking rules and not fulfilling their 'role' of answerer in the interview. This could be achieved through allowing longer pauses after asking questions to emphasise the break in turn-taking rules or through 'priming' suspects at the start of the interview about the 'roles' each of them has and the purpose of the interview (e.g. "I will ask you a number of questions, this is your opportunity to tell your side of the story, etc"). Making a suspect feel uncomfortable may lead the suspect to behave more confrontationally towards the interviewer thus moving into Relational-Antagonistic behaviours.

Relational-Antagonistic Scenario

In this scenario the suspect may be engaging with the interviewer but in a hostile manner by being confrontational or demonstrating a negative attitude. The techniques identified by Abbe and Brandon (2013) and outlined in the Relational-Avoidant scenario also apply to this scenario in an attempt to move a suspect to become more Relational-Compliant.

³¹ <https://www.gov.uk/arrested-your-rights>

Identity-Avoidant scenario

In this scenario suspects may deny any culpability for the offence or claim a lack of memory because their actions or their (potential) involvement contradicts their sense of identity or self. In this situation an interviewer must try to understand how the suspect sees him/herself, what his/her values and beliefs are and then demonstrate to the suspect that admitting to the offence does not contradict the suspect's identity. Abbe and Brandon (2013) argue that this may be the hardest scenario to overcome as it requires a depth of understanding of suspect identity that may not be achievable. As outlined above, there are opportunities for interviewers to use information prior to the interview to build up an understanding of the suspect.

Allowing suspects to save-face whilst talking about the offence is key to ensuring suspects can continue to maintain their identity in the eyes of the interviewer. By understanding the suspect, the interviewer may convince them to move from denying the offence to describing how he/she has been victimised, therefore discussing what happened but maintaining his/her self-image (moving into Identity-Antagonistic).

Identity-Antagonistic scenario

In this scenario a suspect may claim that they are the victim. Similar to the Identity-Avoidant scenario, the interviewer needs an understanding of how the suspect sees themselves and how they want to be seen by others. However, the interviewer can encourage the suspect to provide a version of events which initially allows them to portray themselves as the victim. The interviewer can then challenge this account through effective debriefing whilst allowing the suspect to continue to maintain their image through using strategies such as demonstrating their own good character or showing remorse (moving into Compliant-Identity).

Future directions

In this chapter I have already highlighted how the limitations to both data collection and analysis could be overcome through further research. This section covers some of the

outstanding research questions this thesis has identified and how both the Social-Cognitive Model of suspect behaviour and the Suspect Cylinder Model could be further developed and refined through addressing these outstanding questions.

The Social-Cognitive Model of suspect behaviour should be further tested and the model expanded to include other factors which could fit into the cognitive processes, behaviours and environment. The behavioural styles proposed in this thesis should be tested against different datasets of police-suspect interviews to identify whether suspect behaviour continues to fit into the three behavioural styles (Compliant, Antagonistic or Avoidant) and the motivational frames (Instrumental, Relational or Identity). The theoretical model of suspect behaviour, particularly the attribution of blame, may be more applicable for suspects arrested for interpersonal offences due to the emotive nature of these offences. Future research should compare the behaviour of suspects arrested for interpersonal versus non-interpersonal offences.

Chapter Six has demonstrated how one suspect can move through all three behavioural styles and provided suggestions for what led the suspect to change his behaviour. Research should test these research findings further with more suspects and consider developing a coding scheme to record interviewer behaviour. Research should also consider using proximity analysis to understand the strength of the association between interviewer and suspect behaviour.

One of the main challenges for a police interviewer is dealing with uncooperative suspects (what this thesis has defined as an Avoidant Behavioural Style) and identifying how to turn them into a cooperative suspect (a Compliant Behavioural Style). Further research should focus on interviews where suspects have used a predominantly Avoidant behavioural style (e.g. given no comment or a prepared statement) but have then made any utterances, and determine what, if anything, moved the suspect between behavioural styles. In Study Two reported in Chapter Three, 29 interviews (36%) were coded as the suspect avoiding answering questions and in 17 (21%) of these interviews, the suspect used at least one other strategy indicating that this is more common than we might expect.

This thesis, and in particular Study One, demonstrated the benefits of the researcher being physically present at the police station and directly observing the interviews. There is a wealth of data which could provide valuable insights into suspect behaviour including the interactions suspects have with others (such as the custody sergeant, legal advisor, appropriate adult, or other suspects), the behaviour of suspects on arrival, in the police cell, and before and after the interview. Chapter Two highlighted the limitations of using a direct-observational method therefore future research should consider combining both direct-observational methods with subsequent coding of recorded interviews.

This thesis has also highlighted the importance of separating out domestic offences from other offences and how the behaviour of suspects arrested for domestic offences has been found to be significantly different from other suspects. Further research should explore domestic offences and consider what might be an effective interview strategy to deal with them.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Ethical approval forms



UNIVERSITY OF
SURREY

Lucy Arnold
Faculty of Arts & Human Sciences

Ethics Committee

10 September 2007

Dear Ms Arnold

EO/2007/09/FAHS

On behalf of the Ethics Committee, I am pleased to confirm a favourable ethical opinion for the above research on the basis described in the submitted protocol and supporting documentation.

Date of confirmation of ethical opinion: **Monday 10th September 2007**

The final list of documents reviewed by the Committee is as follows:

Document	Date
Summary of the project	10/9/2007
Detailed protocol for the project	10/9/2007
Evidence of agreement of other collaborators	10/9/2007
Information Sheet for participants	10/9/2007
Consent form	10/9/2007
Questionnaire/Interview schedule	10/9/2007


This opinion is given on the understanding that you will comply with the University's Ethical Guidelines for Teaching and Research.

The Committee should be notified of any amendments to the protocol, any adverse reactions suffered by research participants, and if the study is terminated earlier than expected with reasons.

You are asked to note that a further submission to the Ethics Committee will be required in the event that the study is not completed within five years of the above date.

Please inform me when the research has been completed.

Yours sincerely



Aimee Cox (Miss)
Secretary, University Ethics Committee
Registry

cc: Professor T Desombre, Chairman, Ethics Committee

4

Part C Information for Submissions to the Ethics Committee for Full Review

Title of proposed research In the minds of suspects
 Name of researcher(s): LUCY ARNOLD

This Ethics submission is for (please tick one of the following two options):

- 1) Full review for the first time
 2) Expedited review (please tick one box)
- A revision in response to Ethics Committee feedback. Please attach an additional sheet that details your responses to the concerns listed previously, along with the original submission.
 - Modification of already approved project -- attach full previously approved proposal with a list of modifications or changes on a separate sheet
 - Departmentally-funded summer bursaries (or equivalent)
 - Practicals (i.e. 1st or 2nd year undergraduate)
 - M.Sc. unit with short deadlines (N.B. This does **not** include the dissertation)

Checklist for expedited and full reviews: Check that each of the following documents is enclosed with this form:

- (a) Written responses to the items 1-19, ✓
- (b) Recruitment information (e.g. letters to parents, information sheet, Participant Pool poster, if applicable), ✓
- (c) Informed Consent Form (required), ✓
- (d) Debriefing Form (required), ✓
- (e) All questionnaires / Interview schedule – (if applicable). N/A but COSINE SCHEME ATTACHED.

Decision of Ethics Committee: _____ **Date:** _____

- Favourable opinion M. Linnell 6/7/12
- Favourable opinion with provision [make the changes indicated on the proposal -- no need to re-submit].
- Unfavourable opinion - consult with your supervisor, tutor and/or mentor to rectify or address the concerns noted on the proposal, then resubmit following the instructions below.
- No opinion possible [see proposal for details and resubmit following the instructions below]

N.B. Revised proposals should be submitted in the departmental Office, Floor 1 King Henry Building. Remember to tick the first box under 2 above, tick the front sheet (Expedited review) and include (i) the original submission, (ii) the revised proposal (including a new cover sheet), and (iii) a list of your responses to the feedback.

4

UNIVERSITY OF PORTSMOUTH
26 JUN 2012 NAME AND NAME OF SUPERVISOR: <u>LUCY ARNOLD (SUP: JAMES OST)</u>
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT RESEARCH ETHICS FORM 11/12

Psychologists and students of psychology shall act in accordance with the ethical principles outlined in The British Psychological Society (1993) Code of conduct, Ethical principles, & Guidelines.
 Please note: if you require NHS approval for your project (e.g. for research on any aspect of the health service, including mental health) go through the NHS ethical procedure first, gain approval and submit to the departmental office on the 1st floor of King Henry Building – no further action required. Similarly, research involving animals must be assessed by the University Animal Ethics Committee to confirm that it is meeting Home Office Guidelines (see Victory for form), just let the office know once approved, no further action required.

What to do:

1. For any new or proposed research project, answer the 19 questions which address ethical issues regarding research in **Part A** below, in written form. Many questions refer to a fact sheet on Victory that will help you. Fact sheets and deadlines for submission are in the Ethics section, under Psychology Student Resources or Psychology Staff Resources.
2. If you are a student (postgraduate or undergraduate) make an appointment with your supervisor to go through your written responses to the 19 ethics questions and check Informed Consent forms etc.
 - After this, your supervisor will go through the checklist in **Part B** below with you to ascertain if your project involves issues sensitive enough to be submitted to the Ethics Committee for full review. Ask your supervisor if you need a **RISK ASSESSMENT** – see ethics fact sheet on Victory.
 - Your supervisor will then sign Declaration A OR Declaration B as a result of this discussion.
 - If your supervisor has signed Declaration A, your submission needs to go for full ethical review. MAKE SURE you complete **Part C** of the form with your supervisor and supply all requested documentation. Post your signed submission into the coursework box (if undergrad) on the first floor or to staff in the departmental office, in time for the monthly committee meeting. The deadline for this is usually the **last Wednesday of the month** (see deadlines on Victory) If you are an undergrad the end of November deadline is the last one you can submit to (see student handbook on Victory). You will normally hear the outcome of this within a week of the committee meeting (1st Wed of month) via your supervisor.
 - If your supervisor has signed Declaration B you must post your signed submission into the coursework box on the first floor so we can keep a record of all ethical reviews (keep a copy for yourself for your dissertation). You may then go ahead and start data collection, under the guidance of your supervisor.
3. For research by staff, University guidelines insist that all should go through full ethical review. The Principle Investigator should complete Part A and Part B below, sign the declaration and submit to the departmental office. Check to see if you need a **RISK ASSESSMENT** – see ethics fact sheet of Victory. If the researcher has signed Declaration B, this will be sent straight to the Chair of the Ethics Committee who may approve the research with no further action needed.

Please complete:

This submission is for:
 3rd Yr Project MSc Project PhD project Staff Project
 Expedited Review

Supervisor/PI has signed (tick after completing Page 3):

Declaration A (full review) Declaration B (supervisor declaration)

PART B TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISORS/PIs

SECTION 1: Please answer the following questions by ticking the appropriate box		Yes	No	N/A
Are your participants members of the following vulnerable groups?	Under 18 years of age	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	People with severe learning difficulties	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	People with mental health problems	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	People in custody	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	People engaged in illegal / illicit activities (e.g. drug-taking)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

No law
see
proposal

SECTION 2: Please answer the following questions by ticking the appropriate box		Yes	No	N/A
The committee recommends that all research involving such groups should normally be submitted for full review.				
Are you in a position of authority or influence over your participants? (e.g. a lecturer, the head of an organisation / society of which the participants are members?)		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are you going to be taking audio or video recordings?		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will your project involve deliberately misleading participants in any way?		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort?		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is there any realistic risk to the researcher of either physical or psychological distress or discomfort?		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. students at school, members of self-help groups, residents of a nursing home, incarcerated individuals).		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, illicit drug use, illegal activity)		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are participants required to ingest anything? (e.g. caffeine, alcohol)		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Does the study involve taking psychophysiological measures? (e.g. EEG, heart rate)		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Does the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you have ticked Yes to any of the questions in SECTION 2 you should normally submit a full proposal to the Ethics Committee for scrutiny.

SECTION 3: Please answer the following questions by ticking the appropriate box		Yes	No	N/A
Will you describe the main experimental procedures to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect?		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will you obtain written consent for participation (or on-line consent for internet-based research)?		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed?		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Will you tell the participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason?		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will the research take place on University premises?		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With questionnaires, will you give participants the option of omitting, or skipping, questions they do not wish to answer?		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

depends
see
proposal

If you have ticked No to any of the questions in SECTION 3 you should normally submit a full proposal to the Ethics Committee for scrutiny.

DECLARATION
(Please sign Declaration A OR Declaration B)

Declaration A
I am familiar with the BPS Guidelines for ethical practices in psychological research and have discussed them with the other researchers involved in the project. I consider that this project has substantive ethical implications and should be brought before the Psychology Department Research Ethics Committee.

Signed: *[Signature]* PA-LUCY ANJAN Print name: JAMES OST Date: 26 June 2012
 (Lead Researcher or Supervisor)
 Signed: *[Signature]* Print name: JAMES OST Date: 26 June 2012
 (UG or PG-Researcher(s), if applicable)

PHD project

Declaration B
I am familiar with the BPS Guidelines for ethical practices in psychological research and have discussed them with the other researchers involved in the project. I consider that this project has no substantive ethical implications to be brought before the Psychology Department Research Ethics Committee.

Signed: Print name: Date:
 (Lead Researcher or Supervisor)
 Signed: Print name: Date:
 (UG or PG Researcher(s), if applicable)
 Signed: Print name: Date:
 (Chair of Ethics Committee - for staff research only)

RECORD DECISION ON FRONT SHEET FOR THE OFFICE!!!!

Although archival research this is for PhD research thus needs to be seen by the committee.

Appendix B – Consent forms Study One

Participant Information Sheet

What is the research about?

The University of Surrey researchers are studying evidential police interviews by observing the interviews held at Police Stations XXXX.

Benefits of the research

The information gained from observing the interview will help us to understand police interviewing procedures and their decision-making processes.

What do I need to do?

You are not required to actively do anything. We require your consent to have a researcher observe the interview and take notes throughout regarding issues such as the structure of the interview and interactions within it. The nature and content of the interview are not of interest to the researcher, it is the process of the interview which is being observed and studied.

Will my participation in the research remain confidential?

Yes. Your name and details of the case will not be recorded, so your anonymity is guaranteed in terms of the information collected by the researchers. Whilst we will hear information about you and your alleged offence during the interview, this will not be recorded or discussed by us, following the interview. This is an observation of the interview process as a whole and not specifically of you as a suspect. We are required by law to put a copy of our research notes on file in a sealed envelope.

Do I have to take part in the research?

No, your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, so you are not obliged to take part. If you do not wish to take part, you do not have to give a reason and you will not be asked again. This decision will in no way, prejudice any action taken against you relating to your alleged offence. If you do consent to the observation, you can still request that the researcher leaves the interview room at any time, if you change your mind. Again, this will not prejudice any action taken against you.

Participant Information Sheet – Interviewing Officer

What is the research about?

The University of Surrey researchers are studying evidential police interviews by observing the interviews held at Police Stations XXX and asking interviewers to take part in a short questionnaire before and after they have conducted the interview.

Benefits of the research

The information gained from observing the interview and questionnaires will help us to understand police interviewing procedures and their decision-making processes.

What do I need to do?

We require your consent to have a researcher observe the interview and take notes throughout regarding issues such as the structure of the interview and interactions within it. The nature and content of the interview are not of interest to the researcher, it is the process of the interview which is being observed and studied. We also require your consent to answer two short questionnaires: one before and one after the observed interview. The questionnaires will ask you questions regarding the behaviours of those in the interview room and the decision making processes you have used during the interview.

Will my participation in the research remain confidential?

Yes. Your name and personal details will not be recorded, so your anonymity is guaranteed in terms of the information collected by the researchers. Whilst we may hear information about you during the research, this will not be recorded or discussed by us, following the interview. This is a study of the interview process as a whole and not specifically of you as an interviewer. We are required by law to put a copy of our research notes on file in a sealed envelope.

Do I have to take part in the research?

No, your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, so you are not obliged to take part. If you do not wish to take part, you do not have to give a reason and you will not be asked again. This decision will in no way affect your employment within the police. If you do consent to the observation or answering questions, you can still request that the researcher leaves the interview room at any time or discard your responses, if you change your mind. Again, this will not prejudice you.

Consent Form

- I voluntarily agree to take part in the research on evidential police interviews by agreeing to my interview being observed.
- I understand, and agree to a researcher being present during my police interview who will observe the process and take notes.
- I have read and understood the information sheet provided. I have been given a full explanation of the nature and purpose of the study and my role within it. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions on all aspects of the study and have understood the advice and information given as a result.
- I understand that all personal data relating to volunteers is held and processed in the strictest confidence, and in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998). I agree that I will not seek to restrict the use of the results of the study on the understanding that my anonymity is preserved.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without needing to justify my decision and without prejudice. I can do this by requesting the researcher leave the interview room. This will not harm my case with respect to the police interview.
- I confirm that I have read and understood the above and freely consent to participating in this research by agreeing to my interview being observed. I have been given adequate time to consider my participation and agree to comply with the research.

SUSPECT

SIGNED

DATE

LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

SIGNED

DATE

RESEARCHER

SIGNED

DATE

Consent Form – Interviewing officer

- I voluntarily agree to take part in the research on evidential police interviews by agreeing to the interviews I hold being observed (as appropriate through discussion with researchers) and answering two short questionnaires.
- I understand, and agree to a researcher being present during the interview who will observe the process, take notes and ask me questions before and after the interview.
- I have been briefed about the nature and purpose of the study and my role within it. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions on all aspects of the study and have understood the advice and information given as a result.
- I understand that all personal data relating to volunteers is held and processed in the strictest confidence, and in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998). I agree that I will not seek to restrict the use of the results of the study on the understanding that my anonymity is preserved.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without needing to justify my decision and without prejudice. I can do this by requesting the researcher leave the interview room or refusing to complete the questionnaires.
- I confirm that I have read and understood the above and freely consent to participating in this research by agreeing to my interview being observed and completing two questionnaires. I have been given adequate time to consider my participation and agree to comply with the research.

INTERVIEWING OFFICER

SIGNED

DATE

RESEARCHER

SIGNED

DATE

Debrief sheet

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research focusing on evidential police interviews. The observations recorded during the interview will be collated together. There is no identifiable information recorded and the copy of the observation notes will be kept in a sealed envelope on the file relating to the specific case. Once a sufficient number of interviews have been observed, we will be drawing conclusions and writing a report about the findings.

Thank you again for participating and if you have any further questions about the research, please contact Lucy Arnold at the address below.

Lucy Arnold
University of Surrey
School of Arts and Humanities
Department of Psychology
Guildford
SURREY
GU2 7XH

Appendix C – A comparison of interviews listened to with those observed

Table C.1: A comparison of participant demographics between interviews listened to (n = 7) with those observed (n = 59) for Study One

Station: A	71% (5)	51% (30)
B	29% (2)	49% (29)
Male	86% (6)	76% (45)
White British	100% (7)	90% (53)
Average age	24 years	23 years
Age range	14-39 years	14-56 years
Offences against person	29% (2)	44% (26)
Offences against property	43% (3)	29% (17)
Domestic Offences	43% (3)	25% (15)
Other offences	14% (1)	15% (9)
Known to the police	86% (6)	81% (48)
Previous convictions	86% (6)	70% (41)
Arrested for multiple offences	57% (4)	27% (16)
Co-Defendants	29% (2)	56% (33)
Vulnerable	43% (3)	34% (20)
Legal Advisor	43% (3)	41% (24)
Outcome: No further action	29% (2)	14% (8)
Outcome: Caution	14% (1)	10% (6)
Outcome: Bailed	14% (1)	46% (27)
Outcome: Charged	43% (3)	27% (16)
Compliance	100% (7)	97% (57)
Intoxicated	29% (2)	58% (34)
Minimise	43% (3)	59% (35)
Lack of Memory	71% (5)	56% (33)
Admit	86% (6)	66% (39)
Deny	86% (6)	73% (43)
Alternative Events	29% (2)	66% (39)
Culpability of Victim (maximise)	43% (3)	46% (27)
Negative Attitude	14% (1)	27% (16)
Nervous	14% (1)	36% (21)
Malicious Allegation	29% (2)	34% (20)
Remorseful	57% (4)	39% (23)
Protect Others	43% (3)	36% (21)
Concern for Future	14% (1)	32% (19)
Confrontational	0% (0)	29% (17)

Exaggerate	0% (0)	22% (13)
Verbally Aggressive	0% (0)	15% (9)
High Stakes	43% (3)	46% (27)
No Comment	0% (0)	31% (18)
Justifying Behaviour	100% (7)	64% (38)
Emphasise Good Character	71% (5)	49% (29)
Seek Sympathy	71% (5)	46% (27)
Victimised	57% (4)	41% (24)
Victim Bad Character	29% (2)	37% (22)
Implicate Others	29% (2)	27% (16)
Gives Own Evidence	43% (3)	27% (16)
Q. Reliability of Evidence	0% (0)	25% (15)
Look for Agreement	29% (2)	10% (6)
Victim Empathy	14% (1)	9% (5)
Prove It Response	0% (0)	7% (4)
Physically Aggressive	0% (0)	2% (1)

Appendix D – Coding sheet Study One

Offence/Suspect/Arrest Factors		Interview Factors	
Age of suspect	(years)	Legal Advisor Requested	
Gender	M / F	Legal Advice by	Phone / F-2-F
Ethnicity	W / B / A / O / M	Appropriate Adult	Y / N
Co-defendants?	Y / N (number)	AA Related	Y / N / NA
Alleged Offence(s)		Interpreter	Y / N
Offence type	Planned/Spontaneous	Time Interviewed	
Known offender	Y / N	Length of interview	
Pre-cons (No.)	██████	Breaks in interview (No.)	
Pre-Offences (No.)	Offence against Person	Impact of Legal Advisor	0 – 5 (NA)
	Offence against property	Who dominated interview?	
	Driving offences	Type of account	NC
	Theft		Full
	Public Order		Partial
	Police/Prisons	Outcome of interview	NFA
	Drugs		Caution
	Drunk & Disorderly		
	Other (state)		
Mental Health			Bailed
Vulnerabilities	YP / LD / FN / PYO / Other		Charged
Intoxication	Drugs / Alcohol	Observer Influence	Yes / No
Time of Arrest			
Location of arrest	Crime scene	Evidence	CCTV
	Home		DNA
	Elsewhere (state)		WS
Restraints	Baton		VS
	CS Gas		Photos
	Cuffs		Other
	Other		Weight of evidence
Time Processed		Notes	
██████			
Relationship w. aggrieved	Partner		
	Family		
	Friend		
	Acquaintance		
	Stranger		
Involvement of aggrieved	0 – 5		
Extent of Victim Injuries	0 – 5		

Offence type	Violent	
	Sexual	
	Theft	
	Drugs	
	Other	

Suspect strategies		Details
Understanding of Caution	0-5	
Initial acc: Amount of Detail	0-5	
Willingness to Talk	0-5	
Admission (partial, complete and indirect)	0-5	
Compliance	0-5	
Concern for future	0-5	
Nervousness	0-5	
Victim Empathy	0-5	
Remorse	0-5	
Justifies behaviour	0-5	
Enquires/predicts outcome	0-5	
High Stakes	0-5	
Minimisation	0-5	
Looks for agreement	0-5	
Looks for sympathy	0-5	
Lack of memory	0-5	
Maximisation (emphasise culpability of aggrieved)	0-5	
Malicious Allegation	0-5	
Verbally Aggressive	0-5	
Physically Aggressive	0-5	
Claim allegations are exaggerated	0-5	
Aggrieved bad character	0-5	
Storytelling/Prepared Account	0-5	
Emphasise Good Character	0-5	
Suspect Victimised	0-5	
Denial (partial, complete and indirect)	0-5	
Protect Others	0-5	
Alternative events	0-5	
Negative attitude	0-5	
Confrontational	0-5	
Experienced interviewee	0-5	
Uses police language	0-5	
Avoids directly answering questions	0-5	
Prove it	0-5	
Fishing for Information	0-5	
Bargaining	0-5	
Questions reliability of evidence	0-5	
Implicates others/co-defendants	0-5	

Provides own evidence				0-5		
Consistency of account				0-5		
CC 0-5	HO 0-5	BD 0-5	TD 0-5			
Changes in strategy						

Appendix E – Coding suspect offences for Studies One and Two

Table E.1: A description of how the main offence was coded for in each case where the suspect was arrested for more than one main offence

Participant	Main offence	Second offence	Offence details
C07	Assault	Possession of class B cannabis	Arrested for allegedly assault ex-girlfriend's brother and after being arrested, searched and found with drugs
C15	Public order – Section 5	Possession of Class B – Cannabis	Police called to reports by neighbour shouting. Police find cannabis in property, suspect becomes violent when police try to arrest hum
C22	Possession with intent to supply Class A	Assault/obstruct police	Police search property and find drugs, suspect became violent when police try to arrest them and another person
C44	Possession of Class A - cocaine	ABH	Suspect was arrested for ABH but on arrest was found with cocaine
H98	Possession of Class A – cocaine	Section 5 Public Order	Interviewed on two separate occasions for each offence
H101	Possession of Class A – cocaine	Section 5 Public Order	Interviewed on two separate occasions for each offence
C52	ABH	Section 136 MHA	Suspect initially arrested under section 136 of MHA as was found leaning over a bridge threatening to jump but was subsequently identified as suspect for ABH earlier that day
C77	Possession with intent to supply Class B - Cannabis	Driving whilst disqualified	Vehicle stopped and searched at airport and police found packets of cannabis in a sock. Suspect was driving vehicle whilst disqualified
C69	Theft of motor vehicle	Driving without insurance	Stole a car and had no insurance
C12	Theft of motor vehicle	Driving without insurance	Stole a car and had no insurance
H112	Aggravated theft of motor vehicle	Road Traffic collision	Suspect arrested for stealing a car and then crashing it
C20	Public order – section 4	Resist arrest	Police called to a domestic dispute, suspect found throwing items around the house, tries to resist arrest.
H86	Theft	Assault	Suspect arrested for theft and then further arrested for an allegation of assault which took place a month earlier. Theft was dealt with first

H97	Theft - shoplifting	Assault – threw basket at security guard	Suspect accused of stealing wine and when security guard tried to apprehend him, suspect threw a basket at the guard in an attempt to escape. No injuries identified.
H102	ABH	Shoplifting	Suspect arrested for ABH against partner but subsequently arrested for and discusses a shoplifting offence
H109	Assault Police	Begging – section4?	Suspect initially arrested for begging but becomes violent on arrest
K117	Criminal damage	Theft from motor vehicle, theft of mobile phone	Arrested for criminal damage but had two outstanding offences which took place on two separate occasions
K124	False imprisonment and ABH	Breach of bail	Suspect arrested for a domestic offence against his ex-partner but is also in breach of his bail

Table E.2: A description of how each offence was classified for each case

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
1	Station C	No	No	Other	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS B		
2	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
3	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
4	Station C	No	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
5	Station C	No	No	Domestic	CHILD NEGLECT		
6	Station C	Yes	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY	BREACH OF NON-MOLESTATION ORDER	
7	Station C	Yes	Yes	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS B	
8	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING		
9	Station C	Yes	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY	SEXUAL ASSAULT SECTION 3	
10	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
11	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
12	Station C	Yes	Yes	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-TWOC	DRIVING OFFENCE-DOCUMENTS no INSURANCE	VEHICLE INTERFERENCE
13	Station C	No	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
14	Station C	No	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
15	Station C	Yes	Yes	violent (person)	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS B	PUBLIC ORDER-SECTION 5 POA	
16	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	BURGLARY-DWELLING		
17	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	CRIMINAL DAMAGE		
18	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	PUBLIC ORDER-SECTION 4A RACIALLY AGGRAVATED		
19	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING		
20	Station C	Yes	Yes	Domestic	BREACH OF THE PEACE	VIOLENT OFFENCE-RESIST ARREST	
21	Station C	No	No	Domestic	SEXUAL OFFENCE - RAPE FEMALE OVER 18		
22	Station C	Yes	Yes	Other	DRUG OFFENCE - POSSESSION WITH INTENT TO SUPPLY CLASS A	VIOLENT OFFENCE - ASSAULT/OBSTRUCT POLICE	
23	Station C	No	No	Other	DRIVING OFFENCE-DRINK/DRUG DRIVING		
24	Station C	No	No	Other	VIOLENT OFFENCE -POSSESSION OF AN OFFENSIVE WEAPON		
25	Station C	No	No	Other	DRIVING OFFENCE-DRINK/DRUG DRIVING FOLLOWING RTC		
26	Station C	No	No	Other	DRIVING OFFENCE-DRINK/DRUG DRIVING		

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
27	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
28	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING		
29	Station C	No	No	Domestic	BURGLARY-NON-DWELLING		
30	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
31	Station C	Yes	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY	PUBLIC ORDER-AFFRAY	
32	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
33	Station C	Yes	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-OTHER	THEFT-GOING EQUIPPED	
34	Station C	Yes	No	Domestic	THEFT-OTHER	FRAUD BY FALSE REPRESENTATION	
35	Station C	Yes	No	Other	SEXUAL OFFENCE - OTHER POSSESSION	DISTRIBUTION OF INDECENT IMAGES	
36	Station C	Yes	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH	criminal damage to a telephone	
37	Station C	No	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-THREATS TO KILL		
38	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
39	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	FRAUD - BY FALSE REPRESENTATION		
40	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
41	Station C	No	No	Domestic	CRIMINAL DAMAGE- ARSON WITH INTENT TO ENDANGER		

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
42	Station C	No	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
43	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	FRAUD - FRAUDULENT EVASION OF DUTY		
44	Station C	Yes	Yes	other	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS A	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH	
45	Station C	Yes	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE - ASSAULT/OBSTRUCT POLICE	DRUNK AND DISORDERLY	
46	Station C	No	No	other	DRIVING OFFENCE-DRINK/DRUG DRIVING		
47	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
48	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING		
49	Station C	No	No	other	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS A		
50	Station C	Yes	No	other	DRIVING OFFENCE-DRINK/DRUG DRIVING	DRUG OFFENCE- POSSESSION OF CLASS B	
51	Station C	Yes	No	other	DRIVING OFFENCE-DRINK/DRUG DRIVING	DRUG OFFENCE- POSSESSION OF CLASS B	
52	Station C	Yes	Yes	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH	SECTION 136 MHA	
53	Station C	No	No	other	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS A		
54	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING		

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
55	Station C	Yes	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH	DRIVING OFFENCE- FAILING TO STOP AT SCENE OF ACCIDENT	
56	Station C	No	No	other	DRIVING OFFENCE-DOCUMENTS NO INSURANCE		
57	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING		
58	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING		
59	Station C	No	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
60	Station C	Yes	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH	CRIMINAL DAMAGE	
61	Station C	No	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-GBH		
62	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-OTHER (CHARITY BOX)		
63	Station C	No	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
64	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
65	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
66	Station C	No	No	domestic	BREACH OF INUJUNCTION (RESTRAINING ORDER)		
67	Station C	No	No	other	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS A		
68	Station C	No	No	other	IMMIGRATION OFFENCE- FACILITATE THE ILLEGAL ENTRY OF AOTHER		

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
69	Station C	Yes	Yes	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-TWOC	DRIVING OFFENCE-NO INSURANCE	
70	Station C	No	No	other	DRIVING OFFENCE-DRINK/DRUG DRIVING		
71	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-OTHER-VEHICLE INTERFERENCE		
72	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-OTHER-GOING EQUIPPED		
73	Station C	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING		
74	Station C	Yes	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-OTHER (IPOD)	THEFT-OTHER-GOING EQUIPPED	
75	Station C	Yes	No	domestic	CHILD NEGLECT	CHILD ABUSE-CHILD CRUELTY	
76	Station C	No	No	domestic	BREACH OF INUJUNCTION (RESTRAINING ORDER)		
77	Station C	Yes	Yes	other	DRUG OFFENCE-INTENT TO SUPPLY CLASS B	DRIVING OFFENCE-WHILST DISQUALIFIED	DRIVING OFFENCE-DOCUMENTS NO INSURANCE
78	Station C	No	No	violent (person)	PUBLIC ORDER-SECTION 4A RACIALLY AGGRAVATED		
79	Station C	Yes	No	domestic	CRIMINAL DAMAGE-OTHER PROPERTY	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BEATING	BREACH OF HARRASSMENT ORDER

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
80	Station C	Yes	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY	CRIMINAL DAMAGE-OTHER (HAIRDRYER)
81	Station A	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	BURGLARY-DWELLING		
82	Station A	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE - ASSAULT/OBSTRUCT POLICE		
83	Station A	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
84	Station A	No	No	other	SECTION 5 POSSESSION OF FIREARMS		
86	Station A	Yes	Yes	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-OTHER	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY	
87	Station A	No	No	violent (person)	CRIMINAL DAMAGE		
88	Station A	No	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BEATING		
89	Station A	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-GBH		
90	Station A	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
91	Station A	Yes	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-HANDLING STOLEN GOODS	BURGLARY-DWELLING	
92	Station A	Yes	Yes	violent (person)	CRIMINAL DAMAGE-OTHER PROPERTY	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY	

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
93	Station A	No	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
94	Station A	No	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
95	Station A	Yes	No	other	DRIVING OFFENCE-DRINK/DRUG DRIVING	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS A	
96	Station A	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-OTHER (MAGAZINES)		
97	Station A	Yes	Yes	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING	VIOLENT OFFENCE-OTHER (THREW BASKET)	
98	Station A	Yes	Yes	other	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS A	SECTION 5 - PUBLIC ORDER	
99	Station A	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE - ASSAULT/OBSTRUCT POLICE		
100	Station A	Yes	No	violent (person)	SECTION 5 - PUBLIC ORDER	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY	
101	Station A	Yes	Yes	other	DRUG OFFENCE-POSSESSION OF CLASS A	SECTION 5 - PUBLIC ORDER	
102	Station A	Yes	Yes	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING	
103	Station A	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE – AFFRAY		
104	Station A	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
105	Station A	No	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
106	Station A	Yes	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY	CRIMINAL DAMAGE	
107	Station A	No	No	domestic	CRIMINAL DAMAGE		
108	Station A	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE - ASSAULT/OBSTRUCT POLICE		
109	Station A	Yes	Yes	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE - ASSAULT/OBSTRUCT POLICE	SECTION 4 - BEGGING	
110	Station A	Yes	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-ROBBERY	TFMV	
111	Station A	Yes	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-ROBBERY	TFMV	
112	Station A	Yes	Yes	theft/deceit (property)	AGGRAVATED TOMV	DRIVING OFFENCE-ROAD TRAFFIC INCIDENT	
113	Station A Reliability	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
114	Station A Reliability	Yes	No	domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-THREATS TO KILL	CRIMINAL DAMAGE	MISUSE OF COMMUNICATION
115	Station A Reliability	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
116	Station A Reliability	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-COMMON ASSAULT/BATTERY		
117	Station B	Yes	Yes	domestic	CRIMINAL DAMAGE	THEFT-OTHER-MOBILE PHONE	TFMV
118	Station B	Yes	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-THREATS TO KILL	CRIMINAL DAMAGE	HARRASSMENT
119	Station B	No	No	violent (person)	PUBLIC ORDER-VIOLENT DISORDER		

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
120	Station B	No	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
121	Station B	No	No	violent (person)	SECTION 5 - PUBLIC ORDER		
122	Station B	No	No	Domestic	CRIMINAL DAMAGE		
123	Station B	No	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH (ON CHILD)		
124	Station B	Yes	Yes	Domestic	FALSE IMPRISONMENT	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH	BREACH OF BAIL
125	Station B	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	TOMV		
127	Station B	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-BURGLARY		
128	Station B	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-BURGLARY		
129	Station B	No	No	violent (person)	CRIMINAL DAMAGE		
130	Station B	No	No	Other	DRUG OFFENCE - POSSESSION WITH INTENT TO SUPPLY CLASS A		
131	Station B	No	No	Other	DRUG OFFENCE - POSSESSION WITH INTENT TO SUPPLY CLASS A		
132	Station B	No	No	Other	DRUG OFFENCE - POSSESSION WITH INTENT TO SUPPLY CLASS A		
133	Station B	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-GBH		
134	Station B	No	No	Domestic	HARRASSMENT		
135	Station B	No	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-THREATS TO KILL		
136	Station B	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
137	Station B	No	No	Domestic	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
138	Station B	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-GBH		

CASE	SOURCE	MULTIPLE ARREST	MULTIPLE OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE	MAIN OFFENCE DETAIL	SECOND OFFENCE	THIRD OFFENCE
139	Station B	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-GBH		
140	Station B	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT-SHOPLIFTING		
141	Station B	No	No	theft/deceit (property)	BURGLARY-DWELLING		
142	Station B	Yes	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT	CRIMINAL DAMAGE	
143	Station B	Yes	No	theft/deceit (property)	THEFT	CRIMINAL DAMAGE	
144	Station B	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-ABH		
146	Station B Reliability	No	No	Domestic	SEXUAL OFFENCE - RAPE FEMALE OVER 18		
147	Station B Reliability	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-GBH WITH INTENT		
148	Station B Reliability	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-GBH WITH INTENT		
149	Station B Reliability	No	No	violent (person)	VIOLENT OFFENCE-GBH WITH INTENT		

Appendix F – Recruitment letter Study Two

Lucy Arnold
PhD Student
University of Portsmouth
Department of Psychology
University of Portsmouth
King Henry Building
King Henry I Street
Portsmouth
PO1 2DY

Police Force Address

To [Police Force contact],

Re: Invitation to participate in research on suspect behaviour

I would like to invite you to participate in my research investigating suspect behaviour during police interviewing. I would like to listen to and code evidential police interviews to continue exploring suspect behaviour during interview.

What is the research about?

The aim of the proposed research is to expand on previous research findings to identify:

1. A reliable set of suspect strategies, grouped into three distinct typologies, which could be used by interviewing officers to determine how a suspect is likely to behave during interview; and
2. The type of responses given by interviewing officers that are most effective when dealing with the strategies used by suspects.

In previous research I have directly observed over 100 police interviews and identified that suspects use a number of strategies during an interview in order to create the best outcome for them regarding the accusations made against them. These strategies can include minimising their involvement in the offence or claiming a lack of memory for the incident. I have found that certain strategies are more likely to co-occur and I have grouped these co-occurring strategies into three stable typologies labelled as Compliant Confessors, Aggressive Deniers and Malicious Minimisers

Will this research be of benefit to the police?

The proposed project will generate new knowledge about a suspect's behaviour during interview. By enhancing knowledge and awareness of suspect strategies during interviews the findings of this research could have direct implications for interviewing practice by, for example, helping in the planning of interview strategy.

What do I need to do?

I require your consent to allow access to a sample of 75 interview audio-tapes with (different) suspects arrested for a random sample of high-volume crime offences and who

may or may not have been subsequently charged for the offence(s). The sample needs to be drawn from closed cases, conducted in the last five years, which (if applicable) have already been processed through the criminal system. If possible, I will also require your consent to the researcher removing the interview tapes from the police station/coding the interview tapes within the grounds of the police station at a convenient time.

Who am I?

I am a part-time PhD student studying at the University of Portsmouth. I have been researching police interviews with suspects over five years. I have presented my research at a number of conferences both in the UK and internationally and my findings have been well received. Prior to starting my PhD, I completed an undergraduate degree in Psychology at Portsmouth University obtaining first class honours and then went on to complete a Masters in Forensic Psychology at the University of Surrey obtaining a distinction. I am a member of the International Investigative research group (iIRG). I now work full-time as a social science researcher for the Ministry of Defence and I have Developed Vetting.

Will participating in the research remain confidential?

Details of the participating police force and its staff will not be recorded in the academic write up of this research but will be disclosed to ACPO. Whilst I may hear information about the force and its staff during the research, this will not be recorded or discussed by me following the interview - therefore confidentiality of the interviewing officer(s) is guaranteed. Other than me, only my Supervisory Team will have access to the raw data.

Do I have to take part in the research?

No. Although this study has been endorsed by ACPO and NPIA participation is entirely voluntary and, although I would hope you would wish to, you are not obliged to take part. If you do not wish to take part, you do not have to give a reason and I will not contact you again. This decision will in no way, affect your force and no information about forces who were contacted but did not wish to participate will be fed back to ACPO. If you do consent to allowing the researcher access to audio-taped interviews, you can still request that the researcher stops collecting data at any time, if you change your mind. Again, no information will be fed back to ACPO.

There is no identifiable information recorded and the copy of the observation notes will be kept in a sealed envelope on the file relating to the specific case. Once a sufficient number of interviews have been observed, we will be drawing conclusions and writing a report about the findings. As part of ACPO / NPIA's access agreement these findings will be shared with ACPO/NPIA for

If you have any further questions about my research, please contact me at the address above.

Yours faithfully,

Lucy Arnold

Consent Form

- I voluntarily agree to take part in the research on evidential police interviews by **(delete as appropriate)**:
 - Allowing the research to remove interview tapes from the police station on the proviso that they are securely held at all times and returned within agreed timescales;
 - Allowing the research to have access to code the interview tapes at the police station at a convenient time.

- I have been briefed about the nature and purpose of the study and my role within it. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions on all aspects of the study and have understood the advice and information given as a result.

- I understand that all personal data relating to volunteers is held and processed in the strictest confidence, and in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998). I agree that I will not seek to restrict the use of the results of the study on the understanding that my anonymity is preserved.

- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time without needing to justify my decision and without prejudice. I can do this by requesting the researcher leave the interview room.

- I confirm that I have read and understood the above and freely consent to participating in this research by allowing access to evidential police interview tapes from closed cases. I have been given adequate time to consider my participation and agree to comply with the research.

POLICE STATION

SIGNED

DATE

RESEARCHER

SIGNED

DATE

Debriefing Sheet

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research focusing on evidential police interviews. Through listening to, and coding, interview tapes this research aims to identify suspect strategies and group them into three distinct typologies which could be used by interviewing officers to determine how a suspect is likely to behave during interview. The research also aims to identify the type of responses given by interviewing officers that are most effective when dealing with the strategies used by suspects.

The findings of the research will be submitted to you and NPIA/ACPO in a clear and concise report providing recommendations for how they could be applied in police interviewing. The research will also form part of my PhD. The results of the analyses will also be presented at relevant academic / practitioner conferences (e.g., the International Investigative Interviewing Research Group; European Association of Psychology & Law) These data will also be submitted for publication in suitable high peer-reviewed journals (e.g., Law & Human Behavior; Psychology, Crime & Law).

The completed raw data will be stored securely for seven years from the appearance of any associated publication (subject to conditions of confidentiality / non-disclosure agreement) after which time they will be destroyed.

Thank you again for participating and if you have any further questions about the research, please contact Lucy Arnold at the address below.

Lucy Arnold
PhD Student
University of Portsmouth
Department of Psychology
University of Portsmouth
King Henry Building
King Henry I Street
Portsmouth
PO1 2DY

E: lucy.arnold@port.ac.uk

Appendix G – ACPO endorsement letter

T 01256 692548

M 07818 414728

E nicky.miller@npia.pnn.police.uk

Lucy Arnold (PhD student)
University of Portsmouth
Psychology Department
King Henry Building
King Henry Street
Portsmouth PO1 2DY

29th March 2012

Dear Lucy,

Re: Strategies used by suspects during interviews

Please accept this letter of endorsement for your proposed research examining the strategies used by suspects during investigative interviews as outlined in your proposal to the ACPO Research Sub-Committee on Investigative Interviewing.

As you are aware this group has been established to identify, evaluate and recommend any new research and learning in respect of Investigative Interviewing to the police service of England and Wales. While I am not sure that the research will offer a direct path towards recommendations by which to develop skills in this area, I do believe that it will add to the development of a broader body of knowledge around investigative interviewing with the *potential* to impact on the development of interview strategies. A presentation of the findings from the research would be welcomed by the ACPO group on completion of this phase of your research and analysis.

May I take this opportunity to wish you well in your research.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Nicky Miller
Chair ACPO Research Sub-Committee,
Investigative Interviewing.



Appendix H – Coding sheet and instructions for Study Two

CASE VARIABLES		
Researcher Case ID	Numerical from C 01/ R01	Gender
Age of suspect (years)		Co-defendants
Evidence	VS / WS / Photos / CCTV / DNA / police / Other / Not Stated	Relationship to victim
Only select if they are explicitly mentioned during interview	Found on custody front sheet	Family / Acquaintance /
Ethnicity		Legal Advice provided (present/phone)
Alleged Offence(s)	In PNC Source document under PNC ID	Anyone else present during interview
Previous Convictions	Y / N	Restraints used
Vulnerabilities	In detention log & risk assessment	Number of interviewers
Intoxicated at time of arrest	In detention log & risk assessment	Police Officer code
Significant Statement	Check both custody front sheet and when listening to start of interview	Interview Summary
Custody Outcome	In detention log	Found in detention log
CASE VARIABLES		SUPPORTING QUOTE
Deny (incl. Partial)	Circle if present	provide the best example to support your assessment - direct quotation if possible
Admit (incl. Partial)		
Justifying behaviour		
Minimise		
Suspect good character		
Seek Sympathy		
Maximising		
Victim		
Remorseful		
Malicious allegation		

Appendix I – Suspect strategy coding definitions

Strategy	Example (common and clear)
Denial	Includes partial as well as complete denial. Examples include:
	"there's no way I said all of this...that's simply not true...I didn't threaten to kill her". "certainly didn't have cocaine on me at that time of day...sounds very unlike me". "Can't see me punching her in the face". "I didn't punch him in the face...I don't go around biting fingers". "No, definitely not..."I thought what's the point in running when I ain't done nothing wrong"
Admission	Includes partial as well as complete admission. Examples include:
	"I spat at her". "may have done it". "Could have done it". "And I threw a punch". "I could have smashed it. I remember smashing a window".
justifies behaviour	Usually after describing a behaviour they give a reason as to why they did it. Examples include:
	"They were shouting 'bastard' at me". "She slapped me, I spat at her". "Of course I'm going to be mad aren't I, with that?". "I was drunk". "Said words...police officer was pissing me off, being an arsehole". "I'd never touch her unless I was out of my head". "I was angry at being thrown around in the van...hectic day". "He was calling me names". "I ran because [co-defendant] said that she was wanted"
Minimisation	Suspect uses language which minimises the actions they describe they did. Examples include:
	"been alright until this little argument". "controlled" victim to the ground. "I walked away quietly". "sixth of one, half a dozen of the other...had a bit of a scuffle inside". "Hey I didn't struggle...may have used force...pushed not hit". "just a jab, not a solid punch". "Just more of a reaction really". "well it was nothing really". "well it's not exactly serious now was it?"
emphasises good character	Suspect describes themselves in a positive way. Examples include:
	"I'm a professional doorman". "got my shit together". "doesn't do that sort of thing anymore". "Happily pay, not the kind of person to be smashing things up". "Annoyed I've been offensive - not how I've been brought up". "I don't speak like that...It's extremely unlike me to be offensive...It's not like me...I wasn't brought up that way". "I'm not one

Strategy	Example (common and clear)
	to start a fight". "I always plead when I've done it - not been in trouble for 2 years". "I'm not going to be doing street robberies...I'm not that stupid".
looks for sympathy	Suspect says something which might gain sympathy from others. Examples include: "They're goading and shouting at me". "I was very emotional". "If I had kept hold of him, he would be the accused". "I'm the one that's been picked up and thrown on the table". "I'll tell you what it is, it's the drink...I'm an alcoholic". "I'm in so much trouble with this mess". "Thought he was going to break my chain...it's quite sentimental".
Maximising	Suspect emphasises the culpability of the aggrieved. Examples include: "She headbutted me". "I bet she's calmed down herself again". "The boy is not the innocent party in this...a bit of a nuisance". "Two lads walking towards me in a threatening manner". "Swinging her arms around...kicking me...she started swinging at me". "It was both our faults...he was provoking me..."but says he only "mentally" attacked her.
Victim	Suspect claims that they are (also) the victim. Examples include: "police were here straight away so I think it was planned...it was all set up". "People dragging us about...T-shirt all ripped...cut my foot on some glass". "Look at the bruises on my arm".
Remorse	Suspect says they are sorry (even if they may not mean it) or shows some level of regret. Examples include: Said "I'm sorry". "shouldn't have done it...stupid...". "I apologise, please extend apology to arresting officer". "I shouldn't have done what I done...pissed off because I shouldn't have done it". "Stupid, absolutely pathetic". "Gutted, can't believe I done that". "I regret it". "sorry for abusive words to officer".
malicious allegation	Suspect claims that the allegations are false/lies. Examples include: "Don't know what she's going on about...she's always called the police for some stupid reason...get you in trouble for nothing". "she's saying that I said that but I don't remember saying that". "That's rubbish". "She would do, she's his partner". "he's talking shit". "That's not true at all". "I swear to you, I didn't do that, that's a lie, that's outrageous". "That's rubbish, bollocks".
Victim bad character	Emphasises the victim's bad character. Examples include:

Strategy	Example (common and clear)
	Describes victims as "thieves" and "drug addicts". "she admitted she starts all the arguments". "He was being a twat". "couldn't take a joke".
concern for the future	Suspect explicitly states that they are worried about the consequences of being arrested. Examples include: "I'm going to get charged aren't I?...my missus is going to kill me". At the end of the interview he states he might have lost his job. cries at the end of the interview about going to court. Worried about wife and being charged.
implicates others/co-defendants	Suspect explicitly implicates another person or a co-defendant. Examples include: states that his co-defendant had 'pushed' the male victim. he blames the friend (co-defendant) for most of it
Provides own evidence	Suspect tries to introduce or obtain additional evidence which they think would help support their account and uses 'evidence' language such as 'witness, cctv, prove'. Examples include: "mate could be a witness". "speak to her, she'll tell you". "That's his brother, I can prove it". "Spoke to the police so they will say I was there...he can tell you that because he was taking pictures of us". "The camera will see me...I've got about 10 witnesses".
questions evidence	The suspect challenges the evidence presented to them. Examples include: "statements mean nothing...I don't think you have got any CCTV". "He's talking shit then isn't he". "obviously first statement is different to the second"
allegations are exaggerated	Suspect claims the allegations are exaggerated - they may still admit to an offence but a less offence. Examples include: He did hold the man but not that hard. "making me out to be some sort of sex monster". "I didn't kick noone". "That's what his brother done. He's trying to blame that on me"
verbally aggressive	Suspect swears or makes verbal threats of violence. Examples include: "It's bollocks" twice. "You're listening to a bunch of junkies...not letting her in the fucking house"
victim empathy	Suspect shows some concern about the victim or other people involved in the alleged offence. Examples include: "God knows what happened to [aggrieved]". "I do love her" but also "She's really trying to get at me isn't she". Asked if anyone got seriously hurt.

Strategy	Example (common and clear)
enquires/predicts outcomes	Suspect asks what will happen or explicitly states what they think might happen. Examples include:
	"So will I be banged up all weekend?". "What will happen the? Am I going to be charged?". "What happens now?". "Do you reckon I'll get bailed?".
looks for agreement	Suspect poses a question in which they seek agreement from the interviewer. Examples include:
	"you've got to understand that...". "If you saw a girl get smashed up, would you just stand there?". "Wouldn't you think?". suspect reasons with the interviewers that he did what any normal person would do when they feel under threat.
lack of memory	Suspect explicitly states that he does not remember. Examples include:
	"That's honestly all I can remember". "I don't remember saying that". "I really don't remember and that's the gods honest truth..." and lots of "don't remember...haven't got a clue". "I don't recall...don't remember at all". "That's all I can remember to tell you the truth...I can't remember much...the next minute". "I can't really remember what happened". "I can't remember...had a lot to drink...obviously because I was drunk there were bits I remember and bits I don't". "I can't remember it happened so quickly". "I can't remember. I was so angry last night". "Not that I can remember".
protect others	Suspect explicitly avoids talking about others/co defendants. Includes giving NC to a direct question about others. Examples include:
	Says he can't remember if his friend threw any punches and says "[friend] is not an aggressive lad". uses his friend as the main reason why he got involved but refuses to give details about him. NC to other people's names. "Just a friend".
uses police language	Suspect uses police language when describing actions. This could be in repeating what the interviewer says or using it independently. Examples include:
	uses "asp" and "controlled her to the ground". somewhat - uses terms such as 'vulnerable' and 'aggressively' to ensure his actions and the actions of others are described appropriately. "a struggled ensued on the balcony". "come towards me in an aggressive manner". "Restrain...reasonable force". "How did I acquire it?". "excess force...intervened...alleged...offended an officer". Copies IO's words in his answers e.g. "threatening manner". "Did not obstruct".

Strategy	Example (common and clear)
fishing for information	Suspect enquires about evidence against them. Examples include:
	"What allegations? How serious?". At the beginning of the interview the S asks the IO if he has been given all the information. Asks why the police were there and asks if there are any witnesses. Asks whether partner has made a statement and asks who got a statement from victim. "Have you had a statement from the other boy?". Somewhat but he has been kept int he dark.
Bargaining	Suspect offers to provide information if they get something in return. Examples include:
	"If you enlighten me, maybe I can shed some light on the situation". "Off the record, what if I apologise?". "Does this offense have to be charged...you can't just give me a caution?". After the interview the suspect asks if he can contact the victim. "well I'll have to see the CCTV to tell you that".
Compliance	Suspect comes across as compliant and helpful.
	"I'll cooperate as much as I can with you...honestly, I'm trying to help you". Wants to appear very compliant, lots of "yeah...okay...no problem...that's fine".
alternative events	Suspect gives an account which differs from the one for which they were arrested for. Examples include:
	"Maybe I dropped the money". "never went into tescos". "She slipped and fell"
Nervousness	Only if the suspect explicitly states that they are nervous
Confrontational	Suspect challenges or argues with the interviewer(s). Examples include:
	"I don't see what that's got to do with anything". "I've just explained". "There's no point asking me questions and trying to catch me out".
negative attitude	Suspect is anti-police or has a negative attitude towards the interviewer(s). Examples include:
	"no point answering questions...there's no point asking the same questions because it's not going to change". Wore a T-shirt which said "if you see da police, call da brothers". "I'm not stupid...say what you want". "You're trying to trick me...trying to get me to stitch people up".
Storytelling	Suspect uses language which suggests that they have prepared the account they are giving (includes giving a written statement). Examples include:

Strategy	Example (common and clear)
	Provided a statement. "controlled her to the ground". Repeatedly says "The next thing I know...". He even said that he's had all night to think about it. "I didn't assault but I did obstruct". A bit - he was very exact with who he was with etc. Exact times, what he's been drinking, where he's been standing.
experienced interviewee	Suspect appears as someone who knows the process of the interview and has experience of being interviewed before. Examples include:
	suspect has had very little previous but he seems to know how the system works and what he should and should not admit to and his use of language such as 'they were moving towards us aggressively'. pyo and general good knowledge of interviewing throughout. Acted like he knows the system. Seems very relaxed during the whole interview but doesn't understand the process. "as you've asked me properly I'll tell you now". Know process when IO is explaining it. Seems very comfortable.
avoids directly answering questions	Suspect directly and intentionally does not answer a question put to them during the interview. Examples include:
	Suspect says "no comment" or remains silent to all or some questions or suspect or legal advisor read out a prepared statement.
prove it	asks if there is cctv regarding him punching the male
high stakes	Suspect states that the consequences of being arrested or charged are big for them. Examples include:
	Could lose his license. he had a big job (employment) on today. He's been working for two years. Lost a day's wage. "I want to go home...I've never done this before". Missed appointment with family. Mentions pre-cons and trying to go to college.
physically aggressive	If the suspect physically touches any person in the interview room in an aggressive way.

Appendix J – Data Screening for outliers

A breakdown of the analysis carried out on the 16 cases identified as outliers.

The following 16 cases were identified as outliers (Case ID: 29, 49, 18, 15, 26, 71, 108, 73, 142, 38, 47, 78, 53, 67, 9, & 45). Table I.1 shows the main differences between the 16 outliers and the rest of the sample and shows that the 16 outliers used more Compliant strategies and marginally more avoidant strategies than suspects in the total sample.

Table J.1: Comparison of the average number of strategies used per interview and divided by the duration of the interview for the whole sample (N = 144) and the outliers (n = 16)

Typology	Total sample (N = 144)				Outliers (n = 16)			
	Number of strategies used		Number of strategies used by interview duration		Number of strategies used		Number of strategies used by interview duration	
	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean
Avoidant (6 strategies)	2 (33%)	2.5	.11	.12	2 (33%)	2.1	.27	.25
Antagonistic (6 strategies)	1 (17%)	1.7	.06	.07	0 (0%)	1.1	.00	.12
Compliant (6 strategies)	3 (50%)	2.6	.11	.13	2 (33%)	2.3	.32	.30

The data in Table I.1 suggest that overall, the outlier cases have a higher strategy use by interview duration for all three strategies (avoidant, antagonistic and Compliant) compared to the overall sample but the average number of strategies used is lower for the antagonistic and Compliant strategies.

The data were further checked to determine if there were any differences between the outliers and the rest of the sample and presented in Table I.2.

Table J.2: Comparison of the background descriptive statistics for the whole sample (N = 144) and the outliers (n = 16)

Socio-demographic	Male	81% (n = 117)	69% (n = 11)
	White British	79% (n = 113)	81% (n = 13)

	Average age (median)	26 years	28 years
	Age range	14-57 years	16-53 years
	Vulnerable	45% (n = 65)	31% (n = 5)
	Known to the police	79% (n = 114)	75% (n = 12)
	Co-defendants	36% (n = 52)	31% (n = 5)
Criminological	Violent offence	31% (n = 45)	44% (n = 7)
	Theft/Deceit offence	23% (n = 33)	19% (n = 3)
	Domestic Offence	29% (n = 41)	13% (n = 2)
	Other offences	17% (n = 25)	25% (n = 4)
	Legal Advisor present	54% (n = 78)	75% (n = 12)
Wider Contextual	Interview duration range	4-150 minutes	4-15 minutes
	Average interview time	22 minutes	8.2 minutes
	No further action (NFA)	17% (n = 24)	13% (n = 2)
Interview outcome³²	Caution	13% (n = 19)	31% (n = 5)
	Bailed	40% (n = 58)	19% (n = 3)
	Charged	27% (n = 39)	31% (n = 5)
	Fixed Penalty Notice (FPN)	1% (n = 2)	6.3% (n = 1)

The data in Table I.2 suggests that the 16 outliers were less likely to be arrested for domestic offences (13% compared to 29%), more likely to have used a Legal Advisor (75% compared to 54%), more likely to have received a caution (31% compared to 13%) and less likely to have been bailed (19% compared to 40%). The most obvious difference between the two samples is the interview length with the 16 outliers being interviewed for an average of 8.2 minutes compared to the whole sample average being 22 minutes.

³² Two cases (again one from each study) had missing data on the outcome of the interview. As this only formed a small part of the analysis, these cases were kept in the sample.

Table J.3 – Comparison of all multivariate analyses carried out for the whole sample (N = 144) and when the outliers (n = 16) were removed (n = 128)

Case Characteristic	Main Effect		Avoidant		Antagonistic		Compliant	
	Total sample (N = 144)	Outliers removed (n = 128)	Total sample (N = 144)	Outliers removed (n = 128)	Total sample (N = 144)	Outliers removed (n = 128)	Total sample (N = 144)	Outliers removed (n = 128)
Gender	ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	ns
Ethnicity ^b	ns	p < .05	ns	Ns	Ns	p < .01	Ns	ns
Age			p < .05	p < .01	p < .05	p < .01	Ns	ns
Vulnerability ^c	ns	Ns	ns	Ns	Ns	ns	Ns	ns
Mental health ^b	ns	Ns	ns	ns	Ns	p < .05	Ns	ns
Young person	Ns	Ns	ns	ns	Ns	ns	Ns	ns
Foreign national ^b	Ns	Ns	ns	ns	p < .05	p < .05	Ns	ns
Known offender ^b	Ns	Ns	ns	ns	Ns	ns	Ns	ns
Co-Defendants ^b	p < .05	Ns	ns	ns	Ns	ns	p < .05	ns
Offence Type overall ^a	p < .001	p < .001	ns	ns	p < .001	p < .001	p < .05	ns
Violent offence ^a			ns	ns	p < .01	p < .001	P < .05	ns
Theft/deceit offence ^a			ns	ns	p < .001	p < .001	P < .05	ns
Domestic offence ^a			ns	ns	p < .01	p < .001	ns	ns
Legal Advisor present ^b	Ns	p < .01	ns	ns	Ns	ns	Ns	p < .01
Outcome overall ^b	p < .001	p < .001	p < .05	ns	Ns	ns	p > .001	p > .001
NFA			ns	ns	Ns	ns	p < .001	p < .001
Caution/FPN			ns	ns	Ns	ns	p < .001	p < .001
Bailed			ns	ns	Ns	ns	p < .001	p < .001
Charged			ns	ns	Ns	ns	p < .001	p < .001

^a The 'other' offence category was removed from 'offence type' variable therefore the sample sizes for this analyses were: N= 107 for outliers and N = 119 for the complete sample

^b This variable violated the assumptions of running a MANOVA therefore the outliers were removed and the MANOVA was no longer violated

^c This variable violated the assumptions of running a MANOVA even when the outliers were removed

Appendix K – Frequency of suspect strategy use for Study Two

Table K.1: Frequency of suspect strategy use ordered by most to least number of strategies used

Participant number	Strategy Type																	Total strategy use	
	Deny	Alternative events	Implic others	Own evidence	Avoids question	Lack of memory	Claims victim	Claims malicious	Bad victim	Confront	Neg attt	Seeks sympathy	Admits	Justify	Minimize	Good charact	Remorsagreemert		Looks
52	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	14
10	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	13
63	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	13
55	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	12
7	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	12
36	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
29	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	10
6	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	10
27	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	9
37	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	9
42	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	9
50	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	9
30	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	9
8	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	8
15	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	8
49	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	8
59	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
21	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	8

34	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	8
39	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	8
9	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	7
16	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
43	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	7
65	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	7
69	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	7
75	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	7
76	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
77	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	7
35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	6
13	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	6
31	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	6
38	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
41	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	6
46	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	6
57	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	6
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	6
68	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	5
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	5
18	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	5
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	5
40	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	5
45	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	5

48	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	5
56	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
58	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	5
62	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	5
64	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5
78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	5
80	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
24	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4
25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	4
26	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	4
51	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
73	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4
79	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
4	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
11	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
33	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
54	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
67	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3
71	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
17	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
23	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
28	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2

Appendix L – Jeffersonian Transcription Notation

Symbol	Name	Use
[text]	Brackets	Indicates the start and end points of overlapping speech.
=	Equal Sign	Indicates the break and subsequent continuation of a single interrupted utterance.
(# of seconds)	Timed Pause	A number in parentheses indicates the time, in seconds, of a pause in speech.
(.)	Micropause	A brief pause, usually less than 0.2 seconds.
. or ↓	Period or Down Arrow	Indicates falling pitch.
? or ↑	Question Mark or Up Arrow	Indicates rising pitch.
,	Comma	Indicates a temporary rise or fall in intonation.
-	Hyphen	Indicates an abrupt halt or interruption in utterance.
>text<	Greater than / Less than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more rapidly than usual for the speaker.
<text>	Less than / Greater than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more slowly than usual for the speaker.
°	Degree symbol	Indicates whisper or reduced volume speech.
ALL CAPS	Capitalized text	Indicates shouted or increased volume speech.
underline	Underlined text	Indicates the speaker is emphasizing or stressing the speech.
:::	Colon(s)	Indicates prolongation of an utterance.
(hhh)		Audible exhalation
? or (.hhh)	High Dot	Audible inhalation
(text)	Parentheses	Speech which is unclear or in doubt in the transcript.
((italic text))	Double Parentheses	Annotation of non-verbal activity.

Jeffersonian Transcription Notation is described in G. Jefferson, "Transcription Notation," in J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds), *Structures of Social Interaction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.