THESIS

UNMASKING THE EXPERT DECEIVER: GROUNDED THEORY ANALYSIS OF

LONG-TERM, HIGH-STAKES DECEPTION EXPERTISE DEVELOPMENT

Submitted by

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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY HEATHER BERTRAND ENTITLED UNMASKING THE EXPERT DECEIVER: GROUNDED THEORY ANALYSIS OF LONG-TERM, HIGH-STAKES DECEPTION EXPERTISE DEVELOPMENT BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

UNMASKING THE EXPERT DECEIVER: GROUNDED THEORY ANALYSIS OF

LONG-TERM, HIGH-STAKES DECEPTION EXPERTISE DEVELOPMENT

The current study attempted to garner knowledge about expert deceivers by analyzing personal accounts of their deceptive behaviors. The goal was to understand the methods these individuals employed to become master deceivers. A selection of 12 autobiographical texts describing the exploits of three types of expert deceivers (i.e., confidence artists, espionage agents, and undercover law enforcement agents) were analyzed using a categorizational system derived from previous grounded theory research. The results from the analysis led to the development of the deception skill model, which illustrates the complex relationship of processes that occur during the development and utilization of deception expertise. Knowledge gained from this study adds to the existent body of deception research along with, potentially, adding a new avenue of deception research and practical applications for deception detectors.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Confidence schemes and frauds account for an average of $40 billion in losses annually (Titus, Heinzelmann, & Boyle, 1995). Individuals, such as espionage agents and con artists, are able to carry out their potentially criminal activities because they are expert deceivers. They are capable of disguising their true selves behind false identities that help them blend seamlessly into our social interactions. They often behave normally in their everyday lives, going grocery shopping, holding down a job, or even dating, while they continually commit criminal acts. Given the personal and societal threat resulting from the crimes of the expert deceivers, it is imperative that we improve our understanding of them, and their expertise in deceptive communication.

The word "expert" refers to someone who has special skill or a high level of knowledge and mastery in a specific subject. Experts in deception have mastered the ability to deceive successfully in extreme social situations, where the stakes are the highest and the deceptive behaviors must be maintained for an extended period. Traditionally, expertise in a specific area is gained through years of study and application of that knowledge in real life situations. Scholars often study the experts in any given field in order to decipher how the expert gained his/her knowledge and maintains it. One method of studying experts is to observe them directly. In the case of expert deceivers, the success of their deception requires that they are not recognized as experts or deceivers

making direct observation difficult. Another, more feasible, method of analyzing expert deceivers is to analyze first and second-hand accounts of their deceptive practices. This type of analysis will be the goal of the current thesis.

Before the present study can begin, one must understand that studying deception is fraught with challenges. For example, is there a difference in misrepresenting yourself and presenting a false identity? How do we maintain our deceptive behaviors? Scholars have spent years studying the act of deception in an attempt to answer these very questions along with a variety of others, with the goal of understanding how deception fits into human interactions. Humans employ a variety of communication techniques when they attempt to deceive competently and when they try to detect others' deception (Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Knapp & Comadena, 1979; Mehrabian, 1972).

While deception experts have engaged in the application of their skills, it is unlikely that they engaged in long-term study of deceptive behaviors prior to the utilization of their deceptive abilities. This causes some scholars to wonder how expert deceivers gained their expertise. To become an expert deceiver, one must be capable of manipulating a variety of nonverbal cues, cognitive processes, emotional displays, and verbal expressions. Social scientists have studied all of these behavioral processes, separately and in groups, in their attempts to analyze deceptive techniques. For example, nonverbal cues, such as eye gaze, length of response, smiling, and speech rate are able to be isolated by scientists and carefully investigated to determine their relationship to the deceptive behavior of a speaker (Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Hocking & Leathers, 1980). In general, social scientific examinations of deception are often focused predominantly on the nonverbal behaviors displayed during the act of deception by the sender or deceiver.

Experimental studies, in particular, favor the receiver/detector perspective; that is to say, researchers focus on a listener's ability to analyze various components of the communication act in an attempt to discover when the person communicating is being deceptive. This allows researchers to control a wide range of communication variables and examine their relationship to important concepts, such as motivation or intent to deceive, gender differences in deceptive behaviors, and communication dominance (Cody & O'Hair, 1983; DePaulo, Lanier, & Davis, 1983).

While existing deception research provides much insight into the act of deception, there is still a vast amount of information that can be gained. Especially valuable will be studies that can analyze deception from the sender's perspective, as existing work often analyzes the receiver's perspective. By studying the world's expert liars (e.g., criminals with high-stakes consequences who have effectively maintained long-term deceptive behaviors), we may garner useful information concerning the communication techniques skilled deceivers employ to successfully fool detectors in real-world situations. With the rise of terrorism, domestic crime, and identity theft, this type of data is needed, as it can contribute to the development of better training programs for those professions who engage in regular deception detection. Before delving into the rationale for my analysis of expert deception, I will first detail the history of modern deception research completed by natural scientists, communication scholars, as well as scholars from a variety of social science backgrounds, including sociology and psychology.

CHAPTER II

Natural Background

Deception is studied from a variety of perspectives within the majority of the natural and social science fields. Natural scientists analyze the concept of deception as it pertains to species survival and development in the natural world. Over the last century, social scientists have utilized the biological knowledge about deception to serve as a basis for analyzing how deception functions within the interactions of humans. As social science research into deception has continued, the research perspectives have been narrowed to gain more insight into specific areas or dimensions, such as deceptive communication behaviors.

Communication scholars continue to analyze specific features of deception. They also take the research results and synthesize them to create new real-world applications such as deception detection training programs for law enforcement agents. To understand the complexity of deception as it pertains to human interaction, one must first consider how deception functions at its most basic level, among animals, birds, and insects.

Deception in Nature

Every species has creatures that engage in varying types of deceptive behavior in order to sustain survival (Darwin, 1893/1993). The majority of deception outside of the human species is visual in nature. Animals, birds, and insects all use various forms of mimicry, camouflage, and illusion in order to survive and reproduce under the threat of

predators. This form of deception is designed for evolutionary survival of the entire

species and the individual organism is genetically predisposed to be deceptive in the

hopes of accomplishing that goal. The morphology (i.e., the structure, color, shape, size,

and smell) of a creature is part of its DNA and is therefore is unchangeable. A creature

can use its morphology to deceive successfully in two ways, evasively and perversively.

In a study about natural deception, Rue (1994) explains the difference in these two

strategies with the example of the peacock butterfly:

> The peacock butterfly doubles up on deceptive morphology. The outer surface of
>
> the butterfly's wings are shaped and colored so that when they are closed the
>
> butterfly is indistinguishable from a leaf. When the butterfly is disturbed,
>
> however, the wings open suddenly to reveal large menacing eyespots. The first
>
> strategy is evasive and keeps predators in a state of ignorance; the second is
>
> perversive, resulting in a state of delusion. (p. 114)

Deception begins to change from a mere biological act to a behavioral one the

higher up the evolutionary chain organisms climb. Some species have biological

deceptive abilities in order to get food, avoid predators, or guarantee the strongest mates.

These abilities still draw upon species' genetic make-up, but also involve learned

behaviors gained through social interaction within the species. Several species, for

example, pretend to be dead when a predator threatens them. This deceptive action is a

response to the actions of a predator and is controlled by the creatures' biological needs

for continuation of their species (Knapp, 2008). Behavioral deception is when the

deceptive actions are created or repeated because of the deceiver's observations of the

target of the deception. For example, adult arctic foxes bellow warning calls to warn

younger cubs when possible danger approaches and this action sends the cubs scurrying into hiding. They also use this same warning call in a deceptive manner. When a cub gains food that the adult fox wants for itself, the adult will bellow the same type of warning call. This causes the young foxes to drop food morsels as they flee for cover thereby allowing the adult to scoop up the food for itself (Rüppel, 1986). The adult foxes observed the actions of the cubs during the danger bellow call and adapted it to a deceptive technique that they employ for food gain. One must remember that the behavioral form of deception is an addition to the repertoire of deceptive behaviors and does not replace the biological deceptions of more evolved species.

Deception in Human Interaction

Humans also use deceptive behaviors for both physical and social survival (Knapp, 2008). Warrior parties, both in tribal and more civilized cultures, use camouflage to disguise their appearance to prevent being killed in battle. This is an example of human deceptive behaviors that are more biological in nature and are used for physical survival. Humans also wear specific styles of clothing, face paint, and adornments to "fit-in" to their respective societies even if they do not particularly like or feel comfortable in their attire. This adaptation is designed to allow humans to create or maintain needed social relationships thereby sustaining the social existence of the individual. Both camouflage and style choices are just examples of one type of deceptive behavior that humans engage in based on their survival needs.

The combination of natural instincts and behavioral choices in deception makes defining deception extremely difficult. For some scholars, the idea of deception is so ingrained in our natural instincts that it is too nebulous to conceptualize it as anything

more than one of the "various ways in which we relate to one another as insecure social creatures surrounded and infiltrated by an inevitably equivocal language" (Solomon, 1996, p. 91). Most researchers, however, believe that there are concrete definitions associated with the various types of deceptive behaviors that humans engage in along with specific psychological processes that facilitate our ability to deceive effectively. The belief that deception is more concretely displayed among human social interaction is demonstrated in the sheer number of research studies looking at individual cues and definitions associated with the varying types of deception. These research studies can be found across all of the social scientific fields over the last century, but research has grown exponentially during the last several decades.

Research studies on deception are built upon sociological studies analyzing basic human interactions, starting with the concepts developed by sociologists such as Erving Goffman. Goffman (1959) analyzed how human beings present themselves in social situations. Goffman's work has been especially influential to deception studies. He utilizes a dramaturgical metaphor to explain what takes place during everyday relationships. Goffman asserted that humans engage in identity performances during social interactions and that their performances incorporate their settings and the other participants as both the audience and supporting actors.

Just like any theatrical performance, the script and stage directions play an intricate part in our everyday interactions. Within certain social situations, specific rules of communication are expected. The verbal aspect of these rules functions like a script would function within a dramatic play, providing appropriate answers and a structural foundation for conversational interaction. The question "How are you doing?" expects a

response of "I'm fine" in American culture. Even if one is not "fine," the social script dictates that one should still say that he/she is "fine" and not go into the details of his/her ailments or provide an alternative answer to the question. In addition, the nonverbal components of the social rules function as stage directions or the director's guidance about body movements during a performance. Handshakes are for greeting strangers while hugs are for family and friends. Growling at one another, giving a high-five, and slapping each others' rear-ends are approved male behavior for players at sporting events but are not acceptable behaviors for communicating success on the stock market floor. The applications of these rules by individuals provide the basic structure of our interpersonal interactions with others. Goffman broke down these rules and interactions into understandable pieces that could be analyzed and defined to explain these social rituals on an academic level.

Particularly important is Goffman's (1959) conceptualization of the "front," which would become a key term in deception research. According to Goffman,

> It will be convenient to label as "front" that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance. Front, then is the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance. (p. 22)

There are two parts to a front, the setting and the personal front. The setting refers to the background objects or physical layout, which may be used by individuals during their interpersonal performance. The personal front refers to the individual's appearance and manner as he/she engages in interactions with others. These two components are what the

receivers use to determine if the sender or performer is fulfilling the requirements of the social role they are attempting to perform (Goffman, 1959). During a football game, the spectator expects to see players wearing helmets and pads while engaging each other on grass marked with chalk numbers surrounded by thousands of people. This attire and setting allows for certain behaviors to occur, such as pounding one's fist on someone's shoulders or head-butting each other. These behaviors communicate the players' success at their interactions on the field during game play. The same behaviors would be judged as violating the social expectations of the setting if they took place in a boardroom during a business meeting. Trash-talking, while successful and acceptable on the football field, is also in violation of the social expectations at a tea party or while dressed in formal clothing. Humans acknowledge certain rules for specific settings and appearances and these rules help to guide our understanding of whether people are participating within the social confines or are violating the expectations governing social relationships.

When engaging in deceptive behavior an individual attempts to fulfill the requirements of the social interaction by presenting a personal front that is not true to his/her real identity. This particular presentation of a front was intriguing to some social science scholars and they began to develop a body of research surrounding deceptive interactions.

CHAPTER III

Theoretical Background

In their efforts to understand what occurs when a deceiver infiltrates a social situation, researchers had to define the concept of deception. Therefore, researchers analyzed previous social science research and conducted a large group of new studies focused on categorizing or defining the various types of deception and the characteristics that correlate with each form of deceptive behavior (Bowers, Elliott, & Desmond, 1977; Hopper & Bell, 1984; Knapp et al., 1974).

Defining and Categorizing Deception

Hopper and Bell (1984), for example, conducted a study to define the various types of deceptions. In most social science research, deception scholars focus on a single form of deception, the verbal act of a lie. Hopper and Bell utilize the definition of a lie as derived from Sissela Bok's writings on the subject, as do the majority of deception scholars. According to Bok, lies are conceptualized as the "untrue verbal statements that perpetuate intentional deception" (Bok, 1999). Throughout the 1960's and 1970's, researchers predominantly focused their studies on the nonverbal displays that accompanied the verbal lie as a method of detecting deceptive behavior.

Hopper and Bell argued that there are other forms of deception, besides the lie, and that these can vary in terms of intention, verbal and nonverbal displays, and level of

consequence. They collected 120 different terms in the English language that were associated with the deception concept and asked groups of college students to narrow this list to the terms that were more centrally associated with deception. The final 46 terms were given to a second set of college students who were asked to divide the terms into categories based on degree of similarity. Another group then rated the terms on various scales to offer plausible explanations of why the terms were divided into specific categories. The researchers determined that the groups separated the terms into these categories based on the appropriateness to the social situation, detectability of deception, and premeditative intention or the decision to deceive before the deception is to occur.

After the results were compiled, Hopper and Bell (1984) created a typology of six functional categories of deception: (a) fictions, (b) playings, (c) lies, (d) crimes, (e) masks, and (f) unlies. Fictions are forms of deception that are exaggerative in nature or include a dimension that makes them seem more imaginative. This category includes deceptive concepts like make-believe, irony, and tall-tales. Playings are defined as "deceptions that are perpetrated for the purpose of amusement" (p. 297). The category of playings included concepts, such as jokes, teasing, and hoaxes. Lies are verbal statements that are false in nature usually told with the intent to deceive. This is the most recognized category of deception in contemporary society. Crimes are defined as acts of deception that are explained in the criminal justice system. This category includes such deceptive concepts as counterfeiting, forgeries, and conspiracies. Masks are described as "activities that obscure (mask) another person's view of the truth" (p. 297). Masks are potentially damaging to the person's social standing, but, traditionally, are not punishable in the judicial system; they include hypocrisy, backstabbing, and evasion. The final category of

unlies describes those concepts where a verbal or explicit lie is not present and the deception occurs more through implication. This category includes the concepts of distortion, misleading, and misrepresentation.

Hopper and Bell (1984) state that not all forms of deception exist in only one category, and that some of the more generic terms for deception, such as fabrication, are uncategorizable under this system. Despite this drawback, Hopper and Bell's categories have been the most accepted throughout subsequent deception research. This acceptance is shown in terms of jargon usage and defining characteristics of each category in research conducted by the majority of social science scholars.

Some researchers looked at categorizing the performance aspects of deception in order to analyze its place in social interaction. Ekman and Friesen (1969) found four dimensions that distinguish deceptive interactions: the saliency of the deception, the stakes for success, the balance of roles, and the extent of the antagonism between the deceiver and the deceived concerning the maintenance of the deception. The *saliency of the deception* refers to how obvious the deception would be to an outside observer. The majority of deception research focuses on the more obvious forms of deception, the verbal lie in particular (Burgoon & Floyd, 2000; Cody & O'Hair, 1983; DePaulo, Stone, & Lassiter, 1985; Donaghy & Dooley, 1994).

The *stakes for success* refers to the level of consequence if the deception is detected and the level of result if the deception is successful. The *balance of roles* is determined by level of control and involvement demonstrated by the participants of the deceptive encounter. The *antagonism of the deception* focuses on the intentional levels of the sender and receiver to both deceive and detect the deception. These categories would

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allow observers to distinguish a deceptive interaction from an honest one based on the performance as a whole.

In subsequent studies, researchers adopted Ekman and Friesen's (1969) categories and further divided them into more specific conceptual sub-categories. Motivation to deceive, seriousness of consequences, and situational exigencies have all been used as sources for developing categories to separate deceptive behaviors or entire deceptive interactions (DePaulo, Kirkendol, Tang, & O'Brien, 1988; Ebesu & Miller, 1994; Knapp, 2008; Lippard, 1988).

The motivation to deceive focuses on the intent of the individual to actively deceive his/her listener during the actual interpersonal interaction. This concept divides deception into categories ranging from highly motivated to unmotivated and argues that "highly motivated senders will be more successful at deceiving than less highly motivated senders, since they might be more careful in choosing and controlling their verbal and nonverbal self-presentations" (DePaulo, Lanier, & Davis, 1983, p. 1096).

Seriousness of consequences suggests that the sender's ability to deceive proficiently is based on the perceived level of consequence that would result if his/her deception is unsuccessful. This categorization divides deceptive behaviors into low-stakes and high-stakes deceptions. Low-stakes deceptions often are told for personal benefit, such as to improve one's image or to protect one from embarrassment and occur frequently in everyday life. High-stakes lies, in contrast, have stronger negative consequences associated with them; although they also have higher rewards if successful. They can include deceptions like stealing and conning, which require more skillful employment of seemingly truthful communication behaviors (Knapp, 2008).

The concept of situational exigencies divides deceptions into categories based on the social situation calling for the deception to occur. As Lippard (1988) explains, "Within this perspective, deception is seen as a 'normal' part of interpersonal communication rather than as a form of social or moral deviance" (p. 91). The primary categories include (a) parental deception, (b) excuses to powerful others, (c) saving face, (d) hurt feelings, and (e) friendly requests. Parental deception was found to be the most common form of situational deception. Parents inquire after the child's previous activities and are deceived by the child to avoid possible consequences of his/her actions. The category of excuses to powerful others consists of someone being deceptive by offering a false excuse for failing to meet an obligation, usually to a boss or superior. Saving face is typically done when someone is deceptive to prevent his/her own embarrassment or negative reaction from others. The category of hurt feelings occurs when someone lies to avoid hurting someone else emotionally. The final category of friendly requests is when people feign emotional interest or compliance to avoid confrontational situations. Situational exigencies categories focus more on low-stakes deceptions rather than high-stakes deceptions because low-stakes deceptions are more common in everyday normal human social interaction and are therefore more readily available for analysis.

In summary, the development of categories helped to define the different types of deception and allowed researchers to define specific components of the deceptive interactions. Furthermore, this helped researchers to establish a unified system of jargon and conceptual terms as they continued to analyze the deceptive personal front. The terminology developed by the aforementioned researchers is utilized throughout this

particular research study in order to connect the processes and potential results with the existent body of deception research.

Dissecting the Deceptive Personal Front

Influenced by Goffman (1959), researchers in the 1960's, in the fields of social psychology and communication, in particular, studied deception by dissecting the presented personal front. The researchers' aim was to identify the specific aspects that occurred repeatedly during a single instance of intentional verbal deception or lying. Overall, research throughout the last 5 decades can be divided using three conceptualizations of deception: (a) the emotional hypothesis, (b) the cognitive hypothesis, and (c) the attempted control hypothesis (Lakhani & Taylor, 2003). The emotional hypothesis argues that "deception is an emotionally arousing activity and as such, liars will display signs of this arousal" (Lakhani & Taylor, 2003, p. 358). Therefore, deception is either accompanied by guilt, the fear of getting caught, or delight in being able to dupe or deceive the target (Ekman 1988, 1992). The cognitive hypothesis regards deception as being task-oriented and therefore carries with it a high cognitive load (DePaulo, Lanier, & Davis, 1983; Ekman, 1992; Lakhani & Taylor, 2003). In this case, deception is predominantly characterized by changes in paralinguistic behaviors. The attempted control hypothesis works from the assumption that "liars are aware of the impression conveyed by nervous behaviors" (Lakhani & Taylor, 2003, p. 358). Earlier deceptive communication studies utilized these perspectives individually or in paired combinations while more recent studies have attempted to combine the three perspectives to gain more

complex insight from deceptive interactions. Although, researchers use all three of these perspectives to conduct research, the most common study designs stem from the emotional hypothesis. In the following sections, I will review key studies conducted within the emotional, cognitive, and attempted control hypotheses.

Emotional hypothesis. The emotional hypothesis analyzes deception from the perspective that the act of deceiving another person is emotionally arousing to the deceiver. Emotions, when heightened, are displayed in the nonverbal and paralinguistic aspects of a person's communicative behaviors. In early deception studies, researchers focused largely on the nonverbal displays that were consistently evident during the communication of a lie. The connection of the displayed nonverbal cues to specific emotions was analyzed to determine if the connection was valuable to understanding the deceiver's performance during the social interaction.

Paul Ekman, one of the leading deception researchers utilizing the emotional hypothesis, developed a large body of research surrounding nonverbal displays and "micro-expressions" of the face as display mechanisms for emotions. Ekman and Friesen (1969, 1974) argued that the nonverbal cues could be analyzed based on their connection to specific emotions to determine if the communication was deceptive or truthful. Ekman and Friesen (1969) expressed how their view differed from Goffman's perspective of how nonverbal cues functioned within deceptive social interactions:

> Goffman has also described how nonverbal actions may inadvertently distract from the performance. He considers unmeant gestures as problems in that the audience may treat them seriously, questioning the honesty of a performance because of accidental expressive cues. We will emphasize the other side of the

coin, how certain nonverbal acts should be treated as important evidence that the

performance is deceptive and the information being provided is false. (p.89)

Ekman and Friesen (1969) postulated that deceivers had little control over the "leaking"

of deceptive cues during interpersonal communication. Thus, it should be possible to

isolate these cues for better deception detection (Ekman & Friesen, 1969, 1974).

Ekman and Friesen (1969) developed categories of nonverbal behaviors that were

reported as being used by individuals engaging in deception detection. These behaviors

include a variety of facial expressions, head orientations, hand gestures, postural

movements, and leg movements (Ekman & Friesen, 1969, 1974). Ekman and Friesen

found that people were more likely to focus on facial expressions than on body language

when attempting to detect deception; therefore deceivers' concentrated their efforts on

disguising their deception with their facial movements and focused less on controlling

their body's leakage cues (Ekman & Friesen, 1974). Information about nonverbal

displays during deception became prevalent as other communication scholars began to

complete research studies analyzing this one component of deceptive behaviors.

Hocking and Leathers (1980) provided a functional set of categories dealing with

nonverbal displays during deception that have been accepted throughout current

deception research. Their research analyzed the relationship of specific nonverbal

behaviors with the emotional connection causing the specific nonverbal display and how

the nonverbal displays differed among truthtellers and deceivers. This particular research

study was one of the first to bridge the gap between the emotional and attempted control

hypotheses. Hocking and Leathers reported that a survey conducted by a group of

communication students found that a majority of people surveyed believed that deceivers

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would demonstrate excessive defensiveness gestures (e.g., folding arms across the chest), would exhibit nervousness in the form of shaking, trembling, or fidgeting, and would demonstrate impatience through extensive body movements (e.g., rapid hand movements).

Based on previous research and survey responses, Hocking and Leathers (1980) separated nonverbal behaviors into three classes for the purpose of their study. Class I behaviors were the ones that the researchers expected deceivers to exhibit fewer of, as compared to truthtellers. Class I included behaviors like head movement, illustrators, and leg movement. Class II behaviors were those that were not expected to be different between deceivers and truthtellers. These behaviors included facial pleasantness and smiling. Class III behaviors were those that deceivers were expected to show more of than truthtellers. These behaviors included vocal nervousness and faster speech rates.

Hocking and Leathers' (1980) results demonstrated that nonverbal displays during deception were more individualistic in nature than previously thought. The researchers found that the Class I behaviors were exhibited less by deceivers than by truthtellers, but that both Class II and III behaviors showed no significant difference between deceptive and truthful displays. They also found that the level of consequences, as related to the deception, affected the individual's displays of anxiety or nervousness. Moreover, the obviousness of the changes in nervousness and anxiety were related to the individual's natural states of nervous behavior. When an individual demonstrated specific nervous displays during truthtelling, it was argued that those behaviors would be either lessened or increased during deception and that change in levels would potentially make deceptive behavior detectable.

Differentiating between nonverbal cues associated with honesty and those tied to deception is extremely difficult without prior knowledge of an individual's unique communication tendencies (Ekman & Friesen, 1974; Hocking & Leathers, 1980). For instance, one person might avoid eye gaze randomly during honest communication but will increase the avoidance of eye gaze during deceptive communication. Another person might avoid eye gaze altogether during honest communication and maintain direct eye gaze during deceptive communication. The difference in the individual's eye gaze behavior is what reveals when that particular person is engaging in either truthful or deceptive communication. Therefore, we cannot just categorically associate specific eye gaze behavior with deception. An individual's communication behaviors certainly have to be factored in when researchers are analyzing nonverbal cues, but that does not mean that all communication behaviors associated with deception are individualized. The concept that certain display behaviors could be lessened or increased depending on the individual's natural states or abilities led to researchers advocating the attempted control hypothesis.

Attempted control hypothesis. The attempted control hypothesis argues that deceivers are aware that specific display behaviors, especially those related to nervousness, enable receivers to detect deception. Therefore, deceivers attempt to control these behaviors in order to avoid detection of their deceptive communication. However, deceivers sometimes over-control these behaviors and appear behaviorally inhibited in relationship to the expectations of the interaction. Researchers using the attempted control hypothesis postulate that analyzing the control of nonverbal behaviors as opposed to the emotional connection of the behavior exposes deception. The researchers working

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from this perspective also compared specific characteristics of an individual, such as gender or race, with the ability to control certain behaviors.

Cody and O'Hair (1983) argued that the communicator's characteristics, such as gender and communicator dominance, could be used to categorize the communicator's ability to control specific nonverbal displays of deception. The researchers associated less leg/foot movement and illustrators with male liars more than with female liars and both genders of truthtellers. Cody and O'Hair also hypothesized that females were better than males at controlling their facial expressions (e.g., nervous smiling). Included in that hypothesis was the belief that females, more so than males, would exhibit more control and maintenance of their eye gaze. Males were expected to lessen their eye gaze when lying. During the Cody and O'Hair study, a communicator's level of dominance was also analyzed in comparison to specific nonverbal aspects of deceptive communication behaviors. It was forwarded that the more dominant the communicator is, the longer his/her response latency (i.e., time taken to respond to a stimulus) will be. Shorter message lengths were also expected of more dominant communicators engaging in deceptive communication. In addition, those same behaviors associated with gender or communicator dominance would be obviously different between prepared lies and spontaneous lies.

Cody and O'Hair's (1983) results indicated that whether the lie was prepared or spontaneous played a key role in the relationship between the aforementioned nonverbal displays and deceptive communication. Consistent with predictions, male liars (as compared to females and male truthtellers) demonstrated less leg/foot movement during the prepared lies and demonstrated more leg/foot movement (as compared to females)

during the spontaneous lies. In addition, Cody and O'Hair found that low dominant liars engaged in shorter response latencies and shorter answers than low dominant truthtellers during the prepared lies but that there was not a significant difference in response latencies or message lengths during spontaneous lies.

Overall, the researchers' hypotheses either were unsupported or only partially supported. Male liars and female truthtellers both increased their leg/foot movements as the interactions progressed. In regards to eye contact or eye gaze, they found no significant results and determined that either eye gaze is not a distinguishing characteristic of truth versus deception or that too many other variables, such as physical distance, feelings of embarrassment or threat, and the eye gaze of the interviewer, play roles in the amount of eye gaze displayed by the interviewee. Cody and O'Hair's (1983) results did provide information that communicators' gender and dominance play a role in their nonverbal displays of deception.

Nevertheless, Cody and O'Hair's (1983) results were so varied that they created more questions than answers regarding the attempted control of nonverbal behaviors. Results from several studies were inconsistent for a number of behaviors including leg/foot movement, eye gaze or duration of eye contact, shifts in posture or stance, facial displays, length of messages, and length of pauses between messages (Knapp, Hart, & Dennis, 1974; Kraut, 1978; Matarazzo, Wiens, Jackson, & Manaugh, 1970; Mehrabian, 1972). Matarazzo et al. (1970) reported that when liars rehearse their lies they attempt to control their eye gaze and eye movement more than spontaneous deceivers. Mehrabian (1972) reported that liars showed less leg and hand movement. As studies progressed, researchers remained unable to agree on exactly which nonverbal behaviors were

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responsible for displaying deception. Therefore, they turned their focus to include communication channels outside of nonverbal displays.

DePaulo, Lanier, and Davis (1983), for instance, hypothesized that highly motivated deceivers would be more successful at controlling their verbal self-presentations. Due to their heightened emotional arousal, though, highly motivated liars were also expected to contradict their verbal control through a lack of control over their nonverbal self-presentations. To test their hypotheses, thirty-two undergraduate participants, equally split across genders, answered four questions in front of a panel of six peers. The participants were instructed to tell a lie for two of the answers and to tell the truth for the other two answers. The participants were also given the opportunity to prepare one of their deceptive answers and one of their truthful answers in an attempt to control for preparation of a lie versus spontaneity of a lie. One-half of the male deceivers and one-half of the female deceivers were given instructions that were designed to increase their motivation to deceive successfully (DePaulo, Lanier, & Davis, 1983).

Overall, DePaulo et al.'s (1983) results showed that highly motivated deceivers were less detectable through the verbal channel due to their attempts at controlling those cues. While the nonverbal cue of the highly motivated deceiver actually made their lies more detectable as compared to low-motivated deceivers. The researchers suggest that the control attempts to mask deception were only successful in the communication channels that were the most capable of being controlled, such as verbal cues. Those cues, that are less capable of being cognitively controlled, end up contradicting the deceiver's control attempts and give away their deception. This contradiction led some researchers to analyze the cognitive processes that support or detract from successful deceptions.

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Cognitive hypothesis. The cognitive hypothesis argues that the act of deception is accompanied by a high cognitive load. In other words, designing and maintaining a successful deception requires a multiple cognitive processes to happen rapidly. As the cognitive load increases, the body's simpler tasks, such as nonverbal behaviors, are less controlled and harder tasks, like verbal behaviors become more controlled. The discrepancy between the nonverbal and verbal responses to the cognitive control is capable of being analyzed for possible deception according to proponents of the cognitive hypothesis. Neurologists have been utilizing the cognitive hypothesis in their research as they attempt to discover if the cognitive load or processes is visible using a MRI scan of the brain during deceptive activity (Lo, Fook-Chong, & Tan, 2003; Nunez, Casey, Egner, Hare, & Hirsch, 2005). Because the cognitive processes include control of the emotional centers of the brain and the outcome of controlling specific behaviors, the cognitive hypothesis is often combined with one or both of the other two hypotheses previously discussed in social science research.

Deception research focused from a single hypothesis or combined in pairs has some limitations according to social science researchers. In order to combat these limitations, researchers began to redesign their research to broaden the existent body of deception knowledge.

CHAPTER IV

Current Changes to Deception Research

The majority of social science researchers continued to focus on manipulating and studying the nonverbal displays associated with a single verbal lie no matter which categorization system or theoretical hypothesis they used. This continued to limit the experimental designs, leading some researchers to argue that the existing research lacked ecological validity (DePaulo, Stone, & Lassiter, 1985; Feeley, 1996; Hale & Stiff, 1990). Other researchers focused on the dynamic between the sender and the receiver to gain more insight into the deceptive interaction (Buller, Strzyzewski, & Comstock, 1991; Burgoon & Buller, 1994). Additionally, researchers began to redirect their theoretical focus and open up their research to new perspectives, combining with other researchers to create new experimental designs.

Real-World Relevance

The majority of studies were designed to replicate or isolate only one or two specific characteristics of a single lie. This design controlled as many variables as possible in order to study the one aspect researchers were interested in understanding. When this happened, the experimental design veered sharply away from replicating everyday situations in which actual deception occurs. As argued by DePaulo et al. (1985),

> Most prior studies have not been concerned specifically with the lies told
>
> informally in everyday life situations. Instead the focus has often been on more

formal, structured interactions… As a result, little is known about the implications

of potentially important aspects of deceptive communications for the

communicator's success at telling lies… (p. 1192)

In addition, research participants were instructed to tell a lie in specific experimental

conditions reducing the psychological connections (e.g., motivation to deceive) that

would normally occur when a person had to choose to deceive in normal social situations

(Feeley, 1996). Without the psychological connection, a person's nonverbal displays

would not be accurate to what they would be in a real-life situation.

Feeley (1996) explained that the experimental setup of the majority of deception

research focused on using the sanctioned lie, which is where "participants are asked to lie

about their feelings or their recollection of an event," while only a small batch of research

used the unsanctioned lie or "employed a scenario which requires the participant to

choose on his or her own to lie" (p. 165). The unsanctioned lie scenario was a better

replica of a naturally occurring deception because it allowed for more realistic

psychological processes concerning motivation and emotional arousal to occur within the

deceiver.

Feeley's (1996) experimental design was the first to incorporate both sanctioned

and unsanctioned lies as part of the research. It consisted of 216 undergraduate students

separated into interviewers (ER) and interviewees (EE). They were told that the purpose

of the study was to "examine interviewing behavior during abstract problem-solving"

(Feeley, 1996, p. 166). The EE's were divided into three conditions: (a) truthful, (b)

unsanctioned lie, and (c) sanctioned lie. Then, they were instructed by the experimenter

to complete a series of anagrams in a specified amount of time; at that point, the experimenter left the room.

In the truthful condition, the confederate along with the other students completed the anagrams in the allotted time. The confederates were instructed to assist on one or two anagrams but no more. In the unsanctioned lie condition, the confederate was instructed to appear frustrated with the anagram problems and proceed to open the experimenter's folder where the answers were located and cheat. The confederate shared the answers with the group; or if the group appeared reticent to use the answer, then the confederate would write them down on his/her own paper and offer to share the answers again. The sanctioned condition was the same as the unsanctioned condition with one additional provision. The experimenter returned at the end of the time allotment, explained that the cheating was part of the experiment, and then instructed the group to lie to the ER's about why they had done so well on the anagrams.

The EE's were then interviewed about the performance on the anagram test. The truthful condition was not exposed to any cheating and therefore was completely truthful about their answers. The participants in the unsanctioned condition had to decide whether they would lie or be truthful about the cheating that occurred. The participants in the sanctioned condition, in contrast, were asked to lie for the purposes of the experiment. This experiment compared the nonverbal displays exhibited by the three groups and the ability of the ER's to detect deception across all conditions. Feeley (1996) found that the deceptive behaviors did not significantly differ between the two deceptive conditions. The results lend support to the idea that using a sanctioned lie is comparable to using an unsanctioned lie. Therefore, it appears experiments using sanctioned lies in a laboratory

setting are useful for analyzing deceptive behaviors found in the natural world. The study also found that more research is needed to analyze how the deceivers' underlying intent and motivation interact with emotional displays during the deceptive encounter in a causal relationship.

Sender-Receiver Dynamic

During this period of research, the role of the sender was the primary focus, leaving the receiver to function largely as a passive participant. The sender's interpersonal communication displays, both verbal and nonverbal were demonstrative of deception without the involvement of the listener; although researchers did regard the receiver as relevant to distinguishing the characteristics of deceptive behaviors. In other words, the receiver was responsible for detecting the nonverbal and verbal displays that would indicate that the sender was actively being deceptive. Yet, the sender's ability to deceive or choice to continue to deceive would not be affected in anyway by the receiver's attempts to detect his/her deceptive behavior.

In the late 1980's, Buller, Strzyzewski, and Comstock (1991) became concerned with the sender-only approach and, as a response to the limitations of this approach, developed Interpersonal Deception Theory (IDT). IDT conceptualized the act of deception as a dynamic interaction between the sender and receiver. In a later study, the interpersonal deception theorists explained this perspective:

> An interpersonal communication perspective requires expanding the locus of
> attention beyond individual and internal psychological processes such as goals,
> motivations, and cognitive abilities to dyadic and overt behavior patterns.
> Psychological variables are presumed to be necessary but not sufficient to predict

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and explain the topography and success or failure of deceptive encounters.

(Burgoon & Buller, 1994, p. 157)

In their original study, Buller et al. (1991) argued that "receivers react to deceivers' messages and that these reactions alter the communication exchange and, perhaps, deception's success" (p. 1). As interpersonal interaction occurs, both the sender and the receiver affect each other's subsequent communication with their verbal and nonverbal displays. As the deceptive message is passed, the receiver has to determine whether it will be accepted as valid or placed under suspicion for possible deception. The sender evaluates the receiver's response and alters his/her behaviors to reinforce the accepted validity of his/her message or to protect against the suspicion of the receiver.

In the initial study of IDT, the researchers had college students paired together in one of four categories: (a) nonsuspecting-probing, (b) nonsuspecting-nonprobing, (c) suspicious-probing, and (d) suspicious-nonprobing. One of the pair interviewed the other based on their responses to a previously answered Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964). The experimenters signaled the interviewers in the suspicious conditions as to when the interviewee was possibly being deceptive. In the probing categories, the interviewers were directed to ask probing questions to engage in further analyses of the sender's responses. Separate groups of students served as observers and coded specific nonverbal behaviors of the interviewees during the interview sessions. Buller et al.'s (1991) results showed that suspicion did indeed alter the behaviors of the sender and that the senders did in fact monitor the receivers' reactions for suspicion. The senders who perceived suspicion altered their nonverbal displays by having less body activity, taking shorter turns, laughing less, and exhibiting more head shaking.

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Interpersonal deception theorists followed up their first experiment with eleven

additional studies that delved into various aspects of the interpersonal dynamics that

occurred between the sender and receiver (e.g., trust, composure, or participation) during

deceptive interactions and their subsequent behaviors (e.g., vagueness, length of

response, and nervousness). Their continued research focused on concepts such as how

active participation affects the ability to detect deception, the role of the third-party

observer on deception detection, and the complexity of the cognitive processes required

of both participants to manage a deceptive situation.

Buller, Strzyzewski, and Hunsaker (1991) presented the argument that

participants in the conversation were more likely to have a truth bias or be more willing

to accept the sender's message as truthful. The presentation of the concept of a truth-bias

added a new sociological element to the study of deceptive interactions and furthered the

argument that deception detection was based on the whole interaction between people

instead of individual components of one person's performance. Although interpersonal

deception theorists continued to analyze the nonverbal displays associated with

deception, they kept their focus on the dynamic between the sender and receiver instead

of focusing on just the sender (Burgoon & Buller, 1994; Burgoon, Buller, Buslig, &

Roiger, 1994; Burgoon, Buller, & Guerrero, 1995). In their later studies, the researchers

refocused on the concept of suspicion and its relationship to the deception interaction and

also looked at accuracy of deception detection within their theoretical approach

(Burgoon, Buller, Ebesu, & Rockwell, 1994; Burgoon, Buller, Dillman, & Walther,

1995).

In the latest IDT study, Burgoon, Buller, Guerrero, Afifi, & Feldman (1996) argued that the typologies created by previous research to define deception may be limiting the scope of deception research and that alternative categorizational systems or theoretical viewpoints should also be approached when developing experimental designs. The researchers analyzed interpersonal deception using McCornack's (1992) Informational Management Theory, which was based on Grice's (1975) theory of conversational implacature (Burgoon et al., 1996). McCornack's (1992) theory argues that deception is much more complex than previous research indicated and that deception as it occurs in the real world is often much more difficult to categorize within the definitions of the preexistent typological systems. McCornack's (1992) theory extends Goffman's (1959) and Grice's (1975) concepts concerning social performances and then adds a new component for study. Within interpersonal conversations, certain rules of engagement apply to the social interaction and people have a good faith component that interactants will adhere to these rules and provide complete, clear, truthful, and relevant information. McCornack asserts that people are aware of these rules and therefore individuals are able to control the amount of information that they are sending to deter receivers from becoming suspicious of any social deviance.

Burgoon et al.'s (1996) study developed subclasses with which researchers could evaluate the information management of the sender during deception. The subclasses included (a) completeness, (b) directness/relevance, (c) clarity, (d) personalization, and (e) veridicality. These subclasses were related to or derived directly from Grice's (1975) maxims of (a) quality, (b) quantity, (c) relation, and (d) manner. Veridicality refers to the truthfulness or honesty of the message being sent during the interaction. During deceptive

interactions, the category of veridicality includes the component of "appearing" truthful and divides the category into two dimensions, actual veridicality and apparent veridicality (Burgoon et al., 1996, p. 53). The category of completeness encompasses the concept that speakers should provide the necessary amount of information to fulfill the conversational demands. The directness/relevance category analyzes messages based on their relevance or direct relationship to the context and circumstances of the social interaction. Clarity refers to the conciseness and comprehensibility of the message. Burgoon et al. argues that deceivers manipulate the clarity of a message using specific semantic devices like ambiguity or equivocation in order to avoid suspicion. The final category of personalization is defined as "the extent to which the information presented conveys the speaker's own thoughts, opinions, and feelings" (Burgoon et al., 1996, p. 55).

Communication scholars have previously argued that individuals can employ specific verbal and nonverbal strategies to hide or demonstrate the level of personal association with the message that is being sent (Bavelas, Black, Chovil, & Mullett, 1990; Knapp et al., 1974) When analyzing deceivers and their messages, during this particular study, Burgoon et al. argued that deceivers were more capable of disassociating themselves personally from their messages along with various other manipulations within the other categories that they established.

Burgoon et al.'s (1996) experimental design closely resembled their previous studies on IDT, but discussed the subclasses instead of more traditional nonverbal displays during deception. Their results showed that receivers could distinguish deception from truth using the concepts laid out by McCornack (1992) and thus established that alternate theories of interpersonal communication could be used as categorizational

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dimensions of analysis in deception research as opposed to the traditional categorization and observation methods.

New Directions

The current decade's deception research is characterized by research focusing largely on creating greater consistency among the previous findings of deception research. Some researchers who have focused primarily on very specific aspects of the deception interaction combined their research styles with other researchers' areas of study and analyzed deception from a new perspective in the hopes of bringing greater cohesiveness to the field. For example, Frank and Ekman (2004) analyzed the level of truthfulness, through specific personality traits and facial expressions, as it related to the level of consequence or stakes in deception. Ekman, whose research primarily focuses on facial expressions and emotional connections during deception, teamed up with Frank, whose research focuses primarily on consequences of deception and deception detection, to complete their study. Frank and Ekman found that the appearance of truthfulness in high-stakes deception is not related to specific personality traits and is not related to the level of facial expression displayed by the deceiver.

In addition to researchers combining their individual styles to collaborate on research studies, individual researchers also branched out and began to study deception from different perspectives. In two separate studies, Levine (2006) focused on the role of eye gaze during deceptive interactions and, in another study, Ali and Levine (2008) focused on the language of truth and denials during confessions. The first study found that eye gaze has no bearing on whether a message is perceived as truthful or deceptive (Levine, Asada, & Park, 2006). In the second study, researchers looked at the linguistic

styles of people during confessions or denials when in an interrogation-style setting (Ali & Levine, 2008). They found that liars exhibited fewer negative emotions, less discrepancy, fewer modal verbs (e.g., can, will, and would), and longer speaking lengths. They also noted that denials were characterized by shorter sentences, more negations, and more present tense verbs. This body of research has focused on designing experiments that would provide solid support that a nonverbal characteristic is or is not related to the act of deception. Research has also begun to analyze the viewpoints or theoretical approaches of deception researchers in the hopes of understanding how the body of research has developed and how it can expand in the future.

The newest scholars to deception research, especially those who are focused on higher stakes deceptions, look at all three hypotheses, the cognitive, emotional, and attempted control, in their research. Caso, Gnisci, Vrij, and Mann (2005) analyzed deceptive interactions for arousal of emotion, cognitive overload, and attempted control. The researchers argued that deceivers "would experience more emotions, would have to think harder and try harder to make a convincing impression when they lied compared to when they told the truth" (p. 196). In addition to the combination of the three perspectives, the researchers added in the variable of high and low-stakes to the experimental design. They found that the higher the stakes of deception, the more the deceivers appear to experience attempted control, cognitive load, and emotional arousals (Caso et al., 2005). The idea of combining perspectives appears to be a rapidly growing concept within the current group of researchers. As research continues to develop, the applications that stem from that research also continue to expand.

Applications of Deception Research

Researchers, in the current decade, also have engaged in the development of training programs, both face-to-face teaching and computerized versions, for law enforcement or entities that frequently engage in deception detection. Frank and Feeley (2003) analyzed the challenges to creating or implementing training programs for deception detection within law enforcement. They addressed six specific challenges that must be met in order to create research studies that would be helpful to designing deception detection training programs. The six challenges include (a) relevance, (b) stakes, (c) training, (d) testing, (e) situational generality, and (f) time generality. The category of relevance concerns creating a deception situation that is similar as possible to what professionals would face during their interactions with deceivers (e.g., interrogations). Stakes refers to the concepts of low-stakes and high-stakes deceptions.

Frank and Feeley (2003) argue that the deception situation created within the experimental design needs to replicate the emotional levels that would be present in high-stakes deception situations, to better reflect real-world scenarios. To meet this challenge, Frank and Feeley contend that the focus of designing improved training programs needs to be the educational aspect of deception detection. Teaching programs for professional deception detectors have to be well designed so that they impart the needed information successfully. Testing, the next category, goes along with the educational aspects of the training program. Frank and Feeley call for the design of pre-tests and post-tests to be implemented on either end of the training program. These tests would have to be specially designed to address all of the variables that become applicable during deceptive interactions and training programs. The challenge of situational generality refers to the

concept of matching the stimulus material available during training programs with real-world situational variables that are generalizable across different high-stakes deception interactions. By accomplishing this task, the training programs would have more external validity.

The final challenge that Frank and Feeley (2003) discuss is that of time generality. Time generality is the concept of creating training programs that help professional deception detectors continue to improve their detection skills over time. That is to say, the skills imparted in the training should be measurable in skill improvements directly after the training is complete, as well as weeks, months, or even years after the training is completed. Frank and Feeley analyzed the deception detection training programs that were current at the point of their study and found that overall the training programs showed small but steady increases in deception detection skills after training was completed. The researchers also found that the programs were not living up to the possible potential of deception detection training capabilities.

Researchers continue to analyze how deception detection training programs are developed and how they can be improved so that deception detection can be taught to aid professionals. In addition, researchers are developing new and improved training programs to meet the challenges that Frank and Feeley (2003) discuss in their study. The two most prominent are the AGENT99 program, developed by Google, Inc. along with researchers from the University of Arizona, and ACID, a program designed by researchers from Southern Connecticut State University. AGENT99 is a computer-based program that integrates aspects from interpersonal deception theory and additional research concerning nonverbal deceptive displays, along with educational techniques, to

create a comprehensive program that has been found more effective than traditional teaching methods of deception detection (Crews, Cao, Lin, Nunamaker, & Burgoon, 2007). ACID, or Assessment Criteria Indicative of Deception, uses a combination of the Reality Interview (Colwell, Hiscock-Anisman, & Memon, 2002) and the Judgment of Memory Characteristics Questionnaire (JCMQ) to formulate an interview-style program of deception detection that has shown accuracy rates between 79% to 87%, which reflects an improvement over the average of 56% accuracy rates for trained deception detectors (Colwell, 2007). Scholars are continually testing and implementing new experimental studies designed to help create training programs that will be effective in teaching professional deception detectors the skills that they need to combat expert and criminal deceivers.

Throughout the last several decades, research into deception has been a prominent topic within the social sciences. From the exact nonverbal cues displayed during a deceptive act, to the generalized skills required by trained detectors of deception, scholars continue to provide new insights into deception. However, there is still a need for deception research within the field to branch out to incorporate new perspectives and experimental designs.

CHAPTER V

The Current Study

From the earliest stages in deception research, the direction of study had been mostly limited to the study of one of Hopper and Bell's (1984) categories, namely lies. Research has shown that there are on average about six categories of deception and an even higher number of subclasses within each category. The subclasses are divided at the researcher's discretion and are usually based on the situation, the level of consequences, and the accompanying nonverbal displays. Even if research studies branch out and examine deception outside of the verbal lie, they continue to keep their focus predominantly on the subclasses of lower-stakes deceptions.

Consequence Levels

The stakes of lying are associated with the consequences or benefits of the deceptive act. In low-stakes lies, there is not a lot to be gained from successfully lying and there is not much to be lost if the lie is unsuccessful. Low-stakes lies are commonplace in our everyday situations and are barely discernible from truthful interaction. In some situations, they can be more socially acceptable than truth-telling. For example, telling someone that you feel fine when you really feel ill in order to allow more important activity to continue, or praising someone in order to preserve his/her feelings even when the praise is unwarranted, are examples of typical low-stakes lies.

They are also predominantly single-instance occurrences and are not replicated repeatedly during a period of time.

In contradiction, high-stakes lies have considerable benefits if successful and detrimental consequences if unsuccessful. Covering up one's own criminal activity and protecting one's identity as a witness to someone else's criminal activity are typically the two forms of high-stakes deceptions. Additionally, high-stakes deception can range from short-term or single instances of lying all the way up to long-term deceptive behaviors, such as perpetuating a false identity for several years (Blum, 1972; Knapp, 2008). Typically, deception communication research focuses on low-stakes deceptions or short-term high-stakes deceptions. This creates a void in the research concerning high-stakes, long-term deceivers.

Behavior Displays

Some social scientific research and biographical writings have concerned long-term, high-stakes false fronts, such as those used by con artists or spies. These studies come primarily from the social-psychological and the anthropological perspectives, although a few come from the field of criminology. In some ways, this body of work draws conclusions that are inconsistent with the majority of the accepted deception research analyzed from the communication perspective.

In Blum's (1972) field study on trust violations, he analyzed the interpersonal relationship between the confidence artist and his/her victims among other forms of interactions that included a violation of trust. Blum studied both low and high-stakes cons that took anywhere from an hour to several years to complete. He found that no matter whether high-stakes or low-stakes deception was analyzed, con artists were openly

calculating in their personal presentation and controlled their nonverbal displays at higher

ability rates to avoid appearing as the stereotypical criminal. During the study, the

interviewers and observers were asked to rate each con artist on an adjective checklist.

They were most often individually described as "pleasant, a good salesman [sic], polite

and courteous, friendly, self-confident, knows his way around, average intelligence, good

appearance, thinks clearly, a fast talker, easygoing and a swinger" (Blum, 1972, p. 48).

The nonverbal cues associated with each of these characteristics would have to

appear related to normal everyday truthful interactions in order for the con artist to

achieve his/her goal. The long-term confidence scam requires an individual to adapt a

false personal front and to create interpersonal relationships using this persona. The

length of time required for the deception to occur allows for more opportunities of

suspicion arousal or detection of the person's false front.

Espionage agents often adapt false fronts to blend in with the people they

encounter while gathering national intelligence data. These operations can last several

months or even years and carry the highest stakes if the deception is detected. During

World War II, American agents disguised as German troops were parachute-dropped

behind enemy lines to disrupt their transports and logistics. If these agents had been

discovered they would have been killed on the spot (Cline, 1976). This suggests that the

expert deceiver would have to be exceptionally good at both falsification and

concealment. It also requires that expert deceivers have better control over their

nervousness or anxiety displays compared to a low-stakes deceiver, as those are the ones

most often used to detect deception, both by the average person and the trained

professional. The maintenance of long term, high-stakes false fronts appears to require a

different level of psychological control of both nonverbal cue leakage and verbal believability. The interpersonal communication has to closely resemble truthful message interactions or the deceivers are in danger of revealing themselves as imposters.

Research Perspective

This information highlights another difficulty in analyzing this group of deceivers from the traditional study designs within communication. The direction of study within communication research has been from the perspective of how one could be better at detecting deception. Deception detection when the sender is engaging in obviously deceptive behavior is difficult, but it becomes nearly impossible when the sender is an expert at making his/her deceptions appear truthful during everyday interactions. Because detection of their deceptive behaviors is presumably more difficult than the average low-stakes deception or the single instance of lying, the analysis of long-term, high-stakes false fronts needs to be addressed from the viewpoint of the deceiver. This is possible by looking at the particular behaviors that those who engage in long-term, high-stakes deception stress as being important to successfully achieving the deception.

While confidence scams and espionage have been studied in the fields of social psychology, anthropology, and criminology, they have yet to be analyzed from the basis of the deceivers' communication techniques. Researchers therefore typically address the actions of the long-term, high-stakes deceiver in terms of the social ramifications of their actions whereas communication scholars analyze the minute details of the deceivers' nonverbal and verbal behaviors, as well as the underlying processes involved in creating the behaviors.

With a research base in long-term, high-stakes false front techniques, deception detection training programs could be developed that would address the level of deceptive skills used by expert "masking" criminals such as confidence artists, espionage agents, or even sleeper cell terrorists. This particular type of expert deceiver has the most impact on society as a whole because of their criminal activities which are often supported or hidden behind their masks or false personal fronts. Frank Abagnale (2000), considered one of the best confidence men of the last century, was able to steal millions of dollars from businesses worldwide using a variety of long-term masks. Aldrich Ames, an agent for the Central Intelligence Agency, stole millions of dollars and caused the deaths of at least ten fellow agents when he successfully executed a long-term false front as a double agent (Intelligence, 1994). In addition to their current efforts to circumvent this level of criminal behavior, federal, state, and local law enforcement agents could benefit from knowledge of the communication techniques and interpersonal relationship formation practices used by this particular form of deceiver.

The addition of a body of research focused on this particular category of deceiver would add substantial knowledge to the already massive amount of deception research available within the social sciences. However, this knowledge gain would have to come from multiple studies and experiments to be truly useful for the proposed real world applications.

Purpose of Current study

The current study attempts to answer the preliminary questions associated with this particular category of deceptive behavior. The master deceiver, like any other expert, utilizes his/her innate talent and builds upon it by gaining more knowledge and applied

skill in the art of deceiving. This means that along with studying the cues that the master

deceiver displays during the actual act of deception, researchers can potentially gain

useful knowledge from analyzing how the criminal liar learned or practiced their abilities

on the way to becoming an expert deceiver. Frank Abagnale (2000), for example,

describes in detail how he went about learning the airline jargon and acquiring the needed

props to complete his mask as an airline pilot. In another story, he discusses how his lack

of information about Harvard University almost cost him his false front as a lawyer.

Information about the cognitive processes used or the development of credibility, along

with other possible insights into deception, potentially can be derived from these types of

stories (or others like them) provided by expert deceivers.

Typically, experimental design in deception research consists of conducting

interviews with participants in a variety of controlled laboratory settings while specific

variables are controlled for future analysis. Interviewing master deceivers concerning

their methods and abilities could potentially garner valuable insights. However, this

specific type of deceiver is not known for agreeing to divulge the secret to their expertise,

particularly to researchers hoping to utilize the information to create better deception

detection methods.

So to gain useful knowledge from these experts, an alternative methodology can be

employed. Expert deceivers are studied by various cultures for basic societal interest or

intrigue. This fact leads some master deceivers to write autobiographies or have

biographies written about their exploits. These writings provide scholars with written

texts of the expert deceivers' personal views transcribed in their own words. But are these

writings capable of providing researchers with enough information about the deception

skills of this particular group of deceivers? And if so, what information can be gleaned. This leads to the research question driving this study.

RQ1: Using content analysis techniques, can insightful data about deception be drawn from the writings of expert deceivers? If so, what is the nature of that data and how can it be meaningfully organized?

In order to answer the research question this study will analyze a unique body of texts written by expert deceivers using a qualitative interpretive method. Conducting a study utilizing an interpretive method does have some inherent limitations that have to be recognized before commencing the research. The theoretical sensitivity and experience of the researcher are important to developing a reliable substantive analysis of the texts. Therefore, the researcher's knowledge level will be reflected in the findings of the current study. Additionally, the researcher needs to employ a certain amount of creativity to draw results from the writings while still adhering to the guidelines of the chosen interpretive method. To complete this study, the following methods are used to analyze the writings of expert deceivers.

Methodology

The compilation of deception studies within the social sciences is a well-designed and incisive body of research. In order to guide my analysis a methodology rooted in grounded theory will be utilized to complete the current study. As explained by Strauss and Corbin (1990), "the grounded theory approach is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon" (p. 24). Using grounded theory methodology, the selected writings

are coded and analyzed through a system that constantly compares the concepts and relationships surrounding the various phenomena discussed by the expert deceivers.

Materials

To establish the current sample the researcher looked for specific characteristics within the texts. The initial criterion was that the texts concerned members of one of the three expert deception groups to be analyzed. Confidence artists, espionage agents, and undercover law enforcement agents comprise the three groups included in the sample for analysis. Each of these groups has unique characteristics that help distinguish those who exist within them. Confidence artists use their deceptions to aid in specific forms of criminal activity. Espionage agents use their deceptions to seek out government secrets. Undercover law enforcement agents use their deceptions to infiltrate criminal organizations and uncover secrets or identities of other criminals. All three groups commit long-term, high-stakes deceptions within their social interactions.

Subsequent criteria focused on the style of the narrative within the text. By focusing on first-person autobiographies, the researcher attempted to account for potential limitations of using texts. The texts were all written by the expert deceivers who were recounting their personal memories, emotions surrounding their adventures, and the consequences of their actions from their own viewpoint and writing styles. Thus, the expert deceivers created a sense that the information shared within their writings would be similar to potential information gained from a personal interview with each expert deceiver. Once these particular criteria were met, the researcher's goal was to exhaust the available sample materials. A sample of 12 autobiographical writings from three distinct

groups of expert deceivers will be analyzed. The sample includes four texts from each

group. Table 1 provides a list and description of the texts used for analysis.

Table 1

Texts Used in the Analysis of Deceptive Behaviors

Author	Title	Publishing Info	Synopsis	Type
		Group 1: Confidence Artists		
Abagnale, Frank	*Catch Me if You Can*	Broadway Books, 1980	Story of Abagnale's exploits throughout the 1960's as a con artist.	Autobiography
Marks, Howard	*Mr. Nice: An Autobiography*	Canongate, 2002	Story about Mark's exploits in England during the 1980's and his various false identities	Autobiography
Walker, Kent	*Son of a Grifter*	Harper Collins Books, 2001	Story about Walker's mother and brother, who were professional con-artists/grifters and his relationship with them.	Autobiography/ Biography
Weil, Joseph	*Con Man: A Master Swindler's own Story*	Broadway Books, 1948/2004	Story about Joseph "Yellow Kid" Weil and his cons during the turn of the 20th century	Autobiography
		Group 2: Espionage Agents		
Clarridge, Duane	*A Spy for all Seasons*	Simon & Schuster, 2002	Story about Clarridge's activities as a CIA agent	Autobiography
Hunt, H. E.	*Undercover: Memoirs of an American Agent*	Berkley Publishing Corp., 1974	Story of Hunt's activities in the CIA	Autobiography

Lanier, Henry W.	*Secret Life of a Secret Agent*	J.B. Lippincott Co., 1936	Story of an Espionage Agent's development into an agent and then his exploits.	Autobiography
Moran, Lindsay	*Blowing My Cover*	Penguin Books, 2005	Story about Moran's life as a CIA espionage agent	Autobiography

Group 3: Undercover Law Enforcement Agents

Ballentine, Jack	*Murder for Hire: My Life as the Country's Most Successful Undercover Agent*	MacMillian, 2009	Story about Ballentine's multiple undercover agent operations throughout the 20th century	Autobiography
Hamer, Bob	*The Last Undercover: The True Story of an FBI Agent's Dance with Evil*	Thorndike Press, 2008	Story about Hamer's career as an undercover agent for the FBI	Autobiography
Piston, Joseph; Woodley, Richard	*Donnie Brasco: My Undercover Life in the Mafia*	New American Library, 1988	Story about Pistone's infiltration of the mafia	Autobiography
Queen, William	*Under and Alone*	Fawcett Books, 2005	Story about Queen's infiltration of the Mongols, an outlaw motorcycle gang as an undercover cop	Autobiography

Procedures

The text sample will be analyzed using a categorizational system derived from grounded theory as explicated by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and augmented by Scott and Howell (2008). First, all of the texts will be analyzed with open-coding. Open-coding refers to the process of breaking down and examining the data to create initial categories of analysis. After the data is open-coded, the categories of data will be re-organized using two instruments in a process referred to as axial-coding. The conditional relationship guide asks a series of simple questions that will help the researcher to discover patterns

and reveal the relationships among the open-coded categories (Scott & Howell, 2008). The reflective coding matrix will be useful in designing a relational hierarchy that develops and contextualizes a core category or central phenomenon. Using these two instruments to constantly compare the formed categories and initial data through both open-coding and axial-coding, will potentially produce a substantive theory during the final phase of selective-coding (Scott & Howell, 2008). At the very least, though, a clear category system should emerge. During selective-coding, the emergent theory/findings will be refined to reveal how the analyzed phenomena found in the texts is understood within individual interactions and society as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

Results

The sample used for this particular study consisted of 12 first-person autobiographies written by three distinct groups of expert deceivers, including confidence men or con-artists, espionage agents, and undercover law enforcement agents. The texts were organized in similar patterns, beginning with biographical or childhood information, followed by early training or involvement in deceptive activities. The remainder of each text addressed the deceivers' height of deceptive abilities and then a return to their real identities on a permanent basis. All of the sample texts discussed the authors' or deceivers' emotional, psychological, and relational states leading up to, during, and after any deceptive interactions. The latter information provided the majority of useful knowledge during the initial data extraction phase.

Open-Coding Phase

Initial information was pulled straight from the writing of the individual texts to create 67 open-coded categories. Individual statements, such as "I was intent on proving him wrong" (Moran, 2005, p. 3) and "I have a fairly robust self esteem—some of my detractors might even suggest it borders on cockiness" (Hamer, 2008, p. 28) were used to develop certain categories (e.g., *Desire to prove oneself* and *Ego*). In other cases, categories were developed by deriving information from complete stories or accounts of incidents within the texts (e.g., *Avoided negative consequences* and *Used accomplices*).

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Some of the categories were redundant and were condensed into 50 workable categories (see Appendix A).

Any open-coded category that was experienced by only one deceiver in each of the expert deceiver groups was excluded from the remaining phases of data analysis. This included the categories of *Believes is a bad liar*, *Struggles to keep up with snowball story*, and *Learned to add details to verbal lies*. The remaining 47 categories became the initial categories for establishing patterns or relationships between the various phenomena.

Axial-coding Phase

The axial-coding phase allows the information derived from the texts to be compared and contrasted to find relationships between the categories. This process includes re-analyzing the information in a constant comparison format. In addition, the categories are synthesized into a relational storyline that provides information about the behaviors and activities of expert deceivers. To accomplish these goals, the open-coded categories were analyzed through two matrixes or processes, the conditional relationship guide and the reflective coding process.

Conditional relationship guide. After the initial categories were developed, each category was analyzed using a conditional relationship guide during the first part of the axial-coding phase (Scott & Howell, 2008). The conditions applied to each category included the following: (a) what, (b) who, (c) why, and (d) consequence. The condition of *what* helped to define the category while the condition of *who* referenced which of the three expert deceiver groups experienced the categorical phenomenon. The *why* condition addressed the rationale behind the phenomenon. The rationale was either established from a logical cause and effect relationship or from a response to an emotional reaction

experienced by the deceiver. In some cases, the *why* condition consisted of a natural

psychological state or personality trait that caused or allowed the phenomenon to occur.

The *consequence* condition focused on the outcome of the behavior or the effect on the

deceiver's psychological, emotional, or social behaviors. In addition, the *consequence*

condition addressed the potential difficulties faced by professional deception detectors in

relationship to the deceivers' behaviors.

During the comparison of the *why* and *consequence* conditions across the 47

categories, specific themes were repeated. Therefore, these themes were used to create

the eight primary categories that were analyzed in the reflective coding process. The eight

primary categories are listed in Table 2.

Table 2

Primary Axial-Coding Categories Defined

Category	Definition
High Intellectual/Learning Ability	Possessed high levels of intelligence, engaged in continuous learning activities, and maintained good memory skills
Willingness to Commit Higher-Stakes Deceptions	Demonstrated competitive and risk-taking behaviors alongside of a flexible personal moral code
Well-Developed Communication Traits	Individual possessed an innate understanding of socially desired communication behaviors along with a reduced level of communication anxiety
Engaged in Self-Reflexivity	Analyzed their own behaviors and choices from an observer's perspective
Nonverbal Decoding Ability	Able to decipher body language, facial expressions, and paralinguistic components of another person's communication rapidly and accurately

High Rhetorical/Conversation Decoding Ability	Able to analyze another person's verbal communication rapidly and accurately for purposes of their own conversational manipulation
Psychological/Emotional Challenges	Experienced episodes of negative emotions, moral questioning, and high-stress activities
High Impression Management Capability	Possessed high levels of self-awareness concerning their own credibility and socially desired behaviors and was consequently able to utilize knowledge to manipulate social situations

Reflective Coding Process. The data compilation method used during the reflective coding process was derived from Strauss and Corbin's (1990) paradigm model using examples of matrixes from Scott and Howell (2008) and Becker and Stamp's (2005) grounded theory research. Through the reflective coding process, the eight themes were constantly compared and linked together with the established subcategories from the open coding process in order to establish *causal, intervening*, and *contextual conditions*. In addition, *action/interactional strategies* and *direct/indirect consequences* were sought in the relationships detected in the reflective process.

Personality or natural traits of the deceiver were labeled as the *causal conditions* that led to the development of *interactional strategies*. The processes utilized by the deceivers to improve their skills or succeed with the act of deception within established social situations were labeled as *interactional strategies*. Physical or mental actions that were needed to facilitate an interactional strategy were labeled *intervening conditions*. In several cases, the *interactional strategies, direct consequences, causal conditions* and *intervening conditions* were reciprocal and became interchangeably labeled depending on which segment of the relationship cycle was being addressed. The eight themes derived

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from the initial phase of the axial coding process were the *direct consequences* or *indirect*

consequences of the relationship comparisons. Through the constant comparison process,

it was determined that there was a specific relationship process existent among the initial

open-coded categories and the derived themes or consequences. This particular

relationship is explained through the Deception Skill Model.

Deception Skill Model

The model demonstrates the intricate relationship between the eight categories or

themes derived during the axial coding process. The relationship between the individual

factors of the expert deceiver, along with the situational filters that occur during long

term deceptions, lead to and affect the components of the expert deceiver's increased

ability to succeed at high-stakes deceptions.

Figure 1.   Characteristics of Expert Deceivers
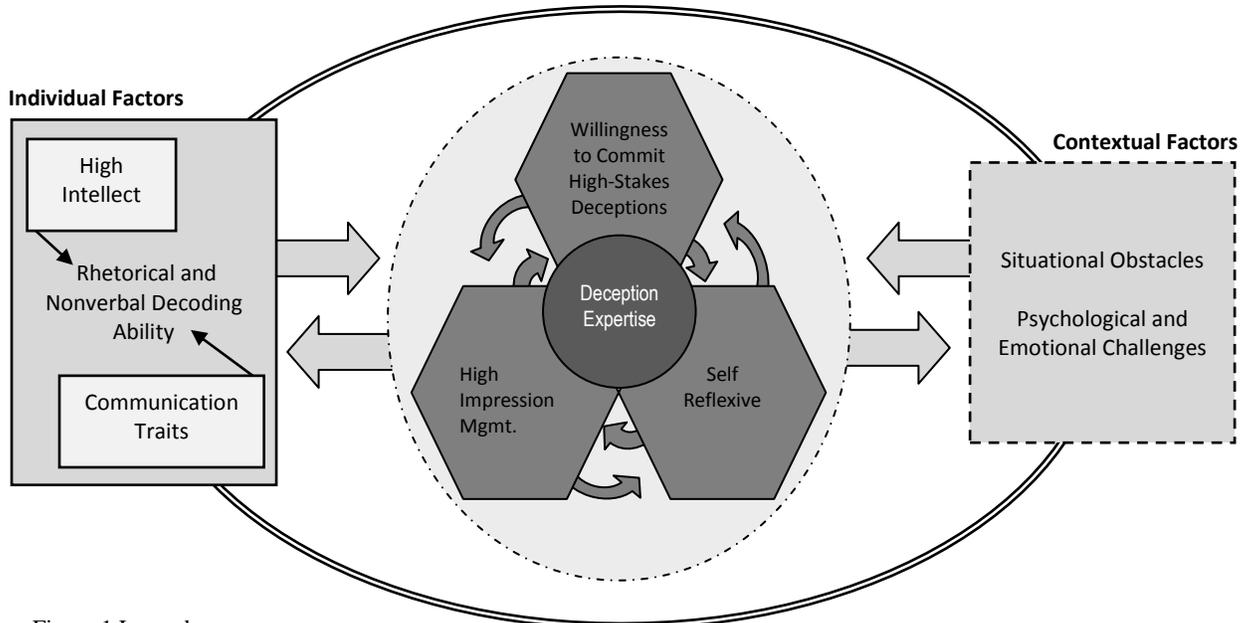
Individual factors. Expert deceivers possess specific personality or genetic traits that increase the likelihood that they will attempt long-term, high stakes deceptions and be successful at them. The most prominent categories of natural abilities possessed by expert deceivers are *a high communication ability* and *an increased intelligence with a desire to learn*. By utilizing these specific personality traits or natural abilities, expert deceivers are better equipped to nurture skills that increase their ability to succeed in their deceptions.

A set of nurtured categories that are crucial to long-term, high stakes deception success are an *increased ability to decode verbal communication* and an *increased ability to decode the nonverbal behaviors of others*. By associating specific attributes or characteristics to people and then learning how to assess the nonverbal behaviors that are exhibited when a person possesses those attributes, expert deceivers are better equipped to determine quickly how to use a particular person within their deceptions. Additionally, the deceivers' understanding of verbal communication provides them with specific knowledge of social interaction rules and enables them to form rapports within a particular society quickly. Expert deceivers utilize other individuals as accomplices, marks, and audience members with the participant's knowledge and in some cases without the participant's knowledge. The combination of natural traits and nurtured skills enable the expert deceiver to hone their deception ability from a general proficiency to specific job-related deception expertise.

As the process continues, their natural and nurtured abilities combine to create specific cognitive and emotional states that perpetuate the expert deceivers' desires to practice high stakes deceptions and ultimately leads to their success as expert deceivers.

Specialized deception expertise. The individual factors serve as the base for the development of the categories of behaviors that lead to specialized expertise in long-term, high-stakes deception. The expert deceiver's success stems from a combination of a *willingness to commit high-stakes deceptions*, the deceiver's *engagement in self-reflexivity*, and a *high impression management capability*.

Expert deceivers make the decision to perform high-stakes deceptive behaviors. As they develop their deception skills, they continually engage in higher stakes deceptions for longer periods. They are fed by the rewards from their successes and driven to attempt a higher level of risk. In addition, their success helps to sustain their willingness to commit high-stakes deceptions by enabling them to recognize their deception as an act and not a state of being, thus providing the deceivers with a desired feeling of control over their own actions that stems from their individual traits and is reinforced by the option of a higher level of deception risk. This difference in perception helps expert deceivers maintain their real identities as they continue to engage in long-term deceptions. Recognizing that their deceptive behavior is an act that they choose to engage in, prevents expert deceivers from falling into categories of people with specific psychological disorders such as pathological liars, multiple personality disorder sufferers, and the criminally insane.

At the same time, expert deceivers engage in increased levels of self-reflexivity. They are constantly evaluating their actions prior to, during, and after deceptive interactions. Similar to how an actor prepares to portray a character, expert deceivers analyze how their personalities and abilities will benefit or detract from specific characters or identities that they will attempt to portray in real life social settings. They

are capable of stepping back from themselves and viewing their behaviors from an observer's perspective. This level of self-reflexivity enables the deceiver to constantly perfect his/her craft for the next higher level of stakes while engaging in the current deceptive interaction.

During a deceptive interaction, expert deceivers rely on other people to aid in the success of their deception. They use their high impression management capabilities to manipulate the interaction between themselves and others, between multiple other people, between themselves and the environment or setting, and between others and the environment or setting. They can quickly determine who should play what roles in the interaction including being the mark or victim and being accomplices or bystanders.

Joseph "Yellow Kid" Weil recounts the story of one of his initial con-artist schemes where he and his accomplice successfully conned several rich men with betting on the horse races schemes. Weil and his accomplice created a fake betting room set-up and manipulated the telegraph wires that brought in the names of the race winners. They created a scam where the mark would hear the accomplice incorrectly and place a bet that would net Weil and his accomplice lots of money. Weil had to convince the mark that he had heard the accomplice's recommendations for winners incorrectly several times without raising the mark's suspicion to continue drawing income from the person. Weil not only had to choose a good accomplice, he had to choose a mark and someone to bankroll the fake set-up and maintain positive interactions with all of them over a length of time demonstrating his skill at impression management (Weil & Brannon, 2004, pp. 35-39).

Additionally, expert deceivers use their learned knowledge of jargon or appropriate social behaviors to successfully manage their credibility during their apparent manipulation of any given social interaction. As the three primary categories of specialized deception capabilities intertwine and are utilized by deceivers to be successful in their endeavors, they blend together and create a unique psychological state and sociological knowledge that is easily understood as expertise in high-stakes deceptions. However, the components of specialized deception expertise are affected not only by individual factors but are constantly filtered through the contextual situation to be reinforced or abandoned completely.

Contextual filters. During long-term deceptions, expert deceivers experience a variety of environments that challenge their success at deceiving. Throughout the process of improving their deceptive abilities, expert deceivers experience advancements and setbacks in their skills. The advancements are related to successful completion of deception behaviors and reinforce the deceiver's willingness to attempt higher stakes deceptions. The setbacks come from the deceiver's own desires to live within their real identities or from situations and environments that they place themselves in during deceptions. The people with whom they interact and use for their own personal agendas may have alternative behaviors or goals of their own that are inconsistent with the deceiver's goals. This can put a strain on the deceiver's ability to succeed at the deception or can challenge the deceiver's psychological and emotional state of being during the deception. In addition, deceivers experience changes to their psychological and emotional states constantly because of external factors associated with their behaviors. These

changes are caused by the length of time that they engage in deception, the level of the potential rewards or consequences, and their own social needs.

The psychological and emotional challenges faced by expert deceivers create a filter that they constantly maneuver through as they continue to practice long-term, high stakes deceptions. Psychological and emotional challenges cause the deceivers to question whether or not they want to continue practicing their deceptions. This question can either weaken or strengthen their behavioral foundation depending upon how they choose to answer it. When the three groups of expert deceivers from this study answered this question with a desire to continue practicing their deceptive behaviors, it was done through either a state of conviction or denial. For the most part, the desire to successfully deceive was reinforced through a conviction associated with achieving a higher goal, such as successful criminal capture by the undercover law enforcement agents or monetary gain by the con artists. The alternative method to reinforcing the willingness to deceive was by simply denying their desire to engage in honest or non-deceptive activity or by denying that there even was a question about their deceptive behaviors in the first place.

In addition to psychological and emotional challenges that can affect deceivers' foundation, societal changes or problems can affect their credibility levels. Expert deceivers study the societal behaviors of the certain group of people, that they wish to infiltrate, to increase their chances of success. However, societies are not stagnant and are in a constant state of change in regards to their behaviors, language usage, and appearances. Therefore, to be successful the expert deceiver has to constantly learn the new credibility standards associated with that particular society. In some cases, the

changes to their environment can be a challenge to their own behavioral abilities in that they cannot or do not want to perform the new socially acceptable or socially desired behaviors.

Hamer (2008), in his account of his undercover assignment into the NAMBLA organization to gain evidence of sex trafficking and pedophilia, discusses how the group decided that they would write Christmas cards to incarcerated members and friends of their organization. This occurred shortly after Hamer gained full membership into the organization and he expressed that he was more uncomfortable completing the correspondence with the inmates than he was with the previous activities he was asked to complete during his probationary membership with the organization.

> Initially, I hated the thought of giving aid and comfort to those incarcerated. For some reason, dealing face-to-face with the membership, knowing that possible incarceration loomed in the future, was easier than offering support to those now in prison. (p.157)

Hamer was ultimately successful at his Christmas card writing experience. By conforming to the desired behavior of the society, Hamer gained further credibility with the group's leadership, and was able to use that credibility to gain trust from the other members, and subsequently gained usable evidence against them for criminal prosecution.

In this manner, expert deceivers' abilities to maintain higher credibility levels by conforming or excelling at performing the socially desired behaviors serves as a continual filter for their deception skills to improve or be successful.

Interaction of the model. There is a constant reciprocal relationship between the individual factors, the contextual filters, and the primary categories of expertise. The individual factors serve as the foundation for the development of the primary categories which are passed through the contextual filters as they develop. Furthermore, the primary categories reinforce the individual factors and constantly strengthen them creating a reciprocal interaction state. The individual factors and the contextual filters have some affect on each other as the deceivers' expertise is developed. How successfully the deceiver navigates through contextual filters can be based on the individual factors. In addition, the contextual filters can serve as an environment to build upon or practice the individual factors of the expert deceiver. As the components interact with each other, the deceiver is able to develop their expertise and increase their chance of deception success, which is the ultimate goal.

CHAPTER VII

Discussion

An expertise in deception is limited to a select few individuals who possess and utilize the unique traits needed to practice the art of high-stakes deception successfully. To gain an understanding of those traits and how they are implemented in the deceivers' social interactions, communication scholars need to pursue new methodological approaches. The purpose of this study was to determine whether useful data could be extracted from the writings of expert deceivers and if so, how it could be meaningfully organized. By using grounded theory methods to analyze the texts of three categories of expert deceivers, new knowledge of how master deceivers develop their deception expertise within the specific category of long-term, high-stakes deceptions was extracted. The results from this particular study adds to the existing body of deception research and opens new avenues for future research that could provide a greater understanding of how deception is perpetrated across social interactions.

Study summary

Using a grounded theory method, the texts in this study were analyzed for potential insight into the methods of how master deceivers gain and use their expertise to engage in successful long-term, high-stakes deceptions. To accomplish that goal, a series of open-coded categories were derived from direct statements and repetition of concepts from the authors of the expert deceivers' autobiographies. The open-coded categories included concepts that directly and indirectly related to Interpersonal Deception Theory

and Information Manipulation Theory (Buller, Strzyzewski, & Comstock, 1991; Burgoon & Buller, 1994; Burgoon, Buller, Guerrero, Afifi, & Feldman, 1996; McCornack, 1992). Deception concepts, such as credibility and believability, were continually repeated throughout the open-coded categories. Members of each group, and in some cases the entire sample of expert deceivers, engaged in a variety of behaviors to reduce suspicion from their audience, guide the conversational interaction, or increase the likelihood that their behaviors would be viewed as truthful.

After establishing the body of open-coded categories, the categories were linked together by analyzing the causal and contextual relationships between them to develop the axial-coded categories. This process was repeated continually as themes and relationships were discovered and reanalyzed by the researcher. Through the axial-coding process, it appeared that the expert deceivers' utilization of accomplices and their abilities to distinguish marks played a significant role in their development of deception expertise and subsequently in successful deception expertise development, thus, further supporting IDT's research findings concerning the importance of the sender-receiver dynamic (Buller, Burgoon, & Guerrero, 1995; Buller, Strzyzewski, & Comstock, 1991). As the story of how deceivers develop their expertise came to life, it seemed natural to organize the information into a functional model. Instead of a step-by-step process, as originally expected, the development of deceiver expertise appears to involve the reciprocated interaction of specific components.

The natural abilities or personality traits of deceivers serve as a base for their successful deception. The expert deceivers' increased nonverbal sensitivity, or ability to quickly read the nonverbal displays of others, and their ability to control their own

nonverbal leakage successfully supports research within all three deception hypotheses and provides support to Ekman and Friesen's research concerning the importance of nonverbal facial expressions as cues to deception (Ekman & Friesen, 1969). By recognizing the existence of their natural traits, expert deceivers then nurture their specific interpersonal communication abilities. It is not so much the existence of the personality traits in individuals, but rather their utilization of those traits to cultivate their advanced communication abilities, that provides the foundation for their deception expertise development. For the most part, this particular nurturing of interpersonal communication abilities starts at an early age and is fairly well developed prior to the implementation of the ability in high-stakes deceptions.

All of the expert deceivers addressed childhood memories which illustrated the development of their communication skills by utilizing their natural personality traits. Marks, one of the con artists, mentions his first scam of pretending to be ill to avoid school which blended his observation of how a mercury thermometer worked along with his ability to "shamelessly fabricate" details of his alleged illness (Marks, 2002, p. 23). His intelligence level along with observation skill blended with his communication abilities to create a situation where he was willing to attempt lying to his parents and medical personnel to avoid being bored in school. In another instance, Clarridge, a future espionage agent, details his "playing out of elaborate scenarios to amuse" himself after watching his grandmother and her political friends engage in debate-style discussions in the family living room. Then he details his debates with his classmates and discusses how surprised he was at his own argumentative success (Clarridge & Diehl, 1997, p. 28). A high intelligence combined with a high communicative ability are traits that are evident

in all of the deceivers from the sample texts and the various scenarios, discussed in the texts, demonstrate that expert deceivers utilize their natural abilities to nurture the communication capabilities that will serve as the foundation of their deception skills.

The willingness to commit high-stakes deceptions is a combination of natural and nurtured abilities or traits and is potentially the driving force behind expert deceivers' extreme desire to constantly raise the stakes in their deceptive activities. However, being driven to do something does not guarantee success. It is the combination of this drive to attempt high-stakes deceptions combined with the deceivers' ability to self-monitor (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984), or analyze their own actions and the actions of others during interpersonal interactions, that makes them masterful deceivers. Additional important capabilities include increased conversational sensitivity and nonverbal sensitivity, as well as an ability to manipulate their impressions on the audience and participants (Daly, Vangelisti, & Daughton, 2006; Hodgins & Zuckerman, 1990; McCornack, 1992). These deceivers, in sum, have a rare mix of natural and nurtured abilities that make them much more than merely "good liars"; it renders them masters of deception.

Additional knowledge derived from the study concerns how expert deceivers navigate through a multitude of contextual factors to successfully deceive others. Because their deceptions were long-term, the deceivers had time to question their motivations and renegotiate their goals or reward desires. They were, moreover, constantly presented with single-instance scenarios that they had no desire to engage in but if they did not perform these undesirable behaviors, their credibility or the whole deception could be at stake. Queen, for example, while working as an undercover cop in the Mongol motorcycle gang, experienced a situation where he was presented with a line of white powder to snort

by a fellow Mongol. Since he was trying to impress this particular person to gain access

to the inner circles of the gang, he could not avoid taking the drugs or else his credibility

as a criminal biker would be damaged. However, as a law enforcement officer, he could

not consume the drugs or his career would be in jeopardy. His skill as an expert deceiver

helped him successfully convince his associate that he partook of the drugs when in

reality he simply used sleight of hand and brushed the powder off the table into his

pocket (Queen, 2005, p. 44). This was just one of many situations where Queen

experienced situations where his personal morals and emotional stability was challenged

by activities the Mongols expected him to engage in. His drive toward putting this group

in jail for their crimes is what kept him focused on achieving a successful deception. All

of the expert deceivers appeared exceptionally quick at maneuvering through

psychological, emotional, and situational obstacles while keeping their eye on the reward

that came from successfully completing their deceptions.

The researcher's analysis demonstrated that an apparent reciprocal interaction

exists between the natural, nurtured, and situational components of the master deceiver's

development of deception expertise. It would be easy to assume that the development of

an expertise is processual in nature. That is to say, this development starts with a natural

personality trait mix that is subsequently nurtured by the environments in which the

individual interacts on a regular basis. In the case of deception expertise, however, the

natural traits are also seemingly bolstered by the nurtured traits and the environmental

factors.

Similar to athletes who hone their natural skills with continual practice and game-

play, expert deceivers modify and enhance their natural communication abilities through

continual application during progressively higher stakes deception interactions. Their nonverbal and verbal sensitivities become more efficient and effortless when utilized by deceivers within their interactions. Additionally, the expert deceivers constantly learn new jargon, behaviors, and supporting information, such as group histories, economic factors, and psychological knowledge, of the people they are portraying or interacting with effectively maintaining and building up their high intelligence levels and communication skills.

In turn, the natural traits strengthen the nurtured traits and determine how the individuals guide themselves through the environmental factors. The expert deceivers' intelligence and memory skills help them determine and remember what information they need to learn to be successful in their deceptive interactions with particular people. Furthermore, their high level of communication capabilities and nonverbal sensitivity are utilized so well by the deceivers that they do not have to consciously focus on how they are implementing these abilities within their interactions.

Finally, the environmental factors are reduced or increased in their effect on the natural and nurtured traits by the traits mixing and interacting with each other. The reciprocal effect of the components on each other makes it difficult to isolate how the development of the master deceiver's expertise starts. Moreover, there are underlying processes occurring within the reciprocal interaction and they contribute to the constant developmental nature of the deception expertise. While the intricacy of the expert deceivers' abilities is obvious, it does give us some new insight into how deception evolves from the perspective of the deceiver.

Perhaps the most intriguing finding from the research is that master deceivers appear to have utilized the same techniques to develop their deception expertise throughout the last eighty years. Across all the texts utilized within the current study, there were differences in how the individuals spoke, dressed, engaged technology, and addressed social biases. However, their methods of deception expertise development that underlied and guided the aforementioned behaviors appeared to be largely the same from 1936 to 2005. Thus, it would appear that the same skill set is needed to develop deception expertise no matter what societal changes occur over time. Therefore, the knowledge derived from the current study looks as if it would be applicable to current and future research into deception.

Implications for current research

The current body of deception research focuses both on analyzing the external cues of deception that deceivers produce and also on comprehending the underlying motivations or intentions of the deceiver to commit deceptions; primarily, to tell verbal lies. This research study also analyzes the external cues and the underlying intentions of the deceiver. However, there is an additional focus on the psychological and social abilities that the deceiver views as pertinent to performing his/her deception successfully. This provides new deception information from the perspective of the deceiver instead of focusing on detecting deception as an observer or listener. The cognitive, emotional, and attempted control processes are obvious within the master deceiver's expertise development and demonstrate that the varying research viewpoints are not isolated from each other or inherently more correct than one another but seemingly function together within the deceiver to formulate better deception skills (Caso, Gnisci, Vrij, & Mann,

2005; Lakhani & Taylor, 2003). It would appear, then, that detecting the deception of the expert deceiver would require a blend of analyses concerning all three deception research lenses.

Master deceivers engage in multiple categories of deception simultaneously during their social interactions. They tell verbal lies, commit deceptive crimes, engage in unlies and masks, and blend them seamlessly together to achieve their desired consequences (Hopper & Bell, 1984). There is a need for more research in the various categories of deception, outside of just verbal lies, to give us a greater understanding into the cognitive and emotional processes that occur when particular types of deceptions are employed in societal interactions.

Abagnale, considered one of the best con artists of the twentieth century, created entirely false identities as an airline pilot, a doctor, a lawyer, and an executive. He learned the jargon and social behaviors associated with each of his adopted professions. During each of his impersonations, he wrote thousands of dollars worth of fraudulent checks to fund his lifestyle. However, it is pertinent to note that for the most part the statements he told to his audience were truthful to his false identity and were supported, as truth, with fake documents that he forged. This limited the actual amount of time he spent exhibiting cues associated with verbal lies. Emotionally, he experienced a "rush" from successfully convincing someone that he was who he said he was and from portraying each character. Moreover, cognitively, he used his high intelligence to study and learn the behaviors needed to be successful at his impersonations (Abagnale & Redding, 2000).

In another instance, Moran (2005), who was working for the CIA, utilized a combination of masks, verbal lies, unlies, and crimes throughout her career as an espionage agent. At one point during her career, Moran experienced a situation where she was accompanied by friends associated with her real identity into a dive bar to associate with potential criminals. The purpose of venturing into the bar was to gain information for CIA usage from the criminal individuals, who were associated with Moran through one of her false identities (pp. 255-259). She was able to engage in her deceptive identity successfully without raising suspicion in her real friends. In telling the story of this particular memory, Moran expresses how this particular incident was cognitively and emotionally difficult to handle and yet, she managed to utilize a blend of deceptions successfully through her deception expertise because the rewards for being successful were extremely high, both professionally and in her personal relationships.

There is a mix of cognitive and emotional processes that underlie the successful blend of deceptive behaviors and these are often stimulated by the potential rewards for successful deceptions. In the case of Abagnale, he enjoyed the monetary gain and the social status associated with his various roles so he learned new behaviors and ignored emotional hardships to continue receiving the rewards of his successful deceptions. By simply understanding and responding to the cues associated with verbal lies, law enforcement officers were unable to detect that Abagnale was perpetrating multiple deceptions and consequently they repeatedly released him back into society to engage in further criminal behavior. This allowed Abagnale the ability to continue to practice his deception skills until they reached expert levels. In the case of Moran, she enjoyed the rewards of successfully performing her job duties and the lifestyle she was experiencing

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living in Eastern Europe so she perfected her deception skills and rationalized the

emotional hardships that she endured during her career. By understanding the methods

that expert deceivers employ and recognizing their psychological trials during their

deceptive performances, espionage agencies would be capable of designing or arranging

their programs to benefit the agencies' needs and provide psychological support to their

agents so that they would not perpetually end their careers early due to increased stress

levels.

The results of this study demonstrate that there is useful information to be

garnered by studying expert deceivers and how they successfully combine the various

categories of deception. By taking what we have already garnered from current deception

research and exploring new types of deceptive behaviors, scholars would potentially be

able to provide those who engage in deception detection a more comprehensive

understanding into the emotional states and cognitive processes of deceivers. In the same

way, studying deception through alternative sources, such as texts, could provide scholars

with information or new research questions that may not be derived during face-to-face

interviews.

Face-to-face interviews are limited by the questions that the interviewer decides

to ask the interviewee. Additionally, face-to-face interviews have a rapport component

that can affect the interaction between the participants and the interviewers. If the

interviewer does not think of specific questions that would garner the information desired

or if the interviewee does not form a rapport with the interviewer, they may omit specific

details or entire bodies of information. By using texts or other sources, researchers may

be able to uncover ideas they had not previously considered. Furthermore, expert

deceivers may be more likely to provide insight into their exploits when they are just

offering the information to a broad unseen audience as opposed to a single individual that

they can manipulate for their own gains. However, along with potential benefits to

utilizing alternate sources, there are limitations.

Limitations

The study of texts, as opposed to other sources, has its limitations. By analyzing

autobiographies, the available information is limited by what the authors chose to provide

about their exploits and the development of their skills. Additionally, the sample size is

limited because master deceivers tend not to divulge their expertise until they have made

the decision to cease their deceptive activities permanently. This decision has the

potential to never occur or to occur very late in life, leaving researchers with very limited

access to expert deceivers. However, when compared to the availability of personal

interviews, the autobiographical texts provide researchers with access to sources of

information from deceased individuals effectively broadening the source sample. Another

limitation is the narrative style of the expert deceivers' writings. The simple fact that

these texts are written by experts at deception potentially indicate that their writings may

not be as explicitly truthful as one would hope. Additionally, the author's desire to tell a

good story and attract an audience may influence the author's choice of language and

writing style along with a certain level of embellishment to his/her actual memories and

activities.

There are also obvious limitations associated with performing a study using

grounded theory methodology and they should not be discounted. Grounded theory

requires a certain level of researcher sensitivity in relationship to the study topic, which

undermines researchers' ability to sustain some level of objectivity during the performance of their research. Discussions of whether an etic or an emic researcher perspective is more objective and reliable serve as the primary focus of grounded theory researchers in their quest to explicate the validity of using this particular theoretical base for productive research (Creswell, 2007; Scott & Howell, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This particular study has attempted to maintain an emic researcher perspective, whereby the researcher tries to allow the subjects' understanding of their realities to provide the data for analysis.

Grounded theorists also have differing perspectives as to whether or not grounded theory methodology should become more systemized to achieve greater ecological validity (Charmaz, 2000; Seaman, 2008). Grounded theory is still, in many ways, a developing theory and that poses difficulties for novice researchers, such as the current researcher, to understand the theoretical base and then utilize the methodologies in new research studies. The current author chose to utilize matrixes and methods of grounded theory research that have proven useful in other studies. Nonetheless, despite the weaknesses inherent in the analytical method used in this study, grounded theory methods provided the current researcher a theory-based approach with which to analyze the texts of the expert deceivers.

Gaining an understanding into how deceivers view deception and develop their deception skills can help develop new avenues of deception research. In addition to future research, knowledge of expert deception skills can provide vital information for the development of deception detection training programs. Law enforcement agents, for

example, can utilize the knowledge derived from this study, and future research, to develop better interviewing and interrogation techniques.

Currently, law enforcement training programs focus on teaching agents the cues associated with verbal lies so that the agents are better equipped to determine suspect truths from lies (Gordon, Fleisher, & Weingberg, 2002; Hess, 1997). By providing law enforcement agents with the knowledge of how other forms of deception are utilized by deceivers and how to recognize the cognitive and emotional processes behind various deceptions, agents would be better able to control or manipulate the interview or interrogation settings and interactions to gain more useful information from suspects. Understanding the behaviors leading up to a crime, controlling the flow of communication, and asking the right questions to get the information they desire is the goal of any interrogation or interviewer (Gordon & Fleisher, Effective interviewing and interrogation techniques, 2006, pp. 33-45).

Overall, by supplying information about expert deceivers especially those who engage in criminal behaviors, scholars would be able to provide law enforcement agencies with the tools to design more comprehensive training programs. Moreover, scholars would also be able to study the experts, which would assist them in teaching new undercover agents how to develop their deception or impersonation skills and increase their chances of undercover success. By understanding how master deceivers develop expertise, law enforcement agents would be capable of matching their skills with the deceivers' skills to circumvent the development of high-stakes deceptions and additional criminal activities.

Conclusion

The findings of this study demonstrate that there is knowledge to be gained from analyzing the experts of deception. Grounded theory methods allowed for an analysis of texts that could serve as a stepping-stone to developing future studies that analyze various forms of deception. Given the constant rise of criminal deception, especially in the form of identity theft, it is essential to provide law enforcement with the best tools available to protect and serve our society. Understanding the underlying processes and social interaction behavior of expert deceivers can give us greater insight into how to develop countermeasures that are successful at reducing or eliminating the social effects of their actions. Continuing research into expert deception should be continued and may provide scholars with insights, research avenues, and application capabilities that we have not yet fathomed.

Appendix A

Open-Coded Categories

100% of Sample Experienced	100% of Single Group Experienced	Over 50% of Sample Experienced
Personal Moral Standards	Desire to Prove Oneself	Good Liar as a Child
Nonverbal Sensitivity to Others	Driven to Break Societal Rules	Withdraws from Interpersonal Relationship
Risk Taker	Charismatic Personality	
Sought Challenges	Self-Reliant	Felt Guilt From Their Actions
Good Impromptu Liar	Can Be Truthful	Believes is a Bad Liar
Rationalized Deceptive Behavior	Knew Was a Criminal	Struggled with "Snowball" Effect of Lying
Learned Jargon/Social Behaviors	Admired "Classy" Behavior or Status	Struggled/Loss of Real Identity During Deception
Intelligent/Quick Learner	Can Disguise True Emotional States	Associated Specific Traits to "Marks"
Observant	Knew/Maintained Real Identity	
Good Memory Skills	Impulsive	Learned to Design Believable Verbal Lies
	Felt Nervous in Specific Situations	
	Curiosity Overrides Their Fear	Started With Small Deceptions
	Ego	
	Compulsive	Can Spot a "Mark"
	Street Smart	Used Distractions Within Setting
	Competitive	
	Maintained Character 24/7	
	Good Control of Nonverbal Behavior	Knowledge of "Role" Aided Successful Deception
	Good Speaker/Converser	Incorporated Details From "Real" Identity
	Avoided Negative Consequences	
	Used Accomplices	
	Emotional High From Success	
	Charming/Courteous	
	Good Imagination	
	Blend in With Society	
	Intuitive	
	Patriotic Calling to Job	

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