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Is Torture Ever Justified? The Influence Of Group Membership, Interrogation Approach, And Success On Attributions Of Interrogator Behavior And Perceived Acceptability Of Torture

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Dedication

To all of my teachers: past, present, and future

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Abstract

The purpose of these three experiments was to determine what factors affect Americans' attitudes toward torture and the interrogators who engage in torture. Using theories of intergroup bias, fundamental attribution error, and cognitive dissonance, the three experiments investigated how people make behavioral attributions for an interrogator, as well as how people perceive the acceptability, ethicalness, effectiveness, and procedural justice of the technique used. Four variables were manipulated: group membership of the interrogator and detainee, outcome of the interrogation, and type of interrogation tactic used. It was expected that people would make attributional and attitudinal judgments in a manner that preserved the integrity of their in-group. Specific hypotheses are discussed prior to each experiment.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

One only needs to watch the current presidential debates to appreciate that people's views on torture are varied. Three experiments were designed to investigate factors that may affect Americans' attitudes toward torture and other harsh interrogation techniques, as well as the interrogators who employ those techniques. Before exploring theoretical explanations of why people might support the use of torture, a brief history of American's attitudes toward torture since 9/11 will be detailed, and examples of current interrogation practices will be offered. Theories of intergroup bias, behavioral attributions, and cognitive dissonance will then be discussed with respect to how they may explain individuals' endorsement of torture, as well as milder, yet equally ineffective, harsh techniques.

Historical Perspective of Attitudes toward Torture in the U.S.

To more fully understand the public's views on torture, one should consider the recent historical context under which such varied attitudes have emerged. The United States has some history of publicly maintaining a stance against the use of torture. In the 1980's, the U.S. signed the United Nations Convention against Torture along with 146 other nations in a motion of solidarity to end the use of unethical interrogation practices around the world (United Nations, 1987). According to the Convention, torture was defined as "any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person" (United Nations, 1987, Part 1, Article 1). In recent history, both Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama consistently spoke out against the United States' use of torture (Associated Press, 2007; Associated Press, 2009). However, in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the political and ideological face of the United States changed. Many Americans became less concerned with upholding moral and ethical practices and more concerned with vengeance

and the prevention of future attacks, rallying behind President Bush in what was commonly referred to as the *war on terror* (Morgan, Wisneski, & Skitka, 2011). In this context, approval ratings for the Bush administration grew to an all-time high (Roper Center, 2009), the Patriot Act, a controversial bill that granted the federal government increased surveillance power, was passed with overwhelming support in both the House and Senate (U. S. House, 2001; U. S. Senate, 2001), and many Americans showed a greater willingness to trade their own civil liberties, along with the civil liberties of groups associated with the 9/11 attacks, for a perception of increased national security (Morgan, Wisneski, & Skitka, 2011). In fact, following the 9/11 attacks many media outlets reported that Americans actually supported the use of torture, particularly if it prevented another attack (for a review see Gronke, Rejali, Drenguis, Hicks, Miller, & Nakayama, 2010). Research also suggests that support for torture is related to political orientation, with the majority of increased support occurring among Republicans (Miller, Gronke, & Rejali, 2014). Part of the public's support may be due to claims from Dick Cheney and other Bush administrators that torture resulted in reliable intelligence that led to the saving of American lives (Shane, 2009).

Despite these claims, the use of torture has been shown to be ineffective in eliciting information from suspects (O'Mara, 2015; Rejali, 2009; Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 2014). For example, Rejali (2009) suggests that torture increases compliance but does not result in accurate intelligence collection due to the use of extreme coercion and intimidation tactics. Additionally, O'Mara (2011) suggests that the presence of extreme stressors during interrogations actually impairs our ability to recall information. Fortunately, Americans were quick to retract their support for diminished civil liberties in 2004, when reports of prisoner abuse and torture at U.S. interrogation camps such as Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay were released to the public (Carlson, 2005; Strasser & Whitney, 2004). Additionally, polling data aggregated by Gronke et al.

(2010) suggests that, despite the media's claim that Americans were in favor of torture, a majority of the American public actually *opposed* the use of torture between 2001 and 2009, even if it were being used to prevent future terrorist attacks. Following the reported abuses at Abu Ghraib, the issue of unethical interrogation practices became a subject of debate for the American public, so much so that President Barack Obama highlighted the closing of Guantanamo Bay in his presidential platform in 2008 (White House, 2009). More recently, the U.S. Senate revived the debate on torture when the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence released the results of a three year investigation into the CIA's use of torture between the years of 2001 and 2006. The report harshly criticized the CIA, revealing that the use of torture was not only ineffective in terms of eliciting reliable information from detainees, but also harsher than the CIA initially led the public to believe (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 2014). In response to the report, politicians and human rights organizations have called for reforms in legislation, as well as accountability for the CIA's actions (American Civil Liberties Union, 2014; Human Rights Watch, 2014; USA Today, 2014).

Attitudes toward Accusatorial Interrogation Approaches

While people's endorsement of torture has been historically varied across the past 30 years, people have widely supported the use of other problematic interrogation techniques. Bell (2008) developed a three-tier hierarchy of problematic interrogation techniques, with top and middle levels consisting of torture and milder physical abuse, respectively, and the bottom level consisting of coercive techniques. These coercive techniques, while milder and less harmful than torture and physical abuse, often use psychologically-manipulative interrogation tactics, but appear to raise few concerns among the American public. One of the most common methods of interrogation, accusatorial techniques are an example of these psychologically manipulative, coercive processes.

Such tactics can include physically isolating the suspect, maximizing the suspect's perception of the consequences of resistance, and minimizing the suspect's perception of his or her culpability and therein the likely consequences associated with cooperation (AFM 2-22.3, 2006; Inbau, Reid, Buckley, & Jayne, 2004; Kassin et al., 2010; Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004). Despite its widespread use, research has demonstrated that the tactics associated with accusatorial techniques are not only ineffective, but that they actually increase the likelihood of false confessions from suspects (Russano, Meissner, Narchet, & Kassin, 2005; Meissner, Redlich, Michael, Evans, Camilletti, Bhatt, & Brandon, 2014). False confessions, in turn, can result in wrongful convictions and imprisonment. According to the Innocence Project, 30% of all DNA exonerations involved false confessions (http://www.innocenceproject.org). Unfortunately, research has found that, although people recognize the unethical nature of accusatorial techniques, they still believe the techniques to be useful and necessary for eliciting confessions, and discount the likelihood that these techniques will elicit false confessions (Henkel, Coffman, & Dailey, 2008; Leo & Liu, 2009).

Because of the problems associated with accusatorial techniques, countries around the world have begun eliminating their use and instead implementing information gather techniques, which focus on interrogator-detainee rapport building, cooperation, and strategic presentation of evidence (see Meissner, Kelly, & Woestehoff, 2015, for a review). Along with using more ethically sound methodologies, information gathering approaches have been shown to be more effective when compared to accusatorial methods (Meissner, Russano, & Narchet, 2010; Meissner, Redlich, Michael, Evans, Camilletti, Bhatt, & Brandon, 2014). Unfortunately, there has been little or no public outcry for changes in police practices in the U.S. regarding the manipulative practices associated with accusatorial techniques, and accusatorial techniques continue to be used in U.S.

interrogation rooms (Redlich, Kelly, & Miller, 2014; Russano, Narchet, Kleinman, & Meissner, 2014; Reppucci, Meyer, & Kostelnik, 2010; Kassin, et al., 2007).

The apparent public approval of accusatorial techniques coupled with the public's varied attitudes toward torture calls into question when people will approve of one unethical technique, but disapprove of another. Although some recent experimental research has been conducted to investigate individuals' acceptance of coercive interrogation techniques and torture, many of these studies sought to understand why a participant might choose or recommend a certain interrogation technique, rather than assessing participants' perceptions of techniques already employed by an interrogator (e.g., Carlsmith & Sood, 2009; Hormant & Witkowski, 2011; Fischer, Oswald, & Seiler, 2013). The following sections will explore some of that research and its foundational theory, and offer alternative theories that may better explain when the public would (dis)approve of someone else's decision to employ an unethical interrogation technique.

Retributive Theory

According to *retributive theory*, peoples' support of torture is often fueled by a desire to retaliate against and punish those who have harmed them, despite claiming that harsh punishments should only be used to prevent future wrongdoings (i.e., for utilitarian purposes; see Carlsmith & Darley, 2008, for a review). In other words, peoples' beliefs about when harsh punishments and interrogation techniques should be used do not match their behaviors – people recommend the use of torture because of a desire to punish supposed terrorists, but claim torture should only be used to prevent terrorism. For example, Carlsmith and Sood (2009) presented participants with a scenario in which a terror suspect had either a high or low likelihood of having the relevant information, and was either guilty of prior crimes or had no prior criminal record. Participants were then asked to recommend an interrogation severity ranging from "extremely mild" to

"extremely severe." Carlsmith and Sood (2009) found that participants recommended harsher interrogation techniques when the suspect had a high likelihood of providing information and/or when he was guilty of prior crimes. The researchers also found that perceived moral status of the suspect mediated recommended severity (lower moral status predicted harsher interrogation severity), but perceived effectiveness of the technique did not (Carlsmith & Sood, 2009).

However, Carlsmith and Sood's (2009) study (and others like it, see Hormant & Witkowski, 2011 and Fischer, Oswald, & Seiler, 2013), may be limited in that it gauges how participants would act if *they* were the interrogator, not how they feel an actual interrogator could or should act. Given that public perceptions of interrogator behavior can influence government policy, it is important to understand how individuals evaluate the behavior of an interrogator rather than how they would act if they were the interrogator. Although retribution theory can explain why people would engage in and support torture when inserted into the interrogator role, other theories rooted in social psychology, including attribution theory and intergroup theory, may better explain when and why the public approves of certain interrogation tactics used by interrogators.

Intergroup Theory

One theory that may also account for people's endorsement of torture is *intergroup theory*. According to intergroup theory, people categorize each other as members of their in-group (i.e., others similar to themselves) or members of out-groups (i.e., other dissimilar or with conflicting views to their own). One of the most widely established principles of social psychology is intergroup bias, which states that people prefer members of their in-groups over those affiliated with an out-group (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). One explanation for this bias is that individuals are motivated to view their in-group in a positive light in order to maintain their own self-esteem, referred to as *social identity theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). That is, by

viewing the groups with which one associates positively, an individual is able to bolster his or her own self-identity.

Manifestations of in-group preference can come in many forms, including increased allocation of resources (Tajfel, 1970), increased likelihood of altruistic acts (Yamagishi & Mifune, 2008), and increased levels of trust for in-group members (Foddy, Platow, & Yamagishi, 2009). Research has also demonstrated that people even tend to favor the mildly harmful actions of fellow in-group members compared to out-group members. For example, Schruijer et al. (1994) had participants read a scenario in which either an in-group member or an out-group member assaulted another in-group or out-group member. Results indicated that participants rated the behavior of the out-group member as more aggressive and having greater harmful intent compared to the in-group member. It is possible, then, that people may be more accepting of the behavior of an aggressive in-group interrogator when compared to a similarly aggressive out-group interrogator.

Related research on perceptions of deviant in-group behavior, however, suggests that favoritism is not universal for all in-group members. Referred to as the *black-sheep effect*, this research indicates that in-group members tend to derogate fellow in-group members whose behavior violates the prescriptive positive norms established for the in-group (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). If a group member violates the positive norms of an in-group, that group member is viewed as threatening the reputation of the group. Thus, fellow in-group members will attempt to distance the deviant group member from the in-group by derogating their behavior, often to a greater degree than they would an out-group member acting in the same manner (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). The black-sheep effect may explain why the public has denigrated interrogators at Abu Ghraib while largely ignoring interrogators who use accusatorial interrogation methods – if people considered the

interrogation tactics used at Abu Ghraib to be a violation of normal practice in the United States, then classifying those interrogators as "black sheep" would allow the American public to "explain away" the behavior and maintain a positive reputation that is integral to their self-identity. However, given the prevalent use of accusatorial techniques in the U.S. and milder tactics, it is likely that interrogators using such tactics would be viewed as neither norm violating nor unethical enough to elicit a black sheep response from the public.

Attribution Theory

Another way that people may "explain away" the use of certain interrogation techniques is by adjusting their perceptions of the reasons for the behavior. *Attribution theory* explores the various justifications that individuals use to explain their own and others' behaviors (Heider, 1958). Behavioral attributions typically come in two forms: dispositional and situational. A dispositional attribution involves any internal explanation for a behavior, such as personality; in contrast, a situational attribution ascribes external explanations for behavior, such as environmental influences (Kelley, 1973). For example, when explaining why an interrogator used a particular interrogation approach, an evaluator may draw the conclusion that he or she used that approach due to an innate quality of the interrogator, or to his or her circumstance. According to Gilbert, Pelham, and Krull (1988), attributing behavior to disposition is a relatively automatic process that requires minimal cognitive processing. In order to adjust this automatic process and attribute another person's behavior to situational factors, the individual must be willing (or have the ability) to engage in more effortful processing (and, thus, use more cognitive resources) to assess which external elements might have influenced the behavior.

Haselton, Nettle, and Andrews (2005) argue that quick behavioral attributions enable an interpretation of the world with the use of minimal cognitive processing. If little cognitive effort

is afforded to attributional judgments, the authors suggest that the majority of behavioral judgments are likely dispositional in nature. Research suggests that unless the behavior directly affects us or someone we know, there is often little motivation to devote the additional cognitive resources necessary to render a situational attribution (Gilbert et al., 1988). Thus, if an individual is evaluating an interrogator's choice of technique, and that evaluator has no motivation to consider situational factors, they are likely to attribute the choice of technique to the interrogator's disposition.

Fundamental Attribution Error. Limited availability of cognitive resources is one explanation for why people engage in what is commonly referred to as the *fundamental attribution error* (FAE) (Haselton et al., 2005; Gilbert et al., 1988). According to FAE theorists, people have a tendency to devalue external (situational) factors and overvalue internal factors (disposition) when trying to explain the behavior of others (Jones & Harris, 1967; Ross, 1977). For example, if an observer witnesses a stranger slip or fall on a sidewalk, the observer is likely to assume that the stranger is clumsy rather than inferring there was an environmental factor that induced the behavior. In an interrogation room, an observer is likely to assume an interrogator chose an aggressive interrogation technique because the interrogator himself is an aggressive person.

While the FAE has been shown to be rather robust in the U.S., a growing body of literature in cross-cultural social psychology suggests that Eastern, specifically collectivistic, cultures are less likely to demonstrate the FAE. Instead, research indicates that participants in a collectivistic society (such as China, Japan, and Taiwan) are more likely to attribute the behavior of others to situational factors rather than dispositional causes (e.g. Lee, Hallahan, & Herzog, 1996; Miller, 1984; Morris & Peng, 1994).

Reversal of the FAE by collectivistic cultures may be due to the way that members of these cultures define themselves as individuals (Cousins, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), collectivists view and define themselves by their group membership and therefore assign high values to the group's integrity. By attributing an actor's behavior to the situation, particularly if the behavior is mildly negative, the collectivist is able to shield the group's identity from blame for the behavior, thus maintaining their own (and the group's) positive reputation. These findings suggest that attributions can vary when an individual views an event in relation to his or her group membership.

Recent studies have also demonstrated that certain factors can lead individuals within the U.S. to reverse the FAE. For example, conservatives (relative to liberals) show a greater tendency to favor dispositional attributions when explaining the behavior of others (e.g. Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001; Skitka, 1999; Skitka & Tetlock 1992, 1993; Williams, 1984; Zucker & Weiner, 1993). However, work by Morgan, Mullen, and Skitka (2010) found that conservatives favored situational explanations when the behavior aligned with conservative values. Specifically, participants were presented with a scenario in which a group of marines killed innocent civilians while engaged in combat. Whether the marines were aware of the civilians' innocence remained somewhat ambiguous. Conservatives, relative to liberals, were more likely to attribute the marines' actions as being constrained by the situation, rather than to disposition, presumably because of the degree to which conservatives value national security. In other words, when explaining the behavior of a fellow member of their group (or someone who seems likely to fall within that category), conservatives appeared motivated to adjust their attributional preference to preserve the integrity of the group. Thus, to the extent that people perceive an interrogator as a member of the in-group, they may be more likely to render positive attributions for an interrogator's mildly

negative behavior (i.e. less dispositional and more situational). However, as mentioned previously, if an interrogator's behavior is so deviant that he is considered a black-sheep, it is likely that people would no longer be willing to adjust their attributions for his behavior, (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). If the American public identifies with an American interrogator, they may be more likely to attribute his mildly unethical behavior (i.e. the use of accusatorial techniques) to the situation, but his egregiously unethical behavior (i.e. torture) to his disposition.

Ultimate Attribution Error. The pattern of attributions observed in Morgan et al. (2010) is consistent with an extension of the FAE known as the *ultimate attribution error* (UAE). According to the UAE, people make behavioral attributions in an ethnocentric manner. That is, people attribute out-group members' negative actions to dispositional traits to a greater degree than the same action performed by an in-group member. Similarly, positive actions performed by out-group members are attributed more to situational (or external) influences than positive actions performed by in-group members, which are often attributed to disposition (Pettigrew, 1979; see Hewstone, 1990 for a review). Much like intergroup bias, it is theorized that this pattern of attributions is due to social identity theory (Pettigrew, 1979; Hewstone, 1990). By attributing positive out-group actions to the situation and in-group positive actions to disposition, individuals maintain their positive self-identity. Similarly, by attributing negative out-group actions to dispositional traits and negative in-group behaviors to situational factors, in-group members are able to "explain away" their own group's negative behaviors while maintaining negative biases toward out-groups. Thus, in an interrogation context, Americans might be predicted to explain the mildly unethical behavior associated with accusatorial techniques to necessity (i.e., the situation) when the interrogator is also American, but to negative dispositional traits when the interrogator is of another nationality.

In addition, the success or failure of a behavior also appears subject to the UAE (Pettigrew, 1979; Hewstone, 1990). When an in-group member succeeds, observers will attribute the success to internal, dispositional causes, such as high ability; conversely, if an out-group member succeeds, observers will likely attribute the success to more external factors, such as good luck or ease of the task. An in-group member's failure will also typically be attributed to external causes, while an out-group member's failure will typically be attributed to dispositional causes. Here again, this pattern of attributions likely represents maintenance of a positive social identity (Hewstone, 1990). In an interrogation context, group affiliations may also influence how people evaluate the use of a certain interrogation tactics that lead to different outcomes.

Cognitive Dissonance

The success or failure of an interrogation technique, along with group membership, may also affect when people *approve* of the use of certain interrogation techniques, particularly those techniques that people have largely been deemed unacceptable (i.e., torture). According to UAE theory, people make positive dispositional attributions for in-group members' successes, presumably because people consider succeeding to be a positive quality and therein seek to attribute that positive quality to the in-group (Hewstone, 1990). However, if a person witnesses an in-group member engage in an unacceptable activity (i.e., torture) that results in a positive outcome (i.e., a successful interrogation), the in-group observer is faced with two competing cognitions: a desire to derogate a deviant in-group member (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988) and a desire to positively attribute the success (Pettigrew, 1979; Hewstone, 1990).

Festinger (1957) developed *cognitive dissonance theory* to explain how people deal with competing cognitions. According to dissonance theory, people experience a mental discomfort (dissonance) when faced with competing cognitions. In order to reduce that discomfort, people

will adjust either their behavior or their attitudes until consistency is reached. In the above example, the in-group observer is faced with the fact that an in-group member acted in a deviant manner, although the behavior resulted in an important success (i.e., eliciting information that could prevent future terrorism). Because an observer cannot change the witnessed behavior, the only way to reduce dissonance is to shift their attitudes toward the target (in this case, the interrogator). Thus, when observing an in-group interrogator succeed by torturing a detainee, the observer may reduce the perceived deviance associated with the behavior (i.e., torture) in order to reduce cognitive dissonance. In other words, if torture works for an in-group member, people may perceive it as a more acceptable technique. The same would likely not be true of an out-group interrogator. As previously mentioned, UAE theory suggests that observers "explain away" out-group successes. For the out-group interrogator there are no competing attributions because observers are not motivated to see the out-group interrogator's success as positive and no dissonance would therein be experienced.

Characteristics of the Detainee

A final component that may influence perceptions of torture (and those who engage in it) relates to group membership of the detainee. As mentioned previously, in-group members who are considered exceedingly deviant are dubbed "black sheep" and are often derogated to a greater extent than deviant out-group members (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). While deviant interrogators may find themselves as targets of the black sheep effect, the detainee being tortured may be considered a more extreme black sheep than the interrogator, depending on the detainee's group membership.

Research has demonstrated that in-group members who cause harm or do *not* cooperate with fellow in-group members often receive harsher punishment than their out-group counterparts (Kerr, Hymes, Anderson, & Weathers, 1995; Shinada, Yamagishi, & Ohmura, 2004; Van Prooijen, 2006, Van Prooijen & Lam, 2007). Given that people typically prefer and cooperate with their in-group more than an out-group (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971), one theory for this pattern of punishment is that people expect cooperation from fellow in-group members. When an in-group member deviates or does not cooperate, other in-group members will recommend harsher punishments for that group member (compared to an out-group member) in order to maintain or encourage cooperation (Shinada, Yamagishi, & Ohmura, 2004). Thus, if an American interrogator is torturing an American detainee who presumably caused harm to the in-group, Americans may be more accepting of the interrogator's behavior given our propensity to punish non-cooperative or deviant in-group members. However, an out-group interrogator who tortures an American may not be afforded the same positive evaluation, as research has demonstrated that people tend to retaliate against out-groups who harm fellow in-group members, even if the retaliator was not involved in or affected by the initial harm-doing (Lickel, Miller, Stenstrom, Denson, & Schmader, 2006; Stenstrom, Lickel, Denson, & Miller, 2008).

Preliminary Data

The effect of interrogation technique on attributions of interrogator behavior and attitudes toward torture has previously been investigated by LaBianca, Swanner, and Meissner (2014). In this study, participants (N = 281) read about a "ticking time bomb" scenario in which an interrogator either questioned the suspect directly, or employed one of four different extreme interrogation techniques: threats to self and family, exposure to extreme cold, forced nudity, or waterboarding, thus employing a single-factor, five-group design. No information regarding the

outcome of the interrogation was provided. Participants were asked to rate their perceived level of acceptability, ethicalness, and procedural justice of the technique used, as well as the degree to which they believed the interrogator's choice of technique was due to situational or dispositional attributions. The results suggested that all four of the extreme interrogation techniques were considered less acceptable, less ethical, less procedurally just, and more situationally driven than the direct questioning condition. Additionally, the harshest of the techniques, forced nudity and waterboarding, were considered significantly more dispositionally driven than the direct questioning technique (but did not differ from the other conditions). Despite these differences, however, only exposure to extreme cold differed in perceived effectiveness compared to the direct questioning condition (see Tables 1 & 2 for descriptive statistics), with participants perceiving exposure to extreme cold as more effective than direct questioning.

While this preliminary data suggests certain differences between extremely unethical techniques and a direct questioning technique, it did not explore the effect that group membership may have on these attitudes. Additionally, this study did not explore differences between highly unethical techniques and milder, ambiguously ethical techniques, such as the accusatorial methods used in police interrogations and the Army Field Manual. Finally, this preliminary study did not provide any information regarding the outcome of the interrogation; as such, the findings cannot speak to the effect that outcome of the interrogation is likely to have on attitudes toward torture. The proposed studies will expand upon these preliminary findings and explore the effects of technique, group membership, and outcome on attributional judgments and attitudes toward torture.

Overview of the Proposed Studies

Rejali (2009) notes that harsh interrogation techniques occur in three different situations: cases of national security, where the goal is to gather information, the judicial system, where the goal is elicitation of a confession, and civic discipline, where ordinary citizens prosecute people in the absence of a judicial system. The current studies will focus on harsh interrogation techniques in cases of national security. The primary goal of the proposed experiments is to determine when members of a specific nationality group (Americans) will approve of and render positive attributions for an interrogator's behavior, particularly when the interrogator engages in some level of unethical (or unlawful) behavior. Overall acceptability of the techniques used will be measured using four different, albeit related, constructs: approval for the technique used, perceived effectiveness of the technique, perceived ethicalness of the technique, and perceived procedural justice. Procedural justice refers to the degree of fairness that people attribute to a given procedure (Tyler, Degoey, & Smith, 1996) and is related to perceived acceptability, ethicalness, and effectiveness (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004; LaBianca et al, 2014).

According to theories of intergroup bias, behavioral attributions, and cognitive dissonance, manipulating group membership of the interrogator (all studies), type of interrogation technique (Experiment 1), outcome of the interrogation (Experiment 2), and group membership of the detainee (Experiment 3) should influence the manner in which people evaluate the interrogator as well as the interrogation technique used. Given intergroup theory, it is expected that participants will render more positive judgments about an in-group interrogator, unless that interrogator is deemed a black sheep. Given theories of cognitive dissonance, it is expected that participants will offer more positive judgments about a successful in-group interrogator when compared with out-group interrogators or an unsuccessful in-group interrogator. Finally, given intergroup and black

sheep theory, it is expected that participants will provide the most positive judgments when an in-group member interrogates another in-group member, and the least positive judgments when an out-group member interrogates an in-group member. Specific hypotheses will be offered prior to each study.

Chapter 2: Pilot Study

The purpose of the pilot study was to determine a suitable nationality for the out-group interrogator to be used with a sample of American participants. Participants for the pilot study (and all subsequent studies) were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Mechanical Turk (MTurk) is an online data collection system designed to recruit participants from more than 50 countries, including the U.S. Because of the increasing popularity of online data collection, numerous studies have been conducted to ensure the reliability of data collected from MTurk for academic studies. These studies have concluded that data collected from MTurk are as reliable as data collected in-person, with the benefit of providing a more diverse sample of participants than lab-based studies (for reviews, see Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Casler, Bickel, & Hackett, 2013; Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010).

Participants

One hundred and one participants were recruited from MTurk. After eliminating participants who were not U.S. citizens (n = 1), did not identify predominantly with U.S. culture (n = 1), whose responses were identified as outliers using Mahalanobis Distance scores ($p < .001$; n = 8), and/or who selected the same response for every Likert-type item (n = 1), a final sample of 90 participants was used. Participants were majority Caucasian (78%) and male (59%) with a mean age of 31 years.

Materials and Procedure

All participants were presented with a list of 15 nationalities and were asked to evaluate on 7-point Likert-type scales the degree to which they perceive members of that nationality to be similar to themselves and similar to Americans in general. Participants also evaluated whether they

have positive or negative feelings toward the nationality (see Appendix A). All participants then completed a basic demographic questionnaire (see Appendix B).

Results

Descriptive statistics indicated that participants perceived North Koreans to be least like them (the participants) and least like Americans in general. Additionally, participants indicated that they perceived the greatest degree of negativity toward North Koreans (see Table 3 for all descriptive statistics). Thus, North Korean was chosen as the out-group nationality for the interrogator (all experiments) and detainee (Experiment 3).

Chapter 3: Experiment 1

The purpose of Experiment 1 was to determine whether group membership and interrogation technique have an effect on attributions of interrogator behavior, as well as the perceived acceptability of the interrogation technique used. If an American interrogator is acting in a way that potentially benefits the security of his in-group (American citizens), then American participants should be willing to shift their attributions for his behavior from negative (i.e., negative dispositional attributions) to positive (i.e., situational or positive dispositional attributions), even if the interrogator's behavior could otherwise be seen as mildly unethical. Additionally, given in-group favoritism, Americans should provide higher ratings of approval, perceived effectiveness, ethicalness, and procedural justice for mildly unethical interrogation techniques used by an American interrogator. However, if an interrogator of another nationality is acting in a way that benefits *his* in-group (thus the participants' out-group), or the American interrogator employs interrogation techniques that are considered exceedingly deviant, then participants should have no motivation to offer positive attributions for the interrogator's behavior, nor should they rate the interrogation techniques used positively. Although one study has found results contrary to this hypothesis (that is, the researchers found that people are more accepting of torture when it is perpetrated by an in-group than an out-group), this study did not include any type of control condition (Tarrant, Branscombe, Warner, & Weston, 2012), so the results cannot be compared to the use of more benign techniques. Additionally, manifestation of the black sheep effect is commonly reported as greater derogation of an unlikeable in-group member when compared to an *equally* unlikeable out-group member (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens 1988). However, the out-group chosen for this study was rated as the most unlikeable out-group (compared to the sample of out-groups tested) because the ultimate attribution error manifests

more strongly with negatively viewed out-groups (Hewstone, 1990). Thus, greater derogation is not predicted, but rather an elimination of the group-favoritism that is expected in the other technique conditions.

Hypotheses

1. American (in-group) interrogators will be viewed as situationally constrained (compared to an out-group interrogator), while out-group and black sheep interrogators (i.e., American interrogators who engage in torture) will be viewed as dispositionally driven (compared to the in-group interrogator). An interaction was expected such that situational attribution ratings for in-group interrogators would be significantly higher than out-group interrogators in the accusatorial condition, but non-significant in the direct and torture conditions. Additionally, an interaction was expected, such that dispositional attribution ratings for out-group interrogators would be significantly higher than in-group interrogators in the accusatorial condition, but non-significant in the direct and torture conditions. Main effects were expected such that, in the torture condition, dispositional attributions would be significantly higher and situational attributions would be significantly lower compared to the accusatorial and direct questioning conditions.
2. Dispositional attributions made about in-group interrogators will be positive, while dispositional attributions made about out-group and black-sheep interrogators will be negative. Specifically, an interaction was expected such that dispositional valence scores for in-group interrogators would be significantly higher than out-group interrogators in direct questioning and accusatorial conditions, but non-significant in the torture condition. A main effect was also expected, such that dispositional valence

scores would be significantly lower in the torture condition than in the direct questioning and accusatorial conditions, and significantly lower in the accusatorial condition than the direct questioning condition.

3. Ratings of approval, ethicalness, perceived effectiveness, and procedural justice will be higher for in-group interrogators than out-group and black-sheep interrogators. Specifically, an interaction was expected such that these scores would be significantly higher for in-group interrogators than out-group interrogators in direct questioning and accusatorial conditions, but non-significant in the torture condition. A main effect was also expected, such that scores would be significantly lower in the torture condition than in the direct questioning and accusatorial conditions, and significantly lower in the accusatorial condition than the direct questioning condition.

Method

Participants. Effect sizes in Morgan et al (2010) and LaBianca et al (2014) ranged from small to large (η_p^2 = .04 to .26), with the majority of effect sizes being large. Using the most conservative effect size estimate (η_p^2 = .04), a power analysis using G*Power revealed that a minimum of 40 participants would be needed in each condition. Three hundred and seventy-five U.S. citizens were recruited from MTurk. All participants were compensated $0.50 for their participation. After eliminating participants who failed attention check questions (*n* =48) , did not identify predominantly with American culture (*n* = 10), were not U.S. citizens (*n* = 1), averaged less than 3 (the midpoint) on the AIAS (*n* = 17), were identified as outliers using the Mahalanobis distance test (*n* = 2), and/or completed the study in more than three standard deviations above the mean (> 23.32 min; *n* = 7), a total of 290 participants were used in analyses.

The final set of participants were majority White (77%) and female (51%), and ranged in age from 19 to 76 years (M = 35.72, SD = 11.64).

Design. A 2 x 3 between-subjects design was used, including manipulation of interrogator nationality (American vs. North Korean) and type of interrogation strategy (direct questioning, accusatorial techniques, and torture). The independent variables were contained and manipulated within a brief (approximately 350 words) interrogation scenario written by the researcher.

Materials. *Consent form* – Before beginning the experiment, each participant was provided with an informed consent form that explained the nature of the experiment, why the research was being conducted, and the participant's right to choose not to participate. Participants were also informed that consent could be withdrawn at any time, even after the completion of the experiment, in which case the data would be removed from analysis. Participants were instructed to electronically sign the consent form if they agreed to participate (See Appendix C).

American Identity Affirmation Scale – Given that it is possible for a person to identify with a non-American culture or feel isolated from/negativity toward American culture, but still be an American citizen, participants completed the American Identity Affirmation Scale (AIAS), a subscale of the American Identity Measure developed and validated by Schwartz et al (2012), to ensure that all participants were identifying with the in-group. The AIAS includes seven Likert type items with anchors of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Examples of items include "I am happy that I am an American" and "I have a strong sense of belonging to the United States" (see Appendix D for a full list of items). The AIAS has been shown to have high reliability (α = .93; Schwartz et al, 2012). All participants received a single score on the AIAS by averaging their responses. Participants with a score less than 3 (the mid-point of the scale) were excluded from the study. Reliability of the AIAS for this sample was high (α = .93).

Interrogation scenarios – Six scenarios were created by the researcher (see Appendix E). Three scenarios summarized a situation in which the national security of the United States was threatened, and three scenarios summarized a situation in which the national security of North Korea was threatened. In all versions, the government of the respective country received reliable intelligence that a terrorist was planning to detonate a bomb somewhere outside of a heavily populated city in the next few hours. Officials were then sent out individually and instructed to apprehend and interrogate the terrorist before the bomb detonated. In each scenario, an investigator from the relevant country apprehended and interrogated a man he reasonably believed to be the terrorist. Manipulation of interrogation strategy followed the investigator's apprehension of the suspect. In all scenarios, the investigator used one of three different interrogation strategies: direct questioning, accusatorial methods, or torture. In the present study, participants were not informed about the investigator's success/failure in eliciting information from the suspected terrorist.

Demographic questionnaire – The demographic questionnaire contained a series of questions asking participants to report their gender, age, race/ethnicity, socio-political orientation, country of citizenship, religion, and which culture they identify with most (see Appendix B).

Debriefing form – Upon completion of the experiment, each participant was given a debriefing form that explained exactly which variables were manipulated and why the manipulation had taken place. The debriefing form also contained contact information for the researcher and the Institutional Review Board, should the participant have any questions or concerns regarding the experiment (see Appendix F).

Dependent measures[1].

Manipulation checks. After reading the interrogation scenario and completing all dependent measures, participants were asked to select the type of interrogation technique used and to identify the nationality of the interrogator (see Appendix G). Participants who did not answer these items correctly were excluded from analyses.

Dispositional valence. Twelve Likert-type items developed by LaBianca et al (2014) were used to determine whether participants were making positive or negative dispositional judgments about the interrogator (see Appendix G). Each item asked participants to rate their agreement on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) across twelve adjectives about the interrogator. Based on literature suggesting warmth and competence are fundamental dispositional judgments that people make about one another (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007), five items measured perceived warmth (e.g. "The investigator is friendly") and seven items measured perceived competence (e.g. "The investigator is a skillful interrogator").

The five warmth items were subjected to a single-factor confirmatory factor analysis using maximum likelihood estimation. All items loaded on the warmth factor significantly (see Table 4 for factor loadings). Although chi-square and RMSEA suggested poor model fit, $\chi^2(5) = 19.61$, $p = .001$, RMSEA = .10, CFI and SRMR suggested good model fit, CFI = .99, SRMR = .02. Removing the item with the lowest factor loading ("The investigator is well-intentioned") improved model fit, $\chi^2(2) = 3.68$, $p = .16$, RMSEA = .05, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = .008. A single score for warmth was created for each participant by averaging responses on each of the four remaining items. Scores could range from 1 to 7 with higher scores indicating a greater perception of interrogator warmth. Reliability for this sample was high ($\alpha = .92$).

[1] All factor analyses were conducted using Maximum Likelihood estimation. Using Weighted Least Squares Mean and Variance centered estimation did not improve model fit for any of the initial analyses.

The seven competence items were also subjected to a single-factor confirmatory factor analysis using maximum likelihood estimation. All items loaded on the competence factor significantly (see Table 5 for factor loadings). Although chi-square and RMSEA suggested poor model fit, $\chi^2(14) = 48.38$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .09, CFI and SRMR suggested good model fit, CFI = .98, SRMR = .02. Removing the two items with the lowest item information ("The investigator is intelligent" and "The investigator is unprofessional") improved model fit, $\chi^2(5) = 9.03$, $p = .11$, RMSEA = .05, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = .01. A single score for competence was created for each participant by averaging responses on each of the remaining five items. Scores could range from 1 to 7 with higher scores indicating a greater perception of interrogator competence. Reliability for this sample was high ($\alpha = .94$).

Attributions. Nine 7-point Likert-type items adapted from Morgan, Mullen, and Skitka (2010) were used to assess attributions made about the interrogator (see Appendix G). Five items assessed dispositional attributions (e.g., "To what extent was the investigator's choice of interrogation technique under his own personal control?" and "To what extent did the investigator alone determine what interrogation tactic he used?") and four items assessed situational attributions (e.g., "To what extent was the investigator's behavior due to circumstances that got out of hand?" and "To what extent was the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic due to aspects of the situation that he could not personally control?"). Anchors for all questions were 1 = "Not at all" and 7 = "Completely".

The five dispositional attribution items were subjected to a single-factor confirmatory factor analysis using maximum likelihood estimation. All items loaded onto the factor significantly (see Table 6 for factor loadings). However, fit indices suggested poor model fit, $\chi^2(5) = 49.13$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .17, CFI = .81, SRMR = .08. Factor loadings reveled two patterns of loadings:

two items (with the highest loadings) appeared to be related more to perceived autonomy than dispositional attributions. The remaining three items appeared to be related to general dispositional attributions. Thus, the scale was subjected to a two-factor confirmatory factor analysis using maximum likelihood estimation. All items loaded on their respective factors significantly (see Table 7 for factor loadings) and fit indices suggested good model fit, $\chi^2(4) = 7.18$, $p = .13$, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .99, SRMR = .03. A single score for dispositional attribution was created for each participant by averaging responses on each of the three dispositional attribution items. Scores could range from 1 to 7 with higher scores indicating greater dispositional attributions. Reliability for the three dispositional items was $\alpha = .55$.

The four situational attribution items were also subjected to a single-factor confirmatory factor analysis using maximum likelihood estimation. All items loaded onto the situational attribution factor significantly (see Table 8 for factor loadings), but fit indices suggested poor model fit, $\chi^2(2) = 22.03$, $p \leq .001$, RMSEA = .19, CFI = .89, SRMR = .06. Attempting to improve model fit by eliminating an item resulted in a just-identified model, so a single score for situational attribution was created for each participant by averaging responses on each of the four items. Scores could range from 1 to 7 with higher scores indicating greater situational attributions. Reliability for the four situational items was $\alpha = .65$.

General acceptance. To assess participants' general attitudes toward the various interrogation techniques, overall approval for, perceived effectiveness of, and perceived ethicalness of the techniques were measured. Three single Likert-type items developed in LaBianca et al. (2014) were used to measure approval, effectiveness, and ethicalness of the technique ("To what extent do you approve of the investigator's choice of interrogation technique?," "To what extent do you think the investigator acted unethically while he interrogated

the suspect?," and "How effective do you think the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic could have been in eliciting information from the suspect?," respectively; see Appendix G). The item asking about ethics was reverse-scored.

Procedural justice score. Perceived procedural justice was measured using a 5-item scale created by LaBianca et al (2014; see Appendix G). Consistent with literature on the construct of procedural justice (see Sivasubramaniam & Heuer, 2012, for a review), the scale includes items that assess how fairly the suspect was treated, the perceived trustworthiness of the interrogator, and whether or not the suspect's rights had been violated. High reliability has been established for this scale ($\alpha = .92$).

The five procedural justice items were subjected to a single-factor confirmatory factor analysis using maximum likelihood estimation. All items loaded onto the procedural justice factor significantly (see Table 9 for factor loadings). Although Chi-square and RMSEA suggested poor model fit, $\chi^2(5) = 50.42$, $p \leq .001$, RMSEA = .18, CFI and SRMR suggested good model fit, CFI = .97, SRMR = .02. A single score for procedural justice was created for each participant by averaging responses on each of the five items. Scores could range from 1 to 7 with higher scores indicating greater perceived procedural justice. Reliability for this sample was high ($\alpha = .93$).

Registration. This experiment was pre-registered at Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/). Raw data will be made available after completion of this dissertation and publication of the data.

Procedure. Data collection occurred online and lasted approximately 15 min. All participants were recruited from MTurk. To increase the salience of people's American identity, the title of the study on MTurk was "Americans' Perceptions of Interrogations," a technique previously used in Tarrant et al (2012). Once participants selected to complete the study on MTurk,

they were redirected to Qualtrics (an experimental and survey software that is web-based) where they read and electronically signed the consent form, after which they were randomly assigned to one of the six conditions. All participants then completed the AIAS, after which they were instructed to carefully read the interrogation scenario. The scenario was presented to participants one paragraph at a time. To ensure the integrity of the data, presentation of each paragraph was timed so that participants could not navigate to the next paragraph until at least 20 seconds had passed. After participants read the interrogation scenario, they completed all of the dependent measures with presentation order randomized in blocks for each participant. Per the recommendation of Mason and Suri (2012), attention check questions were randomly inserted among the dependent measures to ensure data quality from the MTurk sample (see Appendix G). Participants then completed the demographics questionnaire, were debriefed, and received a code needed to receive payment through MTurk.

Results

Data screening. Before conducting any analyses, participants' responses to the attention check questions were assessed to ensure integrity of the data. After eliminating participants who failed attention check questions (n =48) , did not identify predominantly with American culture (n = 10), were not U.S. citizens (n = 1), averaged less than 3 (the midpoint) on the AIAS (n = 17), were identified as outliers using the Mahalanobis distance test (n = 2), and/or completed the study in more than three standard deviations above the mean (> 23.32 min; n = 7), a total of 290 participants were used in analyses.

Analysis of covariance[2]. The available literature suggests that political orientation is significantly related to judgments about harsh interrogation techniques (Mayer & Armor, 2012;

[2] Excluding the covariate did not change the significance of any multivariate/univariate tests or pairwise comparisons.

Miller, Gronke, & Rejali, 2014). Thus, socio-political orientation was used as a covariate in all subsequent analyses. The majority of the eight variables of interest (dispositional and situational attribution scores, warmth and competence, procedural justice score, and perceived approval, ethicalness, and effectiveness) were significantly correlated, so a 2 x 3 multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was run (see Table 10 for correlations and Tables 11 and 12 for means and confidence intervals). Significant differences in perceptions of the interrogator and his behavior based upon interrogation technique were observed, $F(16, 552) = 28.03$, $p < .001$, Wilks' $\lambda = .30$, $\eta_p^2 = .45$. Socio-political orientation also served as a significant covariate, $F(8, 276) = 4.37$, $p < .001$, Wilks' $\lambda = .89$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Interrogator nationality, $F(8, 276) = 1.12$, $p = .35$, Wilks' $\lambda = .97$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, and the interaction term, $F(16, 552) = 1.36$, $p = .16$, Wilks' $\lambda = .93$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, were not statistically significant. Follow-up univariate tests focused on the main effect of interrogation technique.

Dispositional valence. Univariate tests revealed a significant main effect of interrogation technique on perceived interrogator *warmth*, $F(2, 283) = 81.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .37$., such that interrogators who used the direct questioning technique were perceived to be warmer than interrogators who used accusatorial techniques ($p < .001$, $d = 1.06$) and torture ($p < .001$, $d = 1.81$), and interrogators who used accusatorial techniques were perceived to be warmer than interrogators who tortured ($p < .001$, $d = .70$). Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 283) = 20.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher perceived warmth.

Univariate tests also revealed a significant main effect of interrogation technique on perceived interrogator *competence*, $F(2, 283) = 12.21$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, such that interrogators who used accusatorial techniques were perceived to be more competent than interrogators who used the direct questioning technique ($p = .001$, $d = .60$) and torture ($p < .001$, $d = .72$). Socio-

political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 283) = 12.24$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher perceived competence.

*Attributions***.** Univariate tests revealed a significant main effect of interrogation technique on *dispositional attributions*, $F(2, 283) = 5.97$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$., such that accusatorial techniques were perceived to be less dispositionally driven than direct questioning ($p = .04$, $d = .39$) and torture ($p = .003$, $d = .47$). Socio-political orientation was not a significant covariate, $F(1, 283) = 3.49$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Univariate tests revealed a significant main effect of interrogation technique on *situational attributions*, $F(2, 283) = 29.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$, such that the use of accusatorial techniques was perceived as more situationally constrained than the use of direct questioning ($p < .001$, $d = 1.18$) and torture ($p = .001$, $d = .57$), and the decision to torture was perceived to be more situationally constrained than the use of direct questioning ($p < .001$, $d = .59$). Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 283) = 8.03$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, such that higher conservatism was related to more situational attributions.

General acceptance. Univariate tests revealed a significant main effect of interrogation technique on perceived *ethicalness*[3] of the interrogation technique used, $F(2, 283) = 63.56$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .31$, such that participants perceived the use of direct questioning to be more ethical than both the accusatorial techniques ($p < .001$, $d = .88$) and torture ($p < .001$, $d = 1.63$), and the use of accusatorial techniques to be more ethical than torture, ($p < .001$, $d = .64$). Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 283) = 17.54$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher perceived ethicalness.

[3] Although the interaction was not significant, pairwise comparisons revealed a significant effect of interrogator nationality in the torture condition, such that a North Korean interrogator who tortured was perceived as more ethical than an American interrogator who tortured, ($p = .02$, $d = .42$).

Univariate tests also revealed a significant main effect of interrogation technique on perceived *effectiveness* of the interrogation technique used, $F(2, 283) = 14.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$, such that participants perceived the use of accusatorial techniques to be more effective than both the direct questioning technique ($p < .001$, $d = .89$) and torture ($p = .002$, $d = .51$). Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 283) = 6.66$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher perceived ethicalness.

Finally, univariate tests revealed a significant main effect of interrogation technique on *approval* of the interrogation technique used, $F(2, 283) = 23.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$, such that participants approved less of torture than both the direct questioning technique ($p < .001$, $d = .61$) and accusatorial techniques ($p < .001$, $d = .95$). Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 283) = 19.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher approval.

Procedural justice. Univariate tests revealed a significant main effect of interrogation technique on perceived procedural justice of the interrogation technique used, $F(2, 283) = 168.93$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .54$, such that participants perceived the use of direct questioning to be more procedurally just than both accusatorial techniques ($p < .001$, $d = 1.39$) and torture ($p < .001$, $d = 2.76$), and the use of accusatorial techniques to be more procedurally just than torture, ($p < .001$, $d = 1.04$). Socio-political orientation also served as a significant covariate, $F(1, 283) = 21.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher perceived procedural justice.

Path analyses. Given significant correlations among the dependent variables, it was of interest to explore whether dispositional valence (warmth and competence), attribution locus (dispositional and situational), perceived effectiveness, and perceived ethicalness directly and indirectly influenced participants' overall approval of the interrogation technique used by the

interrogator. Thus, a path analysis was conducted with warmth, competence, situational and dispositional attributions, ethicalness, and effectiveness predicting overall approval. Political orientation was also included as an exogenous variable (serving as a control variable), given that it was a significant covariate in the MANCOVA reported above. Predictors were arranged in temporal order based upon extant literature suggesting that judgments about actors occur prior to judgments about actions (Gilbert et al., 1988; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). Dispositional valence items were placed first, followed by attribution locus items, followed by perceived ethicalness and effectiveness (see Figure 1 for the overall model).

The overall model provided good fit, $\chi 2(1) = .04$, $p = .85$, RMSEA < .001, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = .001, and accounted for 63% of the variance in overall approval (see Figure 1). Perceived ethicalness and effectiveness, situational attributions, warmth, and competence all positively predicted overall approval for the interrogation technique used. Dispositional attributions negatively predicted overall approval. Additionally, situational attributions and perceived competence positively predicted perceived effectiveness of the technique. Warmth and competence positively predicted perceived ethicalness, while dispositional and situational attributions both negatively predicted perceived effectiveness. Competence negatively predicted dispositional attributions, while positively predicting situational attributions. Conversely, warmth negatively predicted situational attributions. All other direct paths were non-significant (see Figure 1 for all significant and non-significant standardized estimates).

Multiple indirect effects were observed as well. A significant indirect effect of warmth was found through ethicalness, $b = .10$, $z = 2.89$, $p = .004$, such that more perceived warmth was associated with greater perceived ethicalness, which predicted higher approval. A significant indirect effect of competence was also found through effectiveness, $b = .07$, $z = 2.64$, $p = .008$,

such that higher competence was associated with greater perceived effectiveness, which predicted higher approval. A significant indirect effect of competence was also found through dispositional attributions, b = .06, z = 2.72, p = .007, such that higher competence was associated with fewer dispositional attributions, which predicted higher approval. A significant indirect effect of dispositional attributions was found through ethicalness, b = -.04, z = -2.65, p = .008, such that dispositional attributions were associated with lower perceived ethicalness, which positively predicted approval. A significant indirect effect of situational attributions was found through ethicalness, b = -.04, z = -2.75, p = .006, such that situational attributions were associated with lower perceived ethicalness, which positively predicted approval. Finally, a significant indirect effect of situational attributions was also found through effectiveness, b = .02, z = 2.02, p = .04, such that situational attributions were associated with higher perceived effectiveness, which positively predicted approval.

A multigroup analysis was conducted to statistically evaluate differences in model fit across the three interrogation technique conditions (direct vs. accusatorial vs. torture). The analysis indicated significant differences across the three groups, $\Delta\chi^2(50) = 150.77$, $p < .001$ (see Table 13 for standardized estimates and confidence intervals). Assessment of differences in individual predictors suggested several significant effects. First, warmth was a positive predictor of dispositional attributions in the direct questioning condition, a non-significant predictor in the accusatorial condition, and a negative predictor in the torture condition (significant differences were observed only between direct vs. accusatorial and direct vs. torture, zs = -2.52 and -5.37, respectively). Conversely, warmth was a negative predictor of situational attributions in the direct questioning condition, a non-significant predictor in the accusatorial condition, and a positive predictor in the torture condition (significant differences were observed only between direct vs.

accusatorial and direct vs. torture, *zs* = 3.71 and 5.58, respectively). Warmth was also a significant positive predictor of ethicalness in the direct questioning condition, but a non-significant predictor in the torture condition (z = -2.17). Competence was not a significant predictor of perceived ethicalness in the direct questioning condition, but was a significant positive predictor of perceived ethicalness in both the accusatorial (z = 3.06) and torture (z = 2.41) conditions. Finally, dispositional attributions negatively predicted ethicalness in the torture condition, but were non-significant in the direct (z = -2.66) and accusatorial conditions (z = -2.02).

A multigroup analysis was also conducted to evaluate model fit differences across the two nationality groups (American vs. North Korean). Consistent with prior analyses, no significant differences across conditions were observed, $\Delta\chi^2(18) = 22.62$, $p = .21$.

Discussion

It was hypothesized that American interrogators would be viewed as situationally constrained (compared to a North Korean interrogator) and that American interrogators who torture, as well as North Korean interrogators, would be viewed as dispositionally driven. Dispositional attributions made about American interrogators were expected to be positive, while dispositional attributions made about American interrogators who torture and North Korean interrogators were expected to be negative. Ratings of approval, ethicalness, perceived effectiveness, and procedural justice were hypothesized to be higher for American interrogators than North Korean interrogators and American interrogators who torture. Results indicated no support for any of the hypotheses related to in-group vs. out-group effects. All main effects of interrogator nationality and interactions were non-significant. Possible explanations for the lack of significant findings will be explored in the general discussion.

Although differences in interrogator nationality were of primary interest, there were significant main effects of interrogation technique across all dependent measures. Participants demonstrated overwhelming support for the use of accusatorial techniques. The use of accusatorial techniques was perceived to be less dispositionally driven and more situationally constrained than the use of either direct questioning or torture. Interrogators who used accusatorial techniques were also perceived to be more competent than interrogators who used either of the other two techniques. Accusatorial techniques were also perceived as the most effective technique. The support for accusatorial techniques may be due to the prevalence of accusatorial techniques in the U.S. They represent the most common interrogation techniques used by police (Redlich, Kelly, & Miller, in press; Russano, Narchet, Kleinman, & Meissner, in press; Kassin et al., 2007) and may have become prototypical for Americans, despite concerns regarding their likelihood of producing false confessions (Meissner et al., 2014).

Participants also demonstrated some support for direct questioning. Interrogators in the direct questioning condition were perceived to be warmer than interrogators who used either of the other two techniques. Participants also rated direct questioning as more ethical and procedurally just than accusatorial techniques and torture. Given the neutrality of the direct questioning condition, these results are not surprising.

As expected, participants demonstrated the least amount of support for torture. Torture was rated as the least ethical and procedurally just technique, and had the lowest approval rating of any technique. Participants also considered interrogators who tortured to be the most dispositionally driven and the least warm. Interestingly, an interrogator's decision to use torture was considered more situationally constrained than an interrogator's decision to use direct questioning. Participants also did not consider interrogators who tortured to be any less competent than

interrogators who used direct questioning. It appears that, although participants recognized the unethical nature of torture and overall did not approve of its use, they were willing to take into consideration situational constraints that they believed could make its use necessary.

The multigroup comparisons of the path analyses mirrored the results of the MANCOVA. No differences were observed between nationality groups, however significant differences were observed across interrogation techniques. The pattern of findings suggest that, because interrogators who torture are perceived negatively (in terms of warmth), people attribute the decision to torture (which was also perceived negatively) to the interrogator and not to the situation. However, if the interrogator is perceived as warm, the decision to use direct questioning is attributed to the interrogator, while the decision to torture is attributed to the situation. In other words, if participants perceive the interrogator positively, they are willing to "explain away" the negative behavior of torturing by attributing it to the situation.

Chapter 4: Experiment 2

The purpose of Experiment 2 was to determine whether group membership and outcome of the interrogation would have an effect on attributions of interrogator behavior, as well as the perceived acceptability of torture. In this study, both the in-group and out-group interrogators engaged in highly unethical interrogation practices (i.e. multiple instances of torture). However, whether the interrogation resulted in credible information varied. If an American interrogator engages in torture, but the interrogation is successful, participants should adjust the way they make attributions for him. That is, participants should attribute the successful in-group interrogator's behavior and outcome more to the situation and positive disposition (respectively, relative to the unsuccessful in-group and both out-group interrogators) in order to reduce the cognitive dissonance they experience by being confronted with an unethical technique that results in a positive outcome. Additionally, participants should rate the technique used by the in-group interrogator more positively when the interrogation is a success, compared to a failed interrogation of the in-group interrogator and the technique used by out-group interrogators, regardless of success. While participants are expected to make both situational and dispositional attributions for successful and unsuccessful in-group/out-group interrogators, the valence of those attributions are expected to vary across conditions.

Hypotheses

1. With regard to the *decision to torture*, the successful American interrogator will be viewed as situationally constrained while the successful North Korean interrogator's decision will be viewed as dispositionally driven. Unsuccessful interrogators were expected to be dispositionally driven regardless of nationality. An interaction was expected such that situational ratings for technique choice would be greater for the

successful American than for all other interrogators. An interaction was also expected such that dispositional ratings for technique choice would be lower for the successful American than for all other interrogators.

2. With regard to *interrogation outcome*, the successful American interrogator's outcome will be viewed as dispositionally driven, while the successful North Korean interrogator's outcome will be viewed as situationally constrained. Unsuccessful interrogators were expected to be dispositionally driven regardless of nationality. An interaction was expected such that situational ratings for outcome would be highest for the successful North Korean interrogator than for all other interrogators. An interaction was also expected such that dispositional ratings would be lowest for the successful North Korean interrogator than for the all other interrogators.
3. The disposition of the successful American interrogator will be rated positively while the disposition of the North Korean interrogators and unsuccessful American interrogator will be rated negatively. An interaction was expected such that dispositional valence ratings would be greater for the successful American than for all other interrogators.
4. Ratings of approval, ethicalness, effectiveness, and procedural justice will be higher for the successful American interrogator than North Korean interrogators and unsuccessful American interrogator. Interactions were expected on these items such that ratings would be significantly higher for the successful American interrogator compared to all other conditions.

Method

Participants. A power analysis using G*Power indicated that 50 participants per cell would be required to detect a small effect size. Two hundred and seventy-one U.S. citizens were recruited from MTurk. All participants were compensated $0.50 for their participation. After eliminating participants who failed attention check questions (n = 37), did not identify predominantly with American culture (n = 8), were not U.S. citizens (n = 1), had an average score below 3 on the American Identity Affirmation Scale (n = 8), were identified as outliers using the Mahalanobis distance test (n = 3), and/or completed the study in more than three standard deviations above the mean (> 26.19 minutes; n = 3), a total of 211 participants were used in analyses. Participants were majority White (84%) and female (51%) and ranged in age from 20 to 81 years (M = 36.90, SD = 12.92).

Design. A 2 x 2 between-subjects design was employed with manipulations of interrogator nationality (American vs. North Korean) and outcome of the interrogation (successful vs. unsuccessful). The independent variables were contained and manipulated within a brief (approximately 350 words) interrogation scenario written by the researcher. Four scenarios were developed, differing on only the nationality of the interrogator and outcome of the interrogation. All interrogations involved the use of torture.

Materials. The same consent form, dependent measures, demographics questionnaire, and debriefing form developed for Experiment 1 were used in Experiment 2. Additionally, three 7-point Likert-type items were used to assess attributions for the outcome of the interrogation ("The outcome of the interrogation [i.e. whether or not the investigator was able to get information from the suspect] depended primarily on the investigator/the suspect/luck"). Anchors for these items were 1 = "Strongly Disagree" and 7 = "Strongly Agree."

The interrogation scenarios differed slightly from those used in Experiment 1, such that instead of manipulating the interrogation technique used, the outcome of the interrogation was manipulated. All participants read a scenario in which either an in-group or out-group interrogator engaged in torturing a detainee to elicit intelligence information. Participants were then told that the interrogator was either unable to elicit any information from the suspect, which resulted in detonation of the bomb, or that the interrogator was able to elicit helpful and reliable information from the suspect, which resulted in disarming of the bomb.

One additional dependent measure was added: a 7-point Likert-type item asking participants whether they believed the interrogator's decision was due more to the type of person he is, or due more to the situation at hand. Consistent with previous studies (Russell, 1982; McAuley, Duncan, & Russell, 1992), the endpoints of this item were internal/external opposites (anchors were 1 = "Completely based on the situation" and 2 = "Completely based on the type of person he is" with a midpoint of "Based on both the type of person he is and the situation equally"). Thus, dispositional and situational attributions were measured in a single item rather than separately. This question was added as an alternative method of measuring dispositional/situational attributions, given the poor model fit and reliability of the situational scale in Experiment 1.

Registration. This experiment was pre-registered at Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/). Raw data will be made available after completion of this dissertation and publication of the data.

Procedure. The same procedure developed for Experiment 1 was used in Experiment 2.

Results

Data screening. Before conducting any analyses, participants' responses to the attention check questions were screened to ensure integrity of the data. After eliminating participants who failed attention check questions (n = 37), did not identify predominantly with American culture (n = 8), were not U.S. citizens (n = 1), had an average score below 3 on the American Identity Affirmation Scale (n = 8), were identified as outliers using the Mahalanobis distance test (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996; n = 3), and/or completed the study in more than three standard deviations above the mean (> 26.19 minutes; n = 3), a total of 211 participants were used in analyses.

Analysis of covariance[4]. All six variables of interest (attribution score, warmth and competence, procedural justice score, and perceived approval and ethicalness) were significantly correlated, so a 2 x 2 MANCOVA was run (see Table 14 for correlations and Tables 15 and 16 for means and confidence intervals). The MANCOVA revealed significant differences in perceptions of the interrogator and his behavior based upon interrogation success, $F(7, 200) = 11.52$, $p < .001$, Wilks' $\lambda = .71$, $\eta_p^2 = .29$. Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(7, 200) = 7.08$, $p < .001$, Wilks' $\lambda = .80$, $\eta_p^2 = .20$. Interrogator nationality, $F(7, 200) = .48$, $p = .85$, Wilks' $\lambda = .98$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and the interaction, $F(7, 200) = .76$, $p = .62$, Wilks' $\lambda = .97$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, were not statistically significant. Subsequent analyses assess the effects of interrogator success across the dependent variables.

Dispositional valence. Univariate tests revealed significant main effects of interrogation success on perceived interrogator *warmth*, $F(1, 206) = 4.01$, $p = .047$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and *competence*, $F(1, 206) = 31.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$, such that successful interrogators were perceived to be

[4] Excluding the covariate resulted in a loss of significance at the univariate level on the warmth variable. All other multivariate and univariate tests remained unchanged.

significantly warmer and more competent than unsuccessful interrogators. Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate for both warmth, $F(1, 206) = 35.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$, and competence, $F(1, 206) = 24.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher perceived warmth and competence.

Attribution score. Univariate tests revealed the main effect of interrogation success on *situational vs. dispositional attributions* was non-significant, $F(1, 206) = .06$, $p = .81$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$. Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 206) = 16.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher situational attributions.

General acceptance. Univariate tests revealed the main effect of interrogation success on perceived *ethicalness* was non-significant, $F(1, 206) = .51$, $p = .47$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 206) = 36.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher perceived ethicalness.

As expected, univariate tests revealed a significant main effect of success on perceived *effectiveness*, $F(1, 206) = 52.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 1.00$, such that participants perceived the use of torture to be more effective when it was successful versus when it was unsuccessful. Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 206) = 24.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher perceived effectiveness.

Finally, univariate tests revealed a main effect of interrogation success on *approval*, $F(1, 206) = 5.69$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, such that participants approved of the use of torture significantly more when it was successful than when it was unsuccessful. Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 206) = 39.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher approval.

Procedural justice. Univariate tests suggested no significant effect of interrogation success on perceived procedural justice, $F(1, 206) = 3.08$, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 206) = 32.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$, such that higher conservatism was related to higher perceived procedural justice.

Outcome attributions. Three items were created to assess how participants might attribute the outcome (success/failure) of the interrogation as due to the interrogator, the detainee, or "luck". The three items were either uncorrelated or weakly correlated, so ANCOVA was used to assess the effects of the manipulated variables (see Table 17 for means and confidence intervals). Socio-political orientation was again included as a covariate.

Analysis of whether the interrogation outcome was *attributed to the investigator* revealed a significant main effect of interrogator success, $F(1, 206) = 6.28$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, such that the outcome was attributed more to the investigator when he was successful than when he was unsuccessful. Both the effect of interrogator nationality, $F(1, 206) = .01$, $p = .93$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$, and the interaction were non-significant, $F(1, 206) = 3.20$, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Socio-political orientation did not serve as a significant covariate, $F(1, 206) = 1.59$, $p = .21$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

ANCOVA was also used to assess whether participants *attributed the outcome to the suspect*. Main effects of both interrogation success, $F(1, 206) = .31$, $p = .58$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$, and interrogator nationality, $F(1, 206) = 2.46$, $p = .12$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, were non-significant. The interaction was also non-significant, $F(1, 206) = 1.91$, $p = .17$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 206) = 5.81$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, such that higher conservatism was related to stronger agreement that the outcome was due to the suspect.

Finally, participants also rated whether the outcome may have been *due to luck*. The ANCOVA revealed the main effects of interrogation success, $F(1, 206) = .01$, $p = .91$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$,

and interrogator nationality, $F(1, 206) = .43$, $p = .51$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$, were both non-significant. The interaction was also non-significant, $F(1, 206) = .008$, $p = .93$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$. Socio-political orientation was a significant covariate, $F(1, 206) = 20.01$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, such that higher liberalism was related to stronger agreement that the outcome was due to luck.

Path analyses. The same path model tested in Experiment 1 was tested in Experiment 2. In the present study, however, the separate dispositional and situational attribution measures were replaced by the single attribution item. The overall model provided good fit, $\chi2(1) = 2.77$, $p = .10$, RMSEA = .09, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = .01, and accounted for 78% of the variance in overall approval (see Figure 2). Perceived ethicalness, effectiveness, warmth, and competence all positively predicted overall approval for the interrogation technique used. Attributions negatively predicted overall approval, suggesting that dispositional attributions were associated with less approval of the use of torture. Additionally, perceived competence positively predicted the perceived effectiveness of torture. Warmth and competence positively predicted perceived ethicalness, while attributions negatively predicted perceived ethicalness. Situational attributions of the interrogator's behavior were associated with perceiving the use of torture as more ethical. Higher warmth and competence both predicted a greater likelihood for making a situational attribution (see Figure 2 for all significant and non-significant standardized estimates).

Multiple indirect effects were also observed. A significant indirect effect of warmth was found through attributions, $b = .05$, $z = 2.53$, $p = .01$, such that higher warmth was associated with more situational attributions, which predicted greater approval. A significant indirect effect of warmth was also observed through ethicalness, $b = .12$, $z = 3.71$, $p < .001$, such that higher warmth was associated with greater perceived ethicalness, which predicted greater approval. A significant indirect effect of competence was found through effectiveness, $b = .11$, $z = 3.18$, $p = .001$, such

that higher competence was associated with greater perceived effectiveness, which predicted greater approval. A significant indirect effect of competence was also found through attributions, b = .06, z = 3.28, p = .001, such that higher competence was associated with more situational attributions, which predicted greater approval. A significant indirect effect of competence was also found through ethicalness, b = .11, z = 3.34, p = .001, such that higher competence was associated with greater perceived ethicalness, which predicted greater approval. Finally, a significant indirect effect of attributions was found through ethicalness, b = -.12, z = -3.61, p < .001, such that more situational attributions were associated with greater perceived ethicalness, which predicted greater approval.

A multigroup analysis was also conducted to evaluate model fit differences across the two success groups (successful vs. unsuccessful) and the two nationality groups (American vs. North Korean). No significant differences across the outcome manipulation was observed, $\Delta\chi^2(19)$ = 28.25, p = .08; however, significant differences across the nationality manipulation were observed, $\Delta\chi^2(19)$ = 34.91, p = .01 (see Table 18 for standardized estimates and confidence intervals). Follow-up analysis of specific parameter differences across conditions suggested several significant differences. First, perceived competence positively predicted perceived ethicalness when the interrogator was American, but this path was non-significant when the interrogator was North Korean. Perceived warmth also positively predicted overall approval when the interrogator was North Korean, but this path was non-significant when the interrogator was American. Higher dispositional attributions predicted lower perceived ethicalness in both conditions (stated another way, higher situational attributions predicted higher perceived ethicalness), but this relationship was significantly stronger in the North Korean condition. Finally, perceived ethicalness positively

predicted approval in both conditions, but this relationship was significantly stronger when the interrogator was American.

Discussion

The purpose of Experiment 2 was to determine whether group membership and outcome of the interrogation would have an effect on attributions of interrogator behavior, as well as the perceived acceptability of torture. It was hypothesized that a successful American interrogator's decision to torture would be viewed as situationally constrained and that the successful outcome of the interrogation would be attributed to the interrogator's positive disposition. It was also hypothesized that the North Korean interrogators', as well as the unsuccessful American interrogator's decision to torture would be viewed as negatively dispositionally driven. The outcome of a successful North Korean interrogator's interrogation was hypothesized to be attributed to the situation, while the outcome of the unsuccessful American and North Korean interrogators would be attributed to negative disposition. Perceptions of approval, ethicalness, effectiveness, and procedural justice were expected to be high for the successful American interrogator, but low for all other interrogators.

Results indicated no support for the hypotheses. While a main effect of success was found for perceived warmth, competence, approval, effectiveness, and the degree to which participants attributed the outcome to the interrogator, none of these effects were qualified by an interaction. Consistent with Experiment 1, no main effect of interrogator nationality was observed for any of the dependent variables. However, the path model did reveal some path differences across nationality group. These differences were generally consistent with what one would expect given intergroup bias. For example, the more participants attributed the North Korean interrogator's use of torture to his disposition, the more unethical they perceived torture to be (to a significantly

greater extent than the American). Additionally, the more competent participants perceived the American interrogator to be, the more ethical they perceived the use of torture to be (this effect was not found for the North Korean). However, it should be noted that these differences were not observed in Study 1, suggesting the effects are either only present in the torture condition, or very small. Possible explanations for the lack of/small effects of nationality will be explored further in the general discussion.

People do appear to favor torture, and to view more favorably the interrogator who employed torture, when the technique was successful. Participants were more likely to attribute the outcome to the interrogator when it was successful. This effect may be due to cognitive dissonance, whereby participants adjusted their attitudes toward torture and the interrogator who tortured to match their attitudes toward a favorable outcome. Although it was hypothesized that participants would adjust their attitudes and attributions only for a successful in-group interrogator, group membership did not appear to moderate this effect.

Chapter 5: Experiment 3

The purpose of Experiment 3 was to determine whether group membership of both the interrogator and detainee would have an influence on attributions of interrogator behavior, as well as the perceived acceptability of torture. As in Experiment 2, both the in-group and out-group interrogators engaged in highly unethical interrogation practices (i.e., multiple instances of torture). However, unlike the previous two studies, the nationality of the detainee was explicitly stated and manipulated. In half of the scenarios, the detainee was another in-group member (i.e., American). In the other half of the scenarios, the detainee was an out-group member (North Korean). Given that individuals tend to punish deviant in-group members more harshly than deviant out-group members (Shinada, Yamagishi, & Ohmura, 2004), participants should be more supportive of an in-group interrogator torturing another (presumably deviant) in-group member, compared to an out-group member torturing either an in-group or out-group member.

Hypotheses

1. Participants will be most likely to attribute the American (in-group) interrogator's behavior to the situation when he is torturing another American. Specifically, an interaction was expected such that the American interrogator who was torturing an American detainee would be viewed as more situationally constrained than any other interrogator.
2. Participants will be most likely to attribute the out-group interrogator's behavior to negative disposition when he is torturing an in-group member (American). Specifically, an interaction was expected such that the North Korean interrogator who was torturing an American detainee would be viewed as more dispositionally driven than any other interrogator. Additionally, an interaction was expected such that

dispositional valence ratings would be significantly lower for the North Korean interrogator who tortured an American compared to any other interrogator.

3. Participants will rate the perceived acceptability, effectiveness, ethicalness, and procedural justice of torture highest when it is used by an American on an American, and lowest when it is used by an out-group interrogator on an American. Specifically, an interaction was expected such that, in the American detainee condition, participants would rate the American interrogator's behavior higher on all measures significantly more than the North Korean interrogator's behavior.

Method

Participants. A power analysis using G*Power indicated that 50 participants per cell would be necessary to detect a small effect size. Three hundred and three U.S. citizens were recruited from MTurk. All participants were compensated $0.50 for their participation. After eliminating participants who failed attention check questions (n = 54), did not identify predominantly with American culture (n = 1), were not U.S. citizens (n = 0), had an average score below 3 on the American Identity Affirmation Scale (n = 33), were identified as outliers using the Mahalanobis distance test (n = 3), and/or completed the study in more than three standard deviations above the mean (> 23.02 min; n = 5), a total of 207 participants were used in analyses. Final participants were majority White (84.5%) and male (52%), and ranged in age from 20 to 74 years (M = 37.83, SD = 12.57).

Design. A 2 x 2 between-subjects design was employed with manipulations of interrogator nationality (American vs. North Korean) and detainee nationality (American vs. North Korean). The independent variables were contained and manipulated within a brief (approximately 350

words) interrogation scenario written by the researcher. Four scenarios were developed, differing on only the nationality of the interrogator and detainee. All scenarios involved the use of torture.

Materials. The same consent form, dependent measures, demographics questionnaire, and debriefing form developed for Experiments 1 and 2 were used in Experiment 3. The manipulation check asked participants to identify the nationalities of both the interrogator and the detainee. The interrogation scenarios differed slightly from those used in the previous studies, such that instead of manipulating the interrogation technique used or outcome of the interrogation, nationality of the detainee was manipulated alongside nationality of the interrogator. All participants read a scenario in which either an in-group or out-group interrogator was torturing a detainee who was also either an in-group or out-group member. Similar to Experiment 1, participants were not told the outcome of the interrogation (i.e. whether or not the interrogator was able to elicit any information from the detainee).

Registration. This experiment was pre-registered at Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/). Raw data will be made available after completion of this dissertation and publication of the data.

Procedure. The same procedure developed for Experiments 1 and 2 was used in Experiment 3.

Results

Data screening. Before conducting any analyses, participants' responses to the attention check questions were screened to ensure integrity of the data. After eliminating participants who failed attention check questions (n = 54), did not identify predominantly with American culture (n = 1), were not U.S. citizens (n = 0), had an average score below 3 on the American Identity Affirmation Scale (n = 33), were identified as outliers using the Mahalanobis distance test

(Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996; $n = 3$), and/or completed the study in more than three standard deviations above the mean (> 23.02 min; $n = 5$), a total of 207 participants were used in analyses.

Analysis of covariance[5]. All seven variables of interest (warmth and competence, attribution score, procedural justice score, and perceived approval, effectiveness, and ethicalness) were significantly correlated, so a 2 x 2 MANCOVA was conducted as in prior studies (see Table 19 for correlations and Tables 20 and 21 for means and confidence intervals). The MANCOVA revealed significant differences in perceptions of the interrogator and his behavior based upon interrogator nationality, $F(7, 196) = 2.11$, $p = .045$, Wilks' $\lambda = .93$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. However, none of the univariate tests were significant. Socio-political orientation served as a significant covariate, $F(7, 196) = 9.28$, $p < .001$, Wilks' $\lambda = .75$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$. Detainee nationality, $F(7, 196) = .96$, $p = .46$, Wilks' $\lambda = .97$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, and the interaction, $F(7, 196) = .54$, $p = .80$, Wilks' $\lambda = .98$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, were not statistically significant in the overall MANOVA.

Path analyses. The same path model tested in Experiments 1 and 2 was tested in Experiment 3. Again, the single attribution item was used for this path model instead of the separate dispositional and situational measures. Although chi-square and RMSEA suggested poor model fit, $\chi^2(1) = 11.76$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .23, CFI and SRMR suggested good model fit, CFI = .99, SRMR = .02. The model accounted for 71% of the variance in overall approval (see Figure 3). Perceived ethicalness, effectiveness and warmth positively predicted overall approval for the use of torture. Attributions negatively predicted overall approval. That is, as people attributed the interrogator's choice to torture more to his disposition, the less they approved of the use of torture. Additionally, perceived competence positively predicted perceived effectiveness of torture. Perceived competence positively predicted perceived ethicalness. Higher competence also

[5] With the covariate excluded, the effect of interrogator nationality is no longer significant at the multivariate level. All other multivariate and univariate tests remain unchanged.

predicted more situational attributions (see Figure 3 for all significant and non-significant standardized estimates).

Multiple indirect effects were also observed. A significant indirect effect of warmth was found through ethicalness, $b = .07$, $z = 2.07$, $p = .04$, such that higher warmth was associated with greater perceived ethicalness, which predicted greater approval. A significant indirect effect of competence was also found through effectiveness, $b = .15$, $z = 2.99$, $p = .003$, such that higher competence was associated with greater perceived effectiveness, which predicted greater approval. A significant indirect effect of competence was also found through attributions, $b = .06$, $z = 2.31$, $p = .02$, such that higher competence was associated with more situational attributions, which predicted greater approval. A significant indirect effect of competence was also found through ethicalness, $b = .16$, $z = 3.91$, $p < .001$, such that higher competence was associated with greater perceived ethicalness, which predicted greater approval. Finally, a significant indirect effect of attributions was found through ethicalness, $b = -.09$, $z = -3.38$, $p = .001$, such that situational attributions were associated with greater perceived ethicalness, which predicted greater approval.

A multigroup analysis was conducted to evaluate model fit differences across the manipulation of detainee nationality (American vs. North Korean) and the manipulation of interrogator nationality (American vs. North Korean). No significant differences were observed across either nationality manipulation, $\Delta\chi^2(19) = 22.56$, $p = .26$, and $\Delta\chi^2(19) = 19.25$, $p = .44$, respectively.

Discussion

The purpose of Experiment 3 was to determine whether group membership of both the interrogator and detainee would have an effect on attributions of interrogator behavior, as well as the perceived acceptability of torture. It was expected that participants would approve of torture

most when it was perpetrated by an American interrogator against an American detainee, and approved of least when it was perpetrated by a North Korean interrogator against an American detainee. However, results indicated no effect of either interrogator nationality or detainee nationality. Additionally, as in Experiment 1, path model comparisons revealed no differences across nationality group, further suggesting that the effects found in Experiment 2 may be small and generally require a larger sample size to detect.

The lack of group differences suggest that biases (with regard to approving of torture) are either non-existent or very small when comparing an American interrogator to a North Korean interrogator. Although participants rated "North Korean" most negatively and perceived them to be most unlike Americans (compared to other nationalities), North Koreans are not typically associated with terrorism or torture. It may be that pre-existing stereotypes toward nationalities that are believed to engage in torture, or are perceived as terrorist threats to the U.S. (and thus "deserving" of torture) must exist in order to see group biases related to torture approval emerge.

Chapter 6: General Discussion

The purpose of these three experiments was to determine which variables may affect Americans' judgments about unethical and ineffective interrogation techniques, as well as judgments about the interrogators who use those techniques. All three experiments sought to determine whether group membership of the interrogator influenced judgments of interrogator behavior and interrogation technique, while Experiment 1 included a manipulation of technique, Experiment 2 included a manipulation of interrogation success, and Experiment 3 included a manipulation of detainee nationality. It was hypothesized that American (in-group) interrogators would be rated more positively and their behavior considered more situationally constrained when compared to North Korean interrogators, unless the American interrogator engaged in torture. It was also hypothesized that American interrogators who tortured would be rated more positively (compared to a North Korean interrogator) when the American's interrogation succeeded, or when the American was torturing another American (versus a North Korean torturing an American). While none of these primary hypotheses were supported, significant differences were observed across variation in interrogation technique and success vs. failure of the interrogation. Below, the implications of these effects are discussed, as well as further considerations for the failure to observe in-group / out-group effects. Attempts to develop a process model that might explain peoples' approval of various interrogation tactics are also discussed.

Interrogation Technique

Robust effects of interrogation technique were observed in Experiment 1. Participants showed greater support for the use of accusatorial and direct questioning techniques compared to torture, and showed the greatest support for accusatorial techniques. Specifically, participants approved most of accusatorial techniques, believed accusatorial techniques to be the most

potentially effective technique, and believed interrogators who used accusatorial techniques to be the most competent. Participants also attributed an interrogator's use of accusatorial techniques more to the situation and less to some dispositional attribute of the interrogator compared to methods of torture or direct questioning. In contrast to this pattern, participants believed that direct questioning was the most ethical and procedurally just technique, and interrogators who used direct questioning were perceived as warmer than interrogators who tortured or used accusatorial techniques.

The fact that participants acknowledged direct questioning as the most ethical and procedurally fair technique, but approved most of accusatorial techniques and made attributional adjustments for interrogators who used accusatorial techniques, suggests that people are willing to sacrifice some ethics in the name of national security. Torture garnered the least approval – it was considered the least ethical and least procedurally just technique, suggesting that torture may have exceeded the amount of ethics people are willing to sacrifice when combating terrorism.

Peoples' support for accusatorial techniques, despite acknowledgement of more ethical techniques, may be due to the prevalence and visibility of accusatorial techniques in the United States. Police frequently report use of these techniques (Redlich, Kelly, & Miller, 2014; Kassin, et al., 2007; Reppucci, Meyer, & Kostelnik, 2010), and popular crime shows such as Law & Order, CSI, and NCIS often depict law enforcement engaging in and succeeding with the use of accusatorial techniques. If participants perceive accusatorial techniques as prototypical of interrogation practice in the U.S., it may be logical for them to assume those techniques are being used because they are most effective, and to consider interrogators who use those techniques to be the most competent. Similarly, participants may have attributed the interrogator's decision to use

accusatorial techniques to the situation because they have come to believe that accusatorial techniques are what police and military personnel *should* be using when interrogating suspects.

The overall disapproval of torture stands in contrast to the findings of Gronke et al. (2010), which showed an increase in support for torture around the election of President Obama in 2009. Gronke et al. (2010) posited that support for torture may have become a partisan symbol, with Republicans believing it distinguished them from Democrats as harsh fighters against terrorism. Given the current political climate in the United States, coupled with the negative publicity torture has received in recent year, it may be that (dis)approval for torture has begun to shift from partisan to bipartisan. The Senate released a report in December of 2014 condemning the CIA's use of torture (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 2014), numerous researchers and practitioners have begun speaking out against the use of torture due to its ineffectiveness and unethical practices (Soufan, 2009; Fallon, 2015), and GOP presidential front-runner Donald Trump has received backlash over his pro-torture comments from both liberal and conservative sources (Beckwith, 2016; Bergenas, 2016). Thus, it may be that people are finally starting to consider torture unacceptable compared to alternative techniques, even in dire situations (i.e. the ticking time bomb scenario).

In-Group/Out-Group

Across three experiments, no differences were observed between ratings of American and North Korean interrogators on any of the dependent measures. Participants did not favor (or differentiate between) the in-group interrogator over the out-group interrogator under any circumstances, suggesting participants viewed the behavior of different interrogators in the same manner regardless of technique used, success of the technique, or who the suspect of the interrogation was.

In Experiment 1, it was hypothesized that there would be no differences between in-group and out-group interrogators in the torture condition because an in-group interrogator who tortured would be viewed as a black sheep and therein derogated along-side an already disliked out-group interrogator who tortured. While no differences across nationality were observed in the torture condition, the original hypothesis was qualified by a prediction of in-group favoritism in the accusatorial condition, which was not observed. According to Marques, Yzerbyt, and Leyens (1988), the black sheep effect is an extension of in-group favoritism. Considering the lack of group-differences in any of the other interrogation technique conditions, it cannot be concluded that the lack of differences in the torture condition was due to a black-sheep effect.

The lack of group differences in the accusatorial condition may be due to the prevalence of accusatorial techniques in the U.S. Participants were expected to disapprove of the North Korean's use of accusatorial questioning given the use of manipulative techniques (i.e. presenting false evidence, making false promises, and shutting down claims of innocence). Participants were *not* expected to disapprove of the American's use of these techniques given the ultimate attribution error, which says that we adjust our attributions for negative behavior perpetrated by in-group members in order to maintain a positive image of our in-group. However, given the prevalence of accusatorial techniques in the U.S., it may be that participants consider this type of interrogation as both normative and acceptable when conducted by any interrogator, regardless of nationality.

The lack of group differences in Experiments 2 and 3 may be attributable to the recent negative attention torture has received in the media. As previously stated, politicians, researchers, and practitioners have all begun speaking out against torture, which may have made the problems with torture particularly salient to participants. It may also be that group differences with regard to torture support are small effects and require a more salient or stereotypical manipulation in order

to emerge. That is, although they were rated most negatively and as most unlike Americans (compared to other nationalities in the pilot study), North Koreans are not stereotypically associate with torture. It may be that stereotypes associated with torture and terrorism need to be activated in order to find group differences in torture approval. Supporting this theory, Conrad, Croco, Gomez, and Moore (2015) found that American participants were more supportive of torture when it was used against an Arab detainee versus an American or Mexican detainee. Conrad, et al (2015) posited that these results were due to Arabs being perceived as more threatening because of their stereotypical association with terrorism. Although Conrad et al (2015) found differences with Arab *detainees*, the same principle may apply to interrogators. That is, if an interrogator is of a nationality stereotyped as terrorists (and thus, perceived as more threatening) and is engaging in threatening behavior (i.e. harsh interrogations/torture), participants may be less accepting of that behavior compared to a non-stereotyped interrogator.

A final explanation for the lack of group differences may be the lack of confirmation from participants that the North Korean interrogator was perceived as a negative out-group member. Participants in the three main experiments were asked to identify the nationality of the interrogator (and detainee in Experiment 3), but were never asked to rate their perceptions of North Koreans as out-group members. Although participants in the pilot test rated North Koreans as the most unlike Americans/themselves and as the most negatively perceived nationality, participants in the three main experiments may have felt differently. Future studies should include manipulation checks that confirm participants are perceiving the out-group interrogator as an out-group member (or a negative out-group member).

Success

Aside from technique, the only other manipulation to influence people's perceptions of torture and the interrogators who engage in torture related to the success versus failure of the interrogation in producing intelligence. Participants considered successful interrogators who tortured to be warmer and more competent compared to interrogators who tortured and did not obtain any information from the detainee. Additionally, participants were more likely to approve of the use of torture when it was successful (versus unsuccessful). According to Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick, (2007), people make judgments of warmth and competence to determine a stranger's intent and capability of carrying out that intent, respectively. Participants perceiving the successful interrogator as more competent is a logical outcome, given the successful interrogator was clearly more capable of carrying out his intention of eliciting information from the detainee. In terms of warmth, when torture was successful participants may have engaged in hindsight bias (Fischhoff, 1975), leading to the perception that the successful interrogator had better initial intentions (i.e., a successful outcome that resulted in saving lives), and was thus warmer than an unsuccessful interrogator. Similarly, cognitive dissonance may have resulted in participants approving of torture only when it was successful. Although it was predicted that cognitive dissonance would result in higher approval for only the successful American, approval did not differ across the two nationality conditions. The lack of differences across nationality groups may be attributed to the positive outcome of the successful interrogation. That is, participants may have adjusted their disapproval of torture when it was successful because of a desire to approve of a technique that resulted in saving lives, regardless of the nationality of those lives.

Factors Influencing Approval

Consistent across all studies, the proposed model explained a significant portion of the variance of overall approval (63%-78%). Across three experiments, warmth, situational attributions, perceived ethicalness, and perceived effectiveness all predicted overall approval. Warmth also indirectly predicted overall approval by predicting lower perceived ethicalness, which predicted lower approval. In Experiments 1 and 2, higher competence also predicted overall approval. Additionally, the more competent the interrogator was perceived, the more effective the interrogation technique was perceived. Higher perceived effectiveness, in turn, predicted higher overall approval. Similarly, the more competent the interrogator was perceived, the more likely participants were to attribute his choice of interrogation technique to the situation, which then predicted higher overall approval.

It is important to understand what factors are influencing approval of interrogation techniques, specifically torture, so researchers know how to tailor education about torture for the public. For example, research has demonstrated that torture is not an effective means of eliciting reliable information from suspects (O'Mara, 2011; Rejali, 2009; Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 2014). According to the path model, perceived effectiveness directly predicts approval of torture. If researchers can effectively educate the public on the fact that accusatorial techniques and torture do not result in actionable information (i.e. are not effective), support for torture will continue to decrease, and support for accusatorial techniques may begin to decrease. Similarly, if practitioners can effectively inform the public that torture is not sanctioned by the military/law enforcement due to its ineffectiveness and unethical nature, perceived warmth (i.e. positive intent) of interrogators who engage in torture may decrease, resulting in decreased approval. Finally, participants were more likely to approve of torture if they believed the

interrogator's decision to torture was due to the situation which, in the current studies, was a ticking time bomb scenario. According to Gross (2004), although the ticking time bomb is a popular hypothetical scenario for discussing the use of torture, catastrophic scenarios such as the ticking time bomb are relatively rare outside of research and hypothetical discussions. If the public becomes aware of the ticking time bomb's rarity, they may be less likely to believe that situations often necessitate the use of torture, and thus be less likely to approve of it.

Limitations and Future Directions

One uncontrollable factor that may have influenced the results of these studies is the current political climate in the United States. Data for these experiments were collected from August, 2015 – January, 2016. The year 2016 is an election year, and with it the public has seen a surge in media coverage of politically charged topics, including the use of torture to combat terrorism. Given the strong rhetoric from practitioners and the media against the use of torture, it may be that approval pre-election season would have been higher. However, there is also the possibility that approval would have been even lower pre-election season, and the support for Donald Trump and his pro-torture attitude has increased approval comparatively. Future studies may want to compare the public's attitudes about torture and other interrogation techniques before, during, and after an election to determine how campaign coverage may influence approval.

Additionally, two major terrorist attacks occurred during data collection: bombings in Paris, France on November 13th, 2015, and a shooting in San Bernardino on December 2nd, 2015, which coincided with the beginning of data collection for Experiment 2. The occurrence of these attacks may have made terrorism and counter-terrorism measures more salient for participants, potentially influencing the way they evaluated the interrogator and his interrogation decisions. Although it is impossible to plan experiments around the (un)likelihood of terrorist attacks, future

studies that *don't* coincide with terrorist attacks could compare attitudes toward torture with the attitudes found in the current experiments.

Another limitation of the current experiments may be the fact that these were scenario-based experiments. Although participants were reminded of the investigator's group membership throughout the scenario, there may be ways to make that group membership more salient by supplementing a scenario with visual cues. Researchers cannot ethically present a torture scenario through video format, but pictures or audio could be included with the scenario in order to make more salient the interrogator's out-group status and/or the detainee's distress. Additionally, using an out-group member that is already stereotyped as a "terrorist," such as a middle-eastern male, may result in group differences. For example, Conrad et al (2015) found that American participants were more supportive of torture when it was used against an Arab detainee. If participants are more aware of the interrogator as an out-group member, or have pre-existing torture- and terrorist-related stereotypes against that out-group member, biases against the out-group member may emerge.

The effect of group membership on attitudes toward torture is not the only factor worthy of further investigation. According to retributive theory, people have a tendency to advocate for utilitarian punishment (i.e. punishment for the purpose of deterrence), but in practice prefer punishment for the purpose of retribution (see Carlsmith & Darley, 2008 for a review). The discrepancy between advocating for utilitarian punishment and practicing retributive punishment may also be found in situations where people might advocate for torture. For example, it is likely that, if asked, people would say torture should only be used to prevent a major catastrophe, such as the ticking time bomb scenario. However, if presented with scenarios where an interrogator has either proactively tortured a suspect (e.g. tortured someone to elicit information about a bomb that

has yet to go off) vs. reactively tortured a suspect (e.g. tortured someone to elicit information about a bomb that *has already* gone off), it is likely that people would show higher approval for the reactive torture.

Finally, there may be other factors that influence the process model that predicted overall approval. As seen in Experiment 1, manipulating interrogation technique reversed the way perceived warmth predicted attributions between the direct questioning and torture conditions. It also demonstrated that dispositional attributions negatively predict perceived ethicalness, but only when the interrogator tortures. Although manipulating effectiveness of torture (i.e. success) did not result in model differences, manipulating other components of the model may change the significance of the paths. For example, given that situational attributions predicted approval, one could manipulate the number of situational constraints in the scenario to determine whether approval differs for scenarios like the ticking time bomb versus scenarios with lower stakes. Additionally, given that perceived competence predicted approval in two of the three studies, one could manipulate an interrogator's years of experience to determine whether approval of torture would be higher when it was carried out by a senior versus a rookie interrogator. Finally, although the current ordering of the variables was informed by the literature, one could argue for a different ordering of variables (for example, that pre-existing attitudes toward torture influence attitudes toward the interrogator, rather than attitudes about the interrogator influencing attitudes toward torture). Future studies should directly test the order of variables to determine whether a different ordering would be more appropriate.

Conclusion

Across three experiments, this dissertation sought to explore factors rooted in social psychological theory that might influence people's perceptions of torture and interrogators who

engage in torture. Although none of the hypotheses were supported, the three studies did identify various factors that influence people's perceptions of torture and the interrogators who engage in torture. People are more likely to view interrogators who torture positively and approve of torture when actionable information is elicited from the suspect. Additionally, when comparing the use of direct questioning, accusatorial techniques, and torture, the American public largely disapproves of torture and approves of accusatorial techniques, despite the fact that research has shown accusatorial techniques to be ineffective. However, a path analysis revealed that perceived effectiveness positively predicts overall approval. If researchers and practitioners can successfully educate the public on effective interrogation techniques, it is likely that approval for unethical and ineffective techniques such as torture and accusatorial methods will decrease, and support for ethical and effective techniques like the information gathering and rapport building approach will increase. By increasing public support for ethical interrogation practices, researchers and practitioners advocating against the use of accusatorial techniques and torture may begin to see a rise in laws that explicitly ban those methods and enforce the use of ethical and effective information gathering approaches.

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Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Ratings of Overall Approval, Perceived Ethicalness, Perceived Effectiveness, and Procedural Justice of Interrogation Technique across Conditions

Interrogation Technique	N	Approval		Ethical		Effectiveness		Procedural Justice	
		Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
Direct	56	5.37	[4.86, 5.90]	5.93	[5.44, 6.42]	3.46	[3.00, 3.93]	5.25	[4.92, 5.58]
Threats to Family	56	3.73	[3.22, 4.25]	3.36	[2.87, 3.85]	4.00	[3.53, 4.47]	2.90	[2.57, 3.23]
Extreme Cold	56	4.21	[3.70, 4.73]	3.87	[3.39, 4.36]	4.52	[4.05, 4.99]	3.20	[2.87, 3.53]
Forced Nudity	57	3.25	[2.73, 3.76]	3.02	[2.53, 3.50]	3.16	[2.69, 3.62]	2.41	[2.09, 2.74]
Waterboarding	56	3.21	[2.70, 3.73]	3.02	[2.53, 3.51]	3.98	[3.51, 4.45]	2.29	[1.96, 2.62]
Total	281	3.95	[3.73, 4.19]	3.84	[3.62, 4.06]	3.82	[3.62, 4.03]	3.21	[3.06, 3.36]

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Ratings of Dispositional and Situational Attributions for Interrogator Behavior across Conditions

Interrogation Technique	N	Dispositional		Situational	
		Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
Direct	56	5.27	[4.99, 5.55]	3.76	[3.44, 4.07]
Threats to Family	56	5.70	[5.42, 5.98]	4.96	[4.65, 5.28]
Extreme Cold	56	5.73	[5.45, 6.01]	4.98	[4.66, 5.29]
Forced Nudity	57	5.81	[5.54, 6.09]	4.61	[4.30, 4.93]
Waterboarding	56	5.91	[5.63, 6.19]	4.61	[4.30, 4.93]
Total	281	5.68	[5.56, 5.81]	4.59	[4.44, 4.73]

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics for Ratings of Similarity to and Positive Feelings toward Nationalities

		Like Me		Like Americans		Positive Feelings	
Nationality	N	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
North Korean	90	1.72	[1.54, 1.91]	1.61	[1.44, 1.79]	2.41	[2.18, 2.64]
Saudi Arabian	90	2.03	[1.84, 2.23]	2.03	[1.84, 2.22]	2.54	[2.35, 2.74]
Ethiopian	90	2.12	[1.91, 2.34]	2.02	[1.82, 2.23]	3.21	[3.03, 3.40]
Iraqi	90	2.14	[1.93, 2.35]	2.00	[1.81, 2.19]	2.53	[2.32, 2.75]
Iranian	90	2.23	[2.01, 2.45]	2.13	[1.92, 2.35]	2.64	[2.41, 2.88]
Chinese	90	2.44	[2.25, 2.64]	2.32	[2.14, 2.50]	3.11	[2.95, 3.28]
Turkish	90	2.51	[2.30, 2.72]	2.51	[2.30, 2.72]	3.18	[3.00, 3.35]
Russian	90	2.52	[2.31, 2.73]	2.43	[2.23, 2.63]	2.96	[2.78, 3.13]
Israeli	90	2.69	[2.46, 2.92]	2.76	[2.54, 2.97]	3.07	[2.86, 3.27]
Japanese	90	2.78	[2.56, 3.00]	2.57	[2.36, 2.77]	3.79	[3.60, 3.98]
Mexican	90	2.92	[2.72, 3.13]	2.84	[2.64, 3.05]	3.26	[3.04, 3.47]
Spanish	90	3.06	[2.84, 3.27]	3.01	[2.81, 3.21]	3.70	[3.53, 3.87]
German	90	3.21	[2.99, 3.43]	3.17	[2.96, 3.38]	3.63	[3.44, 3.83]
English	90	3.80	[3.61, 3.99]	3.80	[3.62, 3.98]	N/A*	N/A*
Canadian	90	3.88	[3.66, 4.09]	4.01	[3.83, 4.19]	4.17	[3.97, 4.36]

*The item asking participants to rate feelings toward the English was replaced with an attention check item.

Table 4
Standardized Warmth Item Loadings

Item	Loading*	Variance
The investigator is good-natured	.91	.18
The investigator is warm	.89	.20
The investigator is sincere	.79	.38
The investigator is friendly	.88	.22
The investigator is well-intentioned**	.65	.58

*All loadings were significant at $p < .001$
**Item removed from analyses

Table 5
Standardized Competence Item Loadings

Item	Loading*	Variance
The investigator is competent	.91	.18
The investigator is confident	.82	.33
The investigator is intelligent**	.81	.35
The investigator is capable	.87	.24
The investigator is efficient	.82	.32
The investigator is skillful	.89	.21
The investigator is unprofessional**	.71	.50

*All loadings were significant at $p < .001$
**Item removed from analyses

Table 6
Standardized Dispositional Attribution Item Loadings – Single Factor

Item	Loading*	Variance
To what extent did the investigator alone determine what interrogation tactic he used?	.71	.50
To what extent could the investigator have acted in any other way than he did during the interrogation?	.27	.93
To what extent was the investigator's behavior due to something about what kind of person he is?	.38	.86
To what extent was the investigator's choice of interrogation technique under his own personal control?	.85	.27
To what extent do you blame the investigator for the events during the interrogation?	.24	.95

*All loadings were significant at $p < .001$

Table 7
Standardized Dispositional Attribution Item Loadings – Two Factors

	Item	Loading*	Variance
Autonomy	To what extent did the investigator alone determine what interrogation tactic he used?	.66	.57
	To what extent was the investigator's choice of interrogation technique under his own personal control?	.94	.71
Dispositional Attributions	To what extent was the investigator's behavior due to something about what kind of person he is?	.60	.64
	To what extent could the investigator have acted in any other way than he did during the interrogation?	.54	.12
	To what extent do you blame the investigator for the events during the interrogation?	.47	.78

*All loadings were significant at $p < .001$

Table 8
Standardized Situational Attribution Item Loadings

Item	Loading*	Standard Error
To what extent were the investigator's interrogation tactics determined by the need to collect the information quickly?	.47	.78
To what extent was the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic due to aspects of the situation that he could not personally control?	.85	.28
To what extent was the investigator's behavior due to someone other than the investigator?	.52	.73
To what extent was the investigator's behavior due to circumstances that got out of hand?	.43	.81

*All loadings were significant at $p < .001$

Table 9
Standardized Procedural Justice Item Loadings

Item	Loading*	Variance
The investigator is trustworthy	.64	.59
The suspect was treated with respect	.94	.12
The suspect was treated fairly	.92	.15
The suspect was treated with dignity	.95	.09
To what extent did the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic violate the suspect's rights?**	.78	.39

*All loadings were significant at $p < .001$
**Reverse scored

Table 10
Experiment 1 - Dependent Measure Correlations

Variable	Sit.	Warmth	Comp.	Ethical	Approve	Effective	PJ
Disp.	-.43*	-.26*	-.48*	-.30*	-.51*	-.39*	-.26*
Sit.		.002	.41*	-.08	.35*	.41*	-.06
Warmth			.45*	.65*	.51*	.18*	.81*
Comp.				.36*	.72*	.63*	.42*
Ethical					.49*	.17*	.74*
Approve						.53*	.56*
Effective							.15*

*Correlation was significant at $p < .05$

Table 11
Experiment 1 - Means and CIs for Dispositional and Situational Attributions, Warmth, and Competence

Interrogator Nationality	Interrogation Technique	N	Dispositional		Situational		Warmth		Competence	
			Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
American	Direct	53	4.65	[4.38, 4.91]	3.69	[3.39, 4.00]	5.23	[4.97, 5.49]	4.62	[4.24, 4.99]
	Accusatorial	47	4.45	[4.11, 4.79]	4.88	[4.56, 5.20]	3.94	[3.66, 4.22]	5.15	[4.84, 5.45]
	Torture	52	4.96	[4.59, 5.32]	4.25	[3.93, 4.57]	3.44	[3.09, 3.79]	4.12	[3.68, 4.57]
North Korean	Direct	41	4.89	[4.58, 5.19]	3.84	[3.49, 4.18]	5.15	[4.91, 5.40]	4.33	[3.91, 4.75]
	Accusatorial	43	4.20	[3.83, 4.57]	5.15	[4.86, 5.43]	4.35	[3.98, 4.73]	5.29	[4.94, 5.64]
	Torture	54	4.83	[4.52,5.15]	4.55	[4.26,4.84]	3.25	[2.96,3.54]	4.49	[4.15,4.82]
Nationality Total	American	152	4.69	[4.50,4.88]	4.25	[4.06,4.44]	4.22	[4.01,4.43]	4.61	[4.39,4.84]
	North Korean	138	4.65	[4.46,4.85]	4.52	[4.33,4.72]	4.16	[3.94,4.38]	4.69	[4.47,4.91]
Technique Total	Direct	94	4.75[a]	[4.55, 4.95]	3.76[ab]	[3.53, 3.98]	5.20[ab]	[5.02, 5.38]	4.49[a]	[4.22, 4.77]
	Accusatorial	90	4.33[ac]	[4.08,4.58]	5.01[ac]	[4.79,5.22]	4.14[ac]	[3.91,4.37]	5.22[ac]	[4.99,5.44]
	Torture	106	4.89[c]	[4.65,5.13]	4.40[bc]	[4.19,4.61]	3.34[bc]	[3.12,3.57]	4.31[c]	[4.03,4.58]

[a]Direct significantly different from Accusatorial at $p < .05$
[b]Direct significantly different from Torture at $p < .05$
[c]Accusatorial significantly different from Torture at $p < .05$

Table 12
Experiment 1 - Means and CIs for Approval, Ethicalness, Effectiveness, and Procedural Justice

Interrogator Nationality	Interrogation Technique	N	Approval		Ethical		Effectiveness		Procedural Justice	
			Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
American	Direct	53	4.72	[4.23, 5.20]	5.87	[5.50, 6.23]	3.62	[3.21, 4.03]	5.80	[5.56, 6.05]
	Accusatorial	47	5.02	[4.56, 5.48]	4.34	[3.79, 4.90]	5.06	[4.70, 5.43]	3.95	[3.56, 4.34]
	Torture	52	3.33	[2.77, 3.89]	2.88	[2.40, 3.37]	4.00	[3.47, 4.53]	2.67	[2.32, 3.02]
North Korean	Direct	41	4.68	[4.19, 5.17]	5.83	[5.37, 6.29]	3.66	[2.17, 4.15]	5.71	[5.44, 5.98]
	Accusatorial	43	5.47	[5.03, 5.90]	4.51	[3.96, 5.07]	4.77	[4.31, 5.23]	4.43	[4.02, 4.85]
	Torture	54	3.87	[3.38,4.37]	3.65	[3.18,4.11]	4.26	[3.86,4.66]	3.00	[2.68,3.32]
Nationality Total	American	152	4.34	[4.03,4.65]	4.38	[4.04,4.71]	4.20	[3.93,4.47]	4.16	[3.88,4.44]
	North Korean	138	4.61	[4.32,4.90]	4.57	[4.25,4.88]	4.24	[3.98,4.50]	4.25	[3.98,4.52]
Technique Total	Direct	94	4.70[b]	[4.36, 5.04]	5.85[ab]	[5.56, 6.13]	3.64[a]	[3.33, 3.95]	5.76[ab]	[5.59, 5.94]
	Accusatorial	90	5.23[c]	[4.92,5.55]	4.42[ac]	[4.04,4.81]	4.92[ac]	[4.64,5.21]	4.18[ac]	[3.90,4.46]
	Torture	106	3.60[bc]	[3.23,3.97]	3.27[bc]	[2.93,3.61]	4.13[c]	[3.81,4.46]	2.84[bc]	[2.60,3.07]

[a]Direct significantly different from Accusatorial at $p < .05$
[b]Direct significantly different from Torture at $p < .05$
[c]Accusatorial significantly different from Torture at $p < .05$

Table 13
Standardized Estimates and Confidence Intervals for Experiment 1 Group Comparison Path Models

	Direct		Accusatorial		Torture	
Path	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI
Competence → Dispositional	**-.31**	[-.45, -.09]	**-.30**	[-.76, -.02]	**-.44**	[-.63, -.19]
Competence → Situational	**.37**	[.20, .56]	**.38**	[.05, .71]	.25	[-.02, .48]
Warmth → Dispositional	**.38**[ab]	[.18, .52]	-.03[a]	[-.40, .35]	**-.35**[b]	[-.59, -.19]
Warmth → Situational	**-.46**[ab]	[-.63, -.29]	.03[a]	[-.36, .36]	**.32**[b]	[.11, .58]
Competence → Effective	**.48**	[.28, .65]	**.50**	[.21, .75]	**.61**	[.36, .83]
Competence → Ethical	-.05[ab]	[-.22, .08]	**.38**[a]	[.08, .58]	**.29**[b]	[.12, .44]
Warmth → Effective	-.02	[-.32, .18]	.07	[-.11, .32]	-.03	[-.27, .13]
Warmth → Ethical	**.37**[b]	[.15, .55]	.22	[-.08, .41]	.06[b]	[-.23, .30]
Dispositional → Effective	-.12	[-.31, .06]	-.07	[-.27, .11]	-.01	[-.24, .15]
Dispositional → Ethical	-.06[b]	[-.27, .14]	-.13[c]	[-.34, .08]	**-.44**[bc]	[-.61, -.19]
Situational → Effective	.06	[-.19, .31]	.11	[-.09, .35]	.09	[-.08, .26]
Situational → Ethical	-.19	[-.36, .10]	**-.20**	[-.47, -.04]	-.09	[-.28, .13]
Competence → Approval	**.53**	[.27, .74]	**.31**	[.07, .50]	**.28**	[.08, .46]
Warmth → Approval	.003	[-.23, .21]	.06	[-.12, .24]	**.25**	[.06, .41]
Dispositional → Approval	-.06	[-.20, .16]	**-.21**	[-.34, -.07]	-.04	[-.26, .19]
Situational → Approval	.05	[-.15, .28]	**.14**	[.001, .31]	.05	[-.09, .16]
Effective → Approval	.14	[-.09, .34]	**.21**	[.005, .38]	.07	[-.05, .24]
Ethical → Approval	.10	[-.12, .28]	**.21**	[.03, .37]	.16	[-.01, .45]

[a]Direct significantly different from Accusatorial at $p < .05$
[b]Direct significantly different from Torture at $p < .05$
[c]Accusatorial significantly different from Torture at $p < .05$
Bolded estimates significant at $p < .05$

Table 14

*Experiment 2 - Dependent Measure Correlations**

Variable	Warmth	Comp.	Ethical	Approve	PJ
Attribution	.-50	-.54	-.58	-.66	-.51
Warmth		.61	.61	.66	.70
Comp.			.61	.72	.64
Ethical				.81	.71
Approve					.74

*All correlations significant at $p < .001$

Table 15

Experiment 2 - Means and CIs for Dispositional and Situational Attributions, Warmth, and Competence

Interrogator Nationality	Interrogation Technique	N	Attribution		Warmth		Competence	
			Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
American	Successful	55	2.53	[2.10, 2.95]	3.68	[3.31, 4.04]	5.00	[4.55, 5.45]
	Unsuccessful	52	2.60	[2.18, 3.01]	3.60	[3.27, 3.92]	4.20	[3.74, 4.66]
North Korean	Successful	50	2.36	[2.04, 2.68]	3.98	[3.64, 4.31]	5.42	[5.07, 5.78]
	Unsuccessful	54	2.37	[2.05, 2.69]	3.45	[3.16, 3.75]	4.07	[3.73, 4.42]
Nationality Total	American	107	2.56	[2.27, 2.85]	3.64	[3.40, 3.88]	4.61	[4.28, 4.94]
	North Korean	104	2.37	[2.14, 2.59]	3.70	[3.48, 3.93]	4.72	[4.45, 5.00]
Success Total	Successful	105	2.45	[2.18, 2.71]	**3.81**	**[3.57, 4.07]**	**5.20**	**[4.91, 5.49]**
	Unsuccessful	106	2.48	[2.22, 2.74]	**3.52**	**[3.31, 3.74]**	**4.13**	**[3.85, 4.42]**

Bolded estimates significantly different at $p < .05$

Table 16
Experiment 2 - Means and CIs for Approval, Ethicalness, Effectiveness, and Procedural Justice

Interrogator Nationality	Interrogation Technique	N	Approval		Ethical		Effectiveness		Procedural Justice	
			Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
American	Successful	55	4.15	[3.50, 4.79]	3.71	[3.11, 4.31]	5.42	[4.93, 5.90]	2.97	[2.57, 3.37]
	Unsuccessful	52	3.73	[3.13, 4.33]	3.54	[2.95, 4.13]	4.04	[3.51, 4.56]	2.78	[2.41, 3.16]
North Korean	Successful	50	4.64	[4.13, 5.15]	3.80	[3.21, 4.39]	5.82	[5.47, 6.17]	3.18	[2.81, 3.55]
	Unsuccessful	54	3.81	[3.29, 4.34]	3.61	[3.11, 4.11]	4.06	[3.61, 4.50]	2.79	[2.47, 3.10]
Nationality Total	American	107	3.94	[3.51, 4.38]	3.63	[3.21, 4.04]	4.75	[4.37, 5.12]	2.88	[2.61, 3.15]
	North Korean	104	4.21	[3.84, 4.58]	3.70	[3.33, 4.08]	4.90	[4.57, 5.23]	2.98	[2.74, 3.22]
Success Total	Successful	105	**4.38**	**[3.97, 4.79]**	3.75	[3.34, 4.17]	**5.61**	**[5.31, 5.91]**	3.07	[2.80, 3.34]
	Unsuccessful	106	**3.77**	**[3.38, 4.17]**	3.58	[3.20, 3.96]	**4.05**	**[3.71, 4.39]**	2.78	[2.54, 3.03]

Bolded estimates significantly different at $p < .05$

Table 17

Experiment 2 - Means and CIs for Dispositional and Situational Attributions of Outcome

Interrogator Nationality	Interrogation Technique	N	Due to Investigator		Due to Suspect		Due to Luck	
			Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
American	Successful	55	4.11	[3.61, 4.61]	5.67	[5.34, 6.01]	3.05	[2.55, 3.56]
	Unsuccessful	52	3.96	[3.53, 4.39]	5.35	[4.99, 5.71]	3.08	[2.61, 3.54]
North Korean	Successful	50	4.50	[4.11, 4.89]	5.14	[4.78, 5.50]	3.28	[2.79, 3.77]
	Unsuccessful	54	3.57	[3.18, 3.97]	5.28	[4.93, 5.63]	3.30	[2.82, 3.77]
Nationality Total	American	107	4.04	[3.71, 4.36]	5.51	[5.27, 5.76]	3.07	[2.73, 3.40]
	North Korean	104	4.02	[3.73, 4.31]	5.21	[4.96, 5.46]	3.29	[2.95, 3.62]
Success Total	Successful	105	**4.30**	**[3.98, 4.61]**	5.42	[5.17, 5.67]	3.16	[2.81, 3.51]
	Unsuccessful	106	**3.76**	**[3.48, 4.05]**	5.31	[5.06, 5.56]	3.19	[2.86, 3.52]

Bolded estimates significantly different at $p < .05$

Table 18

Standardized Estimates and Confidence Intervals for Experiment 2 Group Comparison Path Models

	American		North Korean	
Path	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI
Competence → Attribute	**-.35**	[-.56, -.13]	**-.34**	[-.58, -.06]
Competence → Effective	**.64**	[.45, .81]	**.61**	[.36, .78]
Competence → Ethical	**.42**[a]	[.23, .58]	.06[a]	[-.14, .21]
Warmth → Attribute	**-.36**	[-.56, -.18]	-.14	[-.39, .16]
Warmth → Effective	-.04	[-.28, .21]	.08	[-.11, .28]
Warmth → Ethical	**.24**	[.08, .43]	**.32**	[.17, .54]
Attribute → Effective	-.16	[-.33, .09]	-.01	[-.18, .16]
Attribute → Ethical	**-.16**[a]	[-.37, -.05]	**-.40**[a]	[-.57, -.26]
Competence → Approval	**.18**	[.05, .40]	.07	[-.10, .24]
Warmth → Approval	-.03[a]	[-.16, .06]	**.29**[a]	[.16, .46]
Attribute → Approval	**-.20**	[-.30, -.10]	**-.21**	[-.34, -.07]
Effective → Approval	**.13**	[.003, .29]	**.23**	[.08, .39]
Ethical → Approval	**.56**[a]	[.35, .78]	**.30**[a]	[.11, .45]

[a]American significantly different from North Korean at $p < .05$

Bolded estimates significant at $p < .05$

Table 19
*Experiment 3 - Dependent Measure Correlations**

Variable	Warmth	Comp.	Ethical	Effective	Approve	PJ
Attribution	-.32	-.49	-.48	-.37	-.53	-.38
Warmth		.62	.49	.44	.58	.66
Comp.			.63	.70	.70	.64
Ethical				.56	.77	.74
Effective					.67	.55
Approve						.72

*All correlations significant at $p < .001$

Table 20
Experiment 3 - Means and CIs for Dispositional and Situational Attributions, Warmth, and Competence

Interrogator Nationality	Detainee Nationality	N	Attribution		Warmth		Competence	
			Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
American	American	49	2.88	[2.44, 3.31]	3.57	[3.27, 3.86]	4.40	[3.99, 4.81]
	North Korean	55	2.51	[2.10, 2.92]	3.60	[3.31, 3.90]	4.42	[4.05, 4.79]
North Korean	American	51	2.65	[2.24, 3.06]	3.14	[2.76, 3.52]	4.35	[3.98, 4.73]
	North Korean	52	2.42	[2.04, 2.81]	3.39	[3.05, 3.73]	4.65	[4.25, 5.04]
Interrogator Total	American	104	2.68	[2.39, 2.98]	3.59	[3.38, 3.79]	4.41	[4.14, 4.68]
	North Korean	103	2.53	[2.26, 2.81]	3.27	[3.02, 3.52]	4.50	[4.23, 4.77]
Detainee Total	American	100	2.76	[2.47, 3.05]	3.35	[3.11, 3.59]	4.38	[4.10, 4.65]
	North Korean	107	2.47	[2.19, 2.74]	3.50	[3.28, 3.72]	4.53	[4.26, 4.80]

Table 21
Experiment 3 - Means and CIs for Approval, Ethicalness, Effectiveness, and Procedural Justice

Interrogator Nationality	Detainee Nationality	N	Approval		Ethical		Effectiveness		Procedural Justice	
			Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI	Mean	95% CI
American	American	49	3.88	[3.23, 4.53]	3.06	[2.48, 3.65]	4.57	[4.09, 5.05]	2.71	[2.35, 3.07]
	North Korean	55	3.98	[3.39, 4.58]	3.33	[2.74, 3.91]	4.56	[4.08, 5.05]	2.78	[2.41, 3.14]
North Korean	American	51	3.71	[3.11, 4.30]	3.20	[3.65, 3.74]	4.41	[3.92, 4.90]	2.65	[2.30, 3.00]
	North Korean	52	3.92	[3.37, 4.48]	3.65	[3.10, 4.21]	4.62	[4.14, 5.09]	2.57	[2.26, 2.88]
Interrogator Total	American	104	3.93	[3.50, 4.36]	3.20	[2.79, 3.61]	4.57	[4.23, 4.90]	2.75	[2.49, 3.00]
	North Korean	103	3.95	[3.55, 4.35]	3.49	[3.09, 3.89]	4.59	[4.25, 4.92]	2.68	[2.44, 2.91]
Detainee Total	American	100	3.79	[3.36, 4.22]	3.13	[2.74, 3.52]	4.49	[4.15, 4.83]	2.68	[2.43, 2.93]
	North Korean	107	3.82	[3.42, 4.22]	3.43	[3.04, 3.81]	4.51	[4.18, 4.85]	2.61	[2.38, 2.84]

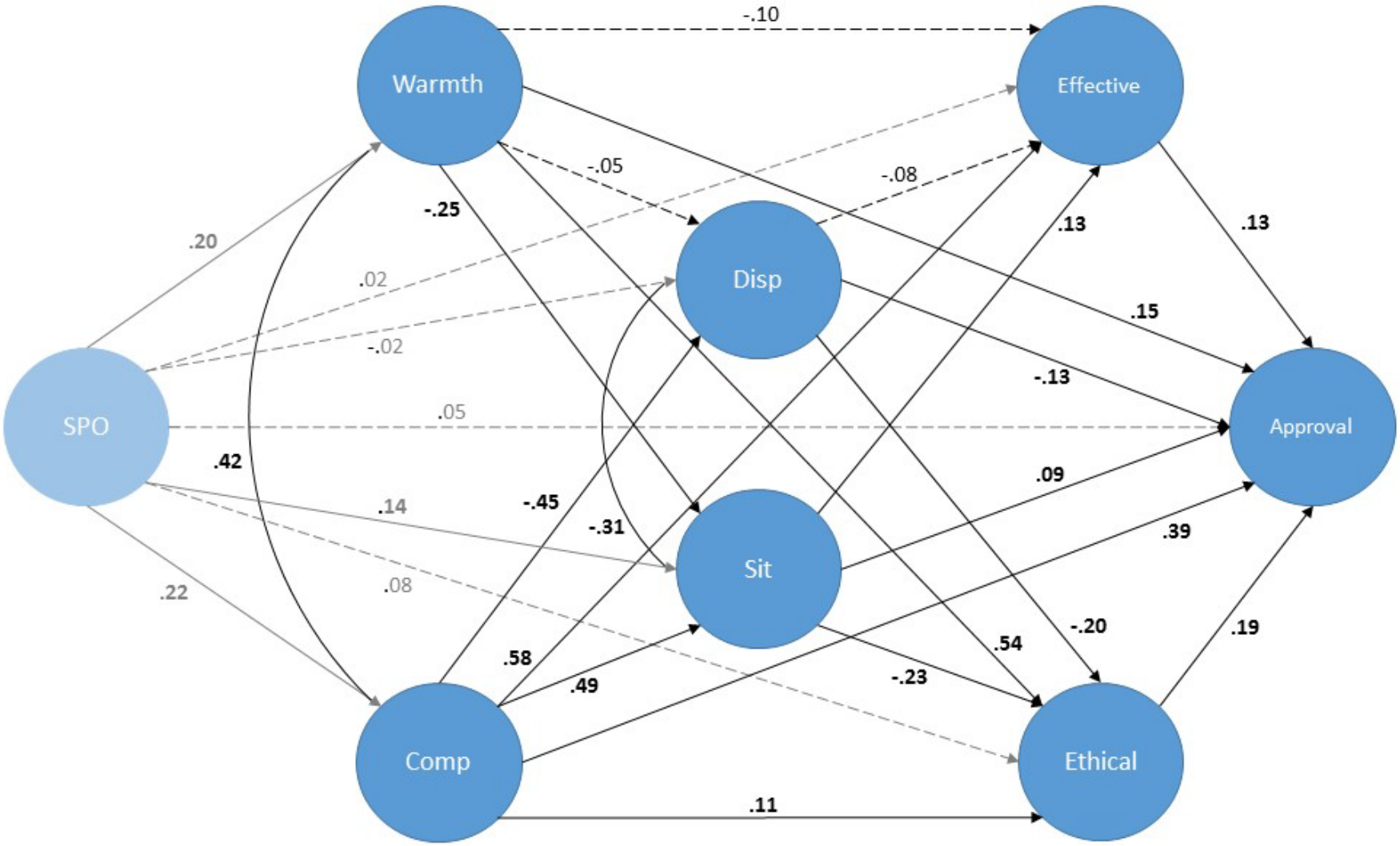

Figure 1. Standardized estimates and predictive relationships among dependent measures in Experiment 1. Solid bold lines indicate $p < .05$.

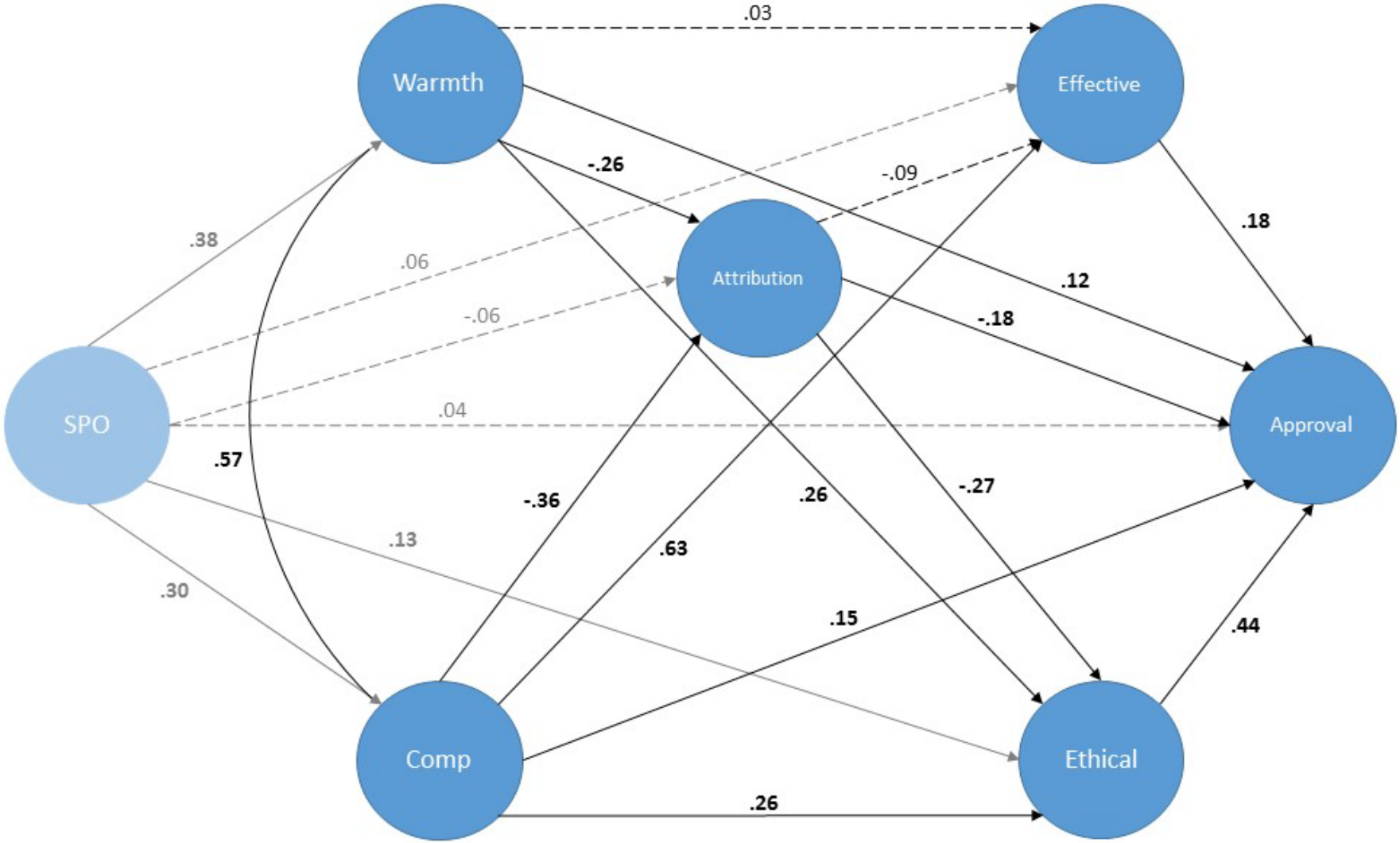

Figure 2. Standardized estimates and predictive relationships among dependent measures in Experiment 2. Solid bold lines indicate $p < .05$.

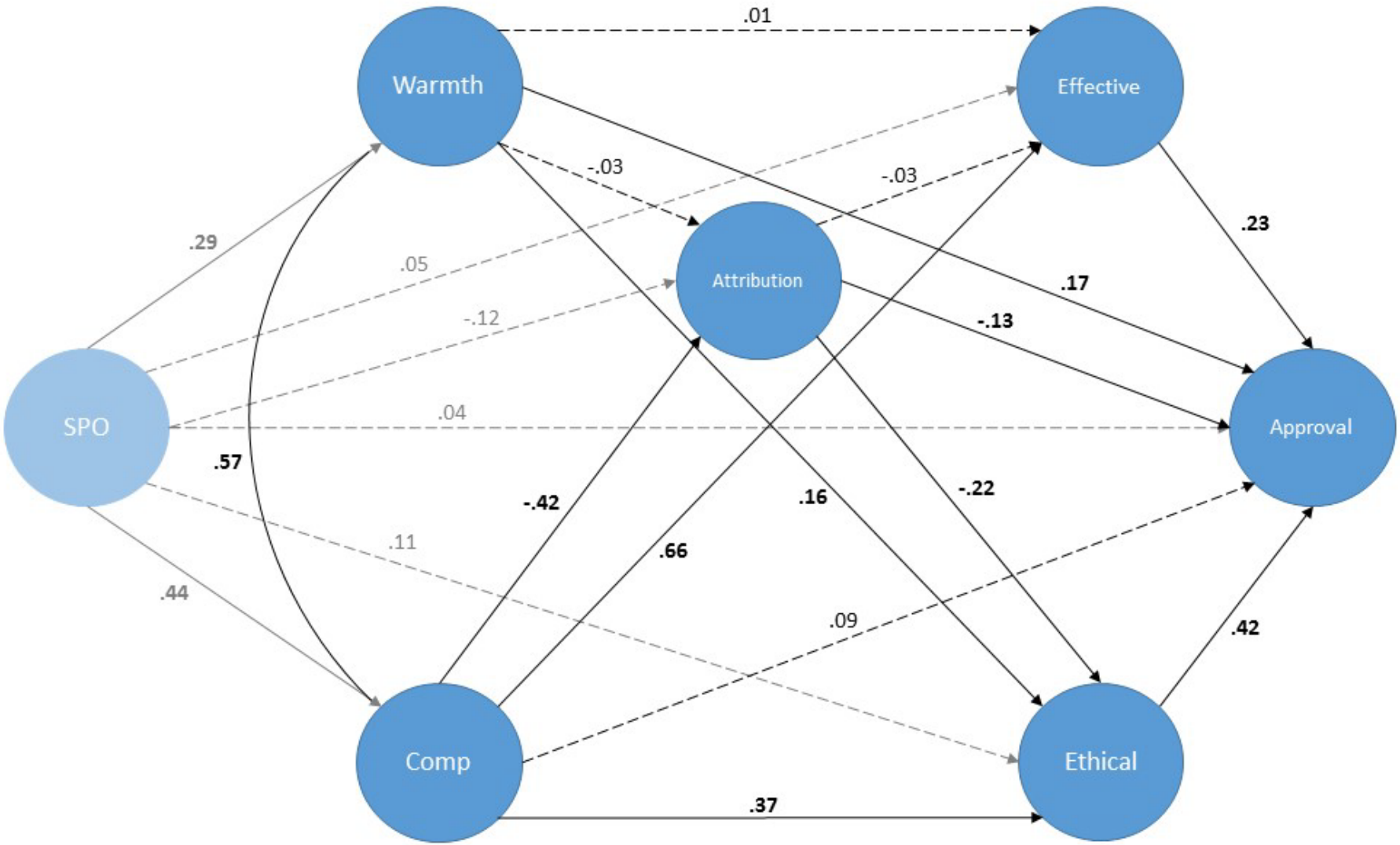

Figure 3. Standardized estimates and predictive relationships among dependent measures in Experiment 3. Solid bold lines indicate $p < .05$

Appendix A

The purpose of this questionnaire is to determine how similar Americans feel other cultures are to the American culture. Please rate the degree to which you feel an individual from the specified country is similar to you, as well as the degree to which you feel an individual from the specified country is similar to Americans in general. That is, to what degree do you feel individuals from each country share similar beliefs, traditions, and lifestyles to your own and other Americans? Additionally, please rate your attitude toward each country. When thinking about individuals from each country, do you feel positively or negatively about them?

China

The Chinese are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me Exactly like me

The Chinese are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans Exactly like Americans

When thinking about the Chinese, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative Extremely Positive

England

The English are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me Exactly like me

The English are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans Exactly like Americans

When thinking about the English, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative Extremely Positive

Russia

Russians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me Exactly like me

The Russians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans Exactly like Americans

When thinking about Russians, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative Extremely Positive

Canada

Canadians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me Exactly like me

Canadians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans Exactly like Americans

When thinking about Canadians, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative Extremely Positive

Turkey

The Turks are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me Exactly like me

The Turks are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans Exactly like Americans

When thinking about the Turks, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative Extremely Positive

Germany

Germans are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me Exactly like me

Germans are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans Exactly like Americans

When thinking about Germans, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative Extremely Positive

Japan

The Japanese are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me Exactly like me

The Japanese are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans — Exactly like Americans

When thinking about the Japanese, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative — Extremely Positive

North Korea

North Koreans are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me — Exactly like me

North Koreans are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans — Exactly like Americans

When thinking about North Koreans, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative — Extremely Positive

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me — Exactly like me

Saudi Arabians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans — Exactly like Americans

When thinking about Saudi Arabians, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative — Extremely Positive

Mexico

Mexicans are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me — Exactly like me

Mexicans are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans — Exactly like Americans

When thinking about Mexicans, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative — Extremely Positive

Ethiopia

Ethiopians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me — Exactly like me

Ethiopians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans — Exactly like Americans

When thinking about the Ethiopians, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative — Extremely Positive

Spain

The Spanish are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me — Exactly like me

The Spanish are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans — Exactly like Americans

When thinking about the Spanish, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative — Extremely Positive

Israel

Israelis are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me — Exactly like me

Israelis are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans — Exactly like Americans

When thinking about Israelis, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative — Extremely Positive

Iran

Iranians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like me — Exactly like me

Iranians are:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Nothing like Americans — Exactly like Americans

When thinking about Iranians, I feel:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Extremely Negative — Extremely Positive

Appendix B

Demographic Information Sheet

1. Your Gender:
____ male
____ female

2. Your Age:
____ years

3. Your Race/Ethnicity:
____ African American
____ Asian
____ Hispanic (*please specify _____)
____ White (Caucasian)
____ Other: _____

4. Level of Education:
____ Never completed/attended high school or GED
____ High school diploma/GED
____ Some college/post-secondary school
____ Completed technical or trade school
____ 2 or 4 yr college degree (Bachelor's or Associate's)
____ Some graduate school
____ Master's degree
____ Professional doctorate (e.g. J.D., M.D.)
____ Research doctorate (e.g. Ph.D., Ed.D.)

7. First Language:
____ English
____ Spanish
____ Other: _____

8. Second Language:
____ English
____ Spanish
____ Other: _____
____ No second language

9. Do you consider yourself fluent in written and spoken English?
____ Yes
____ No

10. Please rate your position on most social and political issues by selecting one of the numbers on the line below:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Extremely Liberal — Extremely Conservative

11. Are you a citizen of the United States?
____ Yes
*If yes, what state/country were you born in? _____
____ No
*If no, what country are you a citizen of?
_____

12. Which culture do you identify with **most**?
____ American
____ Mexican
____ Canadian
____ Other:_____

13. What is your religious affiliation?

_____ Christian
_____ Jewish
_____ Muslim
_____ Buddhist
_____ Hindu
_____ Atheist
_____ Agnostic
_____ Other (please specify)

Appendix C

Consent Form

University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) Institutional Review Board
Informed Consent Form for Research Involving Human Subjects

Protocol Title: Americans' Perceptions of Interrogations
Principal Investigator: Julia LaBianca
UTEP: Psychology

In this consent form, "you" always means the study subject.

1. Introduction

You are being asked to take part voluntarily in the research project described below. Please take your time making a decision and feel free to discuss it with your friends and family. Before agreeing to take part in this research study, it is important that you read the consent form that describes the study. Please email and ask the study researcher to explain any words or information that you do not clearly understand.

2. Why is this study being done?

You have been asked to take part in a research study of Americans' perceptions of interrogations. Approximately 800 people will be enrolling in this study through Amazon Mechanical Turk. You are being asked to be in the study because you have expressed an interest in doing so, but you are not required to participate. If you decide to enroll in this study, your involvement will last about 15-20 minutes.

3. What is involved in the study?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete some personality measures, read a brief interrogation scenario, and answer a few questions about the behavior of the interrogator. You will then be asked to complete a standard demographic questionnaire.

4. What are the risks and discomforts of the study?

There are no known risks associated with this research.

5. What will happen if I am injured in this study?

The University of Texas at El Paso and its affiliates do not offer to pay for or cover the cost of medical treatment for research related illness or injury. No funds have been set aside to pay or reimburse you in the event of such injury or illness. You will not give up any of your legal rights

by signing this consent form. You should report any such injury to Julia LaBianca at jlabianca@miners.utep.edu and to the UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915-747-8841) or irb.orsp@utep.edu.

6. Are there benefits to taking part in this study?

For your participation, you will receive $0.50. Additionally, your participation will contribute to the understanding of how people perceive military interrogations.

7. What other options are there?

You have the option not to take part in this study. There will be no penalties involved if you choose not to take part in this study.

8. Who is paying for this study?

This study has not received funding.

9. What are my costs?

There are no direct costs. You will be responsible for providing the computer and internet access required to participate in the study.

10. Will I be paid to participate in this study?

You will be paid $0.50 upon completion of this research study.

11. What if I want to withdraw, or am asked to withdraw from this study?

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You have the right to choose not to take part in this study. If you do not take part in the study, there will be no penalty.

If you choose to take part, you have the right to stop at any time. However, we encourage you to email a member of the research group so that they know why you are withdrawing from the study. If there are any new findings during the study that may affect whether you want to continue to take part, you will be told about them.

The researcher may decide to stop your participation without your permission, if he or she thinks that being in the study may cause you harm.

12. Who do I call if I have questions or problems?

If you have questions, you may e-mail Julia LaBianca at jlabianca@miners.utep.edu.

If you have questions or concerns about your participation as a research subject, please contact the UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915) 747-8841 or irb.orsp@utep.edu.

13. What about confidentiality?

Your participation in this study is confidential. None of the information will identify you by name. It will not be possible to match your data to you in any way. All records will be password protected. The results of this research study may be presented at meetings or in publications; however, your identity will not be disclosed in those presentations.

15. Authorization Statement

I have read each page of this paper about the study (or it was read to me). I know that being in this study is voluntary and I choose to be in this study. I know I can stop being in this study without penalty.

Participant Name: _____ Date: _____

Appendix D

American Identity Affirmation Scale

1. I have a clear sense of the United States and what being American means for me.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree

2. I am happy that I am an American.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree

3. I have a strong sense of belonging to the United States.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree

4. I understand pretty well what being American means to me.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree

5. I have a lot of pride in the United States.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree

6. I feel a strong attachment towards the United States.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree

7. I feel good about being American.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree

Appendix E

Interrogation Scenarios

Experiment 1:

The United States/North Korean government received reliable intelligence that a suspected terrorist was carrying information about a bomb set to detonate in the next four hours. The bomb was believed to have been placed somewhere near a heavily populated city. Given the extreme danger to U.S./North Korean Citizens, numerous military and intelligence officials, including Special Investigator Jones/Choe, were tasked with finding and apprehending the terrorist. All necessary measures were to be taken to elicit information about the bomb's location from the suspect.

After several hours of searching and no word from the United States/North Korean government that the terrorist had been detained, Investigator Jones/Choe apprehended a man whom he reasonably believed to be the terrorist. Upon apprehension, Investigator Jones/Choe discovered that the man was carrying multiple weapons, a map of the targeted city, and what appeared to be bomb-making instructions. With only two hours left before the bomb was set to detonate, Investigator Jones/Choe brought the man to a nearby empty building and began interrogating him.

[Initial direct questioning by Investigator Jones/Choe was not effective in eliciting information from the suspect. The suspect was resistant to providing even basic information, such as his name. The suspect did not yield to Investigator Jones's/Choe's attempts to reason with him. After one hour of equally ineffective questioning, and with only one hour left until the bomb detonated, Investigator Jones/Choe repeatedly questioned the suspect directly about the bomb, his previous whereabouts, and the instructions he was carrying. The suspect maintained that he was innocent, so Investigator Jones/Choe explained the seriousness of the situation and told the suspect it was important for him to be truthful. Investigator Jones/Choe continued with this form of non-threatening questioning for the remainder of the interrogation.]

[Investigator Johnson's initial questioning was not effective on the suspect. He was unable to elicit any information from the suspect, including his name. After one hour of equally ineffective questioning, and with only one hour left until the bomb detonated, Investigator Johnson changed his interrogation tactic. Although untrue, Investigator Johnson told the suspect that all of the government officials already knew he was responsible for planting the bomb. He lied and told the suspect that the police were already at his home and found bomb-making materials with his fingerprints on them. When the suspect tried to say he was innocent, Investigator Johnson cut him off, saying he understood there was probably a good reason why he planted the bomb. Investigator Johnson told the suspect that he was sure he wasn't a bad person, and that he would make sure the suspect was given a lenient sentence, even though Investigator Johnson knew the suspect would receive the maximum punishment allowed. Investigator Johnson continued with this type of questioning for the remainder of the interrogation.]

[Initial direct questioning by Investigator Jones/Choe was not effective in eliciting information from the suspect. The suspect was resistant to providing even basic information, such as his name. The suspect did not yield to Investigator Jones's/Choe's attempts to reason with him. After one hour of equally ineffective questioning, and with only one hour left until the bomb detonated, Investigator Jones/Choe changed his interrogation tactic. He forced the suspect to strip down completely naked and stand on a raised platform. He then forced the suspect to do a number of activities, including singing the U.S./North Korean national anthem and doing jumping jacks, naked. The suspect appeared visibly humiliated, but Investigator Jones/Choe told him he would not be able to put his clothes back on until he cooperated. When the suspect claimed he was innocent, Investigator Jones/Choe forced the suspect onto his back, tied him down, and placed a cloth over his head. When he was sure the suspect could not move, he proceeded to pour water over the cloth until the suspect began gagging and begging for him to stop. Investigator Jones/Choe told the suspect that he would only stop when he began cooperating. Investigator Jones/Choe continued waterboarding the suspect for the duration of the interrogation.]

Experiment 2

The United States/North Korean government received reliable intelligence that a suspected terrorist was carrying information about a bomb set to detonate in the next four hours. The bomb was believed to have been placed somewhere near a heavily populated city. Given the extreme danger to U.S./North Korean Citizens, numerous military and intelligence officials, including Special Investigator Jones/Choe, were tasked with finding and apprehending the terrorist. All necessary measures were to be taken to elicit information about the bomb's location from the suspect.

After several hours of searching and no word from the United States/North Korean government that the terrorist had been detained, Investigator Jones/Choe apprehended a man whom he reasonably believed to be the terrorist. Upon apprehension, Investigator Jones/Choe discovered that the man was carrying multiple weapons, a map of the targeted city, and what appeared to be bomb-making instructions. With only two hours left before the bomb was set to detonate, Investigator Jones/Choe brought the man to a nearby empty building and began interrogating him.

Initial direct questioning by Investigator Jones/Choe was not effective in eliciting information from the suspect. The suspect was resistant to providing even basic information, such as his name. The suspect did not yield to Investigator Jones's/Choe's attempts to reason with him. After one hour of equally ineffective questioning, and with only one hour left until the bomb detonated, Investigator Jones/Choe changed his interrogation tactic. He forced the suspect to strip down completely naked and stand on a raised platform. He then forced the suspect to do a number of activities, including singing the U.S./North Korean national anthem and doing jumping jacks, naked. The suspect appeared visibly humiliated, but Investigator Jones/Choe told him he would not be able to put his clothes back on until he cooperated. When the suspect claimed he was innocent, Investigator Jones/Choe forced the suspect onto his back, tied him down, and placed a cloth over his head. When he was sure the suspect could not move, he

proceeded to pour water over the cloth until the suspect began gagging and begging for him to stop. Investigator Jones/Choe told the suspect that he would only stop when he began cooperating. Investigator Jones/Choe continued waterboarding the suspect for the duration of the interrogation.

[Investigator Jones's/Choe's interrogation approach was successful. The suspect revealed the location of the bomb to Investigator Jones/Choe and U.S./North Korean officials were able to find and deactivate it, saving hundreds of people.]

[Investigator Jones's/Choe's interrogation approach was not successful. The suspect did not reveal the location of the bomb to Investigator Jones/Choe and U.S./North Korean officials were unable to find and deactivate it. The resulting explosion killed hundreds of people.]

Experiment 3:

The United States/North Korean government received reliable intelligence that an unknown person was carrying information about a bomb set to detonate in the next four hours. The suspected person was described as being a white male American/North Korean male in his mid 30's. The bomb was believed to have been placed somewhere near a heavily populated city. Given the extreme danger to U.S./North Korean Citizens, numerous military and intelligence officials, including Special Investigator Jones/Choe, were tasked with finding and apprehending the suspect. All necessary measures were to be taken to elicit information about the bomb's location from the suspect.

After several hours of searching and no word from the United States/North Korean government that the suspect had been detained, Investigator Jones/Choe apprehended a white/North Korean male whom he reasonably believed to be the suspect. Upon apprehension, Investigator Jones/Choe discovered that the man was carrying a U.S./North Korean passport, multiple weapons, a map of the targeted city, and what appeared to be bomb-making instructions. With only two hours left before the bomb was set to detonate, Investigator Jones/Choe brought the man to a nearby empty building and began interrogating him.

Initial direct questioning by Investigator Jones/Choe was not effective in eliciting information from the suspect. The suspect was resistant to providing even basic information, such as his name. The suspect did not yield to Investigator Jones's/Choe's attempts to reason with him. After one hour of equally ineffective questioning, and with only one hour left until the bomb detonated, Investigator Jones/Choe changed his interrogation tactic. He forced the suspect to strip down completely naked and stand on a raised platform. He then forced the suspect to do a number of activities, including singing the U.S./North Korean national anthem and doing jumping jacks, naked. The suspect appeared visibly humiliated, but Investigator Jones/Choe told him he would not be able to put his clothes back on until he cooperated. When the suspect claimed he was innocent, Investigator Jones/Choe forced the suspect onto his back, tied him down, and placed a cloth over his head. When he was sure the suspect could not move, he proceeded to pour water over the cloth until the suspect began gagging and begging for him to stop. Investigator Jones/Choe told the suspect that he would only stop when he began

cooperating. Investigator Jones/Choe continued waterboarding the suspect for the duration of the interrogation.

Appendix F

Debriefing Form

Thank you for your participation in this study. The purpose of this research is to determine what factors will influence how people make attributions for an interrogator's behavior, as well as how approving people are of the interrogation technique used. That is, we want to know if an individual is more likely to blame the interrogator himself or the situation for the interrogator's behavior depending on a variety of factors, such as the nationality of the interrogator, the outcome of the interrogation, or the nationality of the detainee. Thus, each participant receives one of several interrogation tactic scenarios: some scenarios depict an American or North Korean interrogator, some scenarios vary the interrogation technique used by the interrogator, some scenarios depict a successful or unsuccessful interrogation, and some depict an American or North Korean detainee. We will use the data gathered through this research to help determine when people are willing to approve of the military's use of certain methods of interrogation techniques.

The interrogation scenario that you read is completely fictional. It was written by the researcher and does not depict any real person or event. There is no investigator, no terrorist suspect, and no threat to anyone's national security. The scenario was developed for research purposes only.

Your participation in this study is confidential. None of the information will identify you by name. It will not be possible to match your data to you in any way. All records will be password protected. The results of this research study may be presented at meetings or in publications; however, your identity will not be disclosed in those presentations.

If you would like to be informed of the results of this study, please contact Julia LaBianca at jlabianca@miners.utep.edu. Should you have any concerns about this study, you can contact Julia LaBianca through the previously mentioned e-mail address, or the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915) 747-8841 or irb.orsp@utep.edu.

If you have any feelings of distress as a result of you participation in this study, please contact a local counseling center. Please remember that the cost associated with seeking any medical treatment is at your own expense.

Thank you again for taking part in this study. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Appendix G

Dispositional items:

1. To what extent did the investigator alone determine what interrogation tactic he used?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

2. To what extent could the investigator have acted in any other way than he did during the interrogation?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

3. To what extent was the investigator's choice of interrogation technique under his own personal control?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

4. To what extent was the investigator's behavior due to something about what kind of person he is?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

5. To what extent do you blame the investigator for the events during the interrogation?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

Situational items:

1. To what extent were the investigator's interrogation tactics determined by the need to collect the information quickly?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

2. To what extent was the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic due to aspects of the situation that he could not personally control?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

3. To what extent was the investigator's behavior due to circumstances that got out of hand?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

4. To what extent was the investigator's behavior due to someone other than the investigator?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

General Acceptance items:

1. To what extent do you think the investigator acted unethically while he interrogated the suspect?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

2. To what extent do you approve of the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

3. How effective do you think the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic could have been in eliciting information from the suspect?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

Procedural Justice items:

1. To what extent did the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic violate the suspect's rights?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

2. The suspect was treated with respect.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree

3. The suspect was treated fairly.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree

4. The suspect was treated with dignity.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree

5. The investigator is trustworthy.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree

Disposition valence items:

1. The investigator is a competent interrogator.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree

2. The investigator is a confident interrogator

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Neither Agree Strongly
Disagree nor Disagree Agree

3. The investigator is a good-natured person

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Neither Agree Strongly
Disagree nor Disagree Agree

4. The investigator is a warm person.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Neither Agree Strongly
Disagree nor Disagree Agree

5. The investigator is intelligent.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Neither Agree Strongly
Disagree nor Disagree Agree

6. The investigator is a sincere person.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Neither Agree Strongly
Disagree nor Disagree Agree

7. The investigator is a capable person.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Neither Agree Strongly
Disagree nor Disagree Agree

8. The investigator is efficient.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

9. The investigator is a skillful interrogator.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

10. The investigator is friendly.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

11. The investigator is well-intentioned.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

12. The investigator is an unprofessional interrogator.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

Additional/filler items:

1. To what extent do you think the investigator was acting in the name of national security when he chose his interrogation tactic?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all | Somewhat | Completely

2. To what extent do you think the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic was justified?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

3. To what extent do you think it is necessary to sacrifice ethics when national security is threatened?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

4. To what extend do you think the suspect was treated the same way any other detainee would have been treated?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

5. To what extent was the investigator's choice of interrogation tactic a fair response to the threat posed by the suspect?

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Not at all Somewhat Completely

6. The outcome of the interrogation (i.e. whether or not the investigator is able to get information from the suspect) will depend primarily on luck.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree

7. The outcome of the interrogation (i.e. whether or not the investigator is able to get information from the suspect) will depend primarily on the suspect.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree

8. The outcome of the interrogation (i.e. whether or not the investigator is able to get information from the suspect) will depend primarily on the investigator.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

9. The investigator should be praised for his choice of interrogation technique.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

10. The investigator should be punished for his choice of interrogation technique.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

Replacement attribution item (Experiments 2 and 3 only):

Why did the investigator choose the interrogation tactic he used? Was his choice due more to the type of person he is, or was his choice due more to the situation at hand?

1. Completely based on the situation
2. Mostly based on the situation
3. Based somewhat more on the situation than his personality
4. Based on both his personality and the situation equally
5. Based somewhat more on his personality than the situation
6. Mostly based on his personality
7. Completely based on his personality

Attention check questions:

1. What was the threat to national security in the scenario you just read?
    a. A threat of chemical warfare
    b. A declaration of war
    c. A potential bomb
    d. A military leader was kidnapped

2. For control purposes, please select the number three

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

3. For control purposes, please select the number two

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Strongly Agree

Manipulation checks:

All experiments:

1. In the scenario you just read, what was the nationality of the interrogator?
    a. Brazilian
    b. American
    c. German
    d. North Korean
    e. Saudi Arabian

Experiment 1 only:

2. In the scenario you just read, what form of interrogation tactic did the investigator use against the suspect?
    a. The investigator just asked the suspect questions.
    b. The investigator tortured the suspect by waterboarding him.
    c. The investigator threatened the lives of the suspect and his family.
    d. The investigator humiliated the suspect by forcing him to strip naked.
    e. The investigator forced the suspect to remain in a locked, freezing room.

Experiment 2 only:

1. Was the interrogator able to elicit any information from the suspect?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Unknown

Experiment 3 only:

1. In the scenario you just read, what was the nationality of the *detainee*?
    a. Brazilian
    b. American
    c. German
    d. North Korean
    e. Saudi Arabian

Vita

Julia attended Coastal Carolina University in Conway, South Carolina where she majored in Psychology and minored in Pre-Law. During the summer of 2008 Julia completed an internship with the Horry County Courthouse where she worked with the local drug court and victim's advocacy center. She graduated summa cum laude in December of 2009 and received the President's Award for attaining the highest cumulative GPA in her graduating class.

After receiving her B.S. in Psychology, Julia moved to El Paso, Texas where she earned a M.A. in Experimental Psychology from the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP). During the 2013-2014 academic year Julia completed an internship with UTEP's Office of Research and Sponsored Projects where she learned the process of program evaluation.

Julia currently works in the Office of Institutional Research at Iowa State University where she completes university data reporting and analyses, participates in the preparation of university publications, and assists in faculty scholarly productivity analyses. She continues to collaborate with her Ph.D. advisor, Dr. Christian Meissner, and other psychology-law researchers on various topics related to torture approval.

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