Codes of Conduct

Credibility judgment and the influence of communication style in cross-cultural interaction

Susan Fooladi and Christin N. Dietrichson



Master's Thesis, Department of Psychology UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

June 2012

Codes of Conduct: Credibility judgement and the influence of
communication style in cross-cultural interaction
© Susan Fooladi & Christin N. Dietrichson
2012
«Codes of Conduct» - Credibility judgment and the influence of communication style in cross-cultural interaction
Susan Fooladi & Christin N. Dietrichson
http://www.duo.uio.no/
Trykk: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

IV

Abstract

Authors: Susan E. Fooladi & Christin Nicolaysen Dietrichson

Title: Codes of Conduct: Credibility judgement and the influence of

communication style in cross-cultural interaction

Supervisor: Ellen M. Wessel

The current study examined the influence of an unfamiliar communication style on perceived credibility and guilt in a Norwegian setting. Participants (n= 178) were randomly assigned to one of four different conditions, in a 2 (ethnicity; Norwegian, Non-Norwegian) x2 (statement length; long, short) factorial design. Participants were instructed to read one of two different statements made by an accused narcotics trafficker. One statement included communication characteristics common to the Norwegian language and the second statement included communication characteristics common to the Arabic language. Ethnicity was indicated by the use of a traditionally Norwegian or a traditionally Arabic name. Dependent measures included ratings of perceived credibility and guilt. The results indicate that defendants of a Non-Norwegian background are likely to be perceived as more credible if able to conform to Norwegian language norms. Perceived emotionality was associated with a decrease in guilty-verdicts for the ingroup-member. For the outgroup-member, higher perceived emotionality resulted in lower credibility ratings. Male and female participants differed considerably in terms of assigned scores on all measures: female participants were consistently found to give lower scores when compared to male participants.

Keywords: law; due process; culture; intercultural communication; cognition; stereotype-formation; expectancy violations theory; bias; credibility; judgement

Acknowledgements

We would first and foremost like to thank our thesis supervisor. Dr. Wessel's enthusiasm and sense of humour has kept us motivated throughout the process, and her skilful guidance has allowed us to examine the phenomena under investigation in a productive and coherent manner. We would also like to thank Heidi Christophersen and the Division of Student and Academic Affairs (STA) at the University of Oslo for helping us with the distribution of our test-material. Finally, we would like to thank our families for the support they have provided throughout the process.

Table of Contents

Abstract	VI
Introduction	1
Cognitive mechanisms of stereotyping	4
Social identity theory.	5
Self-categorization theory.	5
Expectancies.	6
Communication	7
Communication in court.	7
Cultural dimensions in communication	8
Cultural differences expressed.	9
Communication expectancies and expectancy violations theory.	10
Culture and expectancy violations.	12
The present study	12
Hypotheses.	12
Method	13
Participants	13
Materials	13
Statements.	13
Questionnaire.	14
Procedure	14
Results	15
1. The Impact of Outgroup Ethnicity on Perceived Credibility, Reliableness and Guilt	15
The impact of Condition on Perceived Credibility and Perceived Reliableness	16
Guilty Verdicts.	16
Additional analysis	17
Verdict	20
2. Expectancy Violation	21
Guilty verdicts.	21
3. Intra-group expectancies	22
4. Emotionality and judgement	
Discussion	
1. Ethnicity and Credibility/Guilt	25

2. Expectancy violations	25
3. Intra-group expectancies	27
4. Emotionality and judgement	28
Gender differences	29
Conclusion	31
Limitations	32
References	34
Appendix	42
The statements	42
Short Statement	42
Long statement	43
Questionnaire	44
Recruitment email	48

Introduction

As is the case across most of Europe, the Norwegian population is rapidly changing (Coleman, 2008). Norway is subject to increasing arrivals of immigrants and refugees from non-western countries (Cappelen & Skjerpen, 2012), and some of these migrants have, and will continue to have encounters with the Norwegian legal system (e.g., Nafstad, 2011; Sandberg, 2008; Skilbrei & Tveit, 2011). The problems inherent in such encounters are many. Some problems may be rooted in the individual's lacking understanding of the Norwegian justice system and its proceedings, others may be rooted in the courts lacking understanding of how cultural variables may affect the defendant's decision-making processes, explanatory styles and ultimately, his or her perceived truthfulness.

Due process in a court of law depends partially on the defendant's ability to understand, and to be understood (Andenæs, Gotaas, Nilsen & Papendorf, 2000). Central principles in Norwegian criminal law include the principle of oral hearing, the principle of immediacy and the principle of contradiction. The measures are in place to ensure a fair and sufficiently informed trial (Andenæs, 2009). The principle of oral hearing requires that all evidence, including defendant and witness statements be delivered orally. Written statements must also be read out loud (Andenæs, 2009). The principle of immediacy requires that the evidence used in the final ruling must be presented directly to the members of the court (Andenæs, 2009). That is, defendants, witnesses and/or expert witnesses *must* present their own testimonies in court, and can therefore not be represented by a third party. The principle of contradiction is a measure to ensure that the defendant is given the opportunity to address and/or refute statements or accusations made against him or her (Andenæs, 2009). It also allows the involved parties to address possible misunderstandings and ambiguities (Andenæs et al., 2000). The line of argument in Norwegian courts is partially determined by the formal, bureaucratic language of the law-professionals, and partially determined by the codes of argumentation found in formal Norwegian language (Andenæs et al., 2000).

Norwegian defense lawyers report encountering difficulties in working with defendants of a Non-Norwegian background. The problems include a "seeming inability to answer simple 'yes/no' questions in a concise manner" and a failure to "get to the point" (Andenæs et al., 2000). The defense lawyers react by encouraging defendants to be 'more concise' and to give 'concrete answers' in an effort to make the argument fit the Norwegian context. The reasoning behind the strategy is well-founded. A qualitative study found that the

manner in which an argument was presented influenced how Norwegian judges perceived a defendant: an unfamiliar style of argumentation was found to negatively influence perceived credibility (Andenæs et al., 2000). Judges reported that the unfamiliar style made the argument seem 'constructed' and not entirely sincere (Andenæs et al., 2000). As such, it was not the verbal or nonverbal language that influenced judgment, but rather how the defendant approached the argument (Andenæs et al., 2000). It is thus evident that culture and language are influential in shaping the line of argument in Norwegian courts.

Kalin (1986) maintains that law and legal systems are cultural products that are shaped and structured according to given society's values, ideas and dominant belief-system (p. 230). The cultural basis of law is furthermore said to be influential in determining the behaviour of individuals participating in legal procedures (Kalin, 1986). Participants who are already well-familiar with a given culture are also likely to have a basic (if not more extensive) understanding of what is considered appropriate conduct and expression in a court-setting. This knowledge would likely be reflected in the individual's conduct, that is, his or her behaviour in court. On the contrary, individuals whom are *not* intimately familiar with the codes of conduct of the dominant majority may behave in a manner that is perceived as odd or not appropriate for the context.

A wide range of factors have been found to influence judgements of credibility in a judicial setting (Vrij, Dragt & Koppelaar, 1992). Among these are attractiveness, dress, nonverbal behaviours and aspects of verbal production such as dialect, sociolect and explanatory style (Erickson, Lind, Johnson & O'Barr, 1978; Vrij & Firmin, 2001). Studies examining the influence of physical attractiveness on perceived credibility have found that research participants generally believe that attractive individuals are less likely to perpetrate a crime when compared to unattractive individuals (Saladin, Saper & Breen, 1988). Similarly, several studies have found that even among experienced interrogators, untidily dressed mocksuspects (Vrij, 1993) or mock-suspects dressed in black (Vrij, 2008) were likely to be perceived as more suspicious when compared to mock-suspects who were dressed smartly and in lighter colours. Researchers (Wessel et al., 2012) have also found that displayed emotions in court may influence research participants beliefs about the credibility of a defendant. The absence of emotional expression is perceived as suspect and is subsequently punished with lower credibility scores (Wessel et al., 2012). In terms of verbal behaviours, "powerless speech" that is, speech characterized by abundant use of hedges, modifiers,

intensifiers, polite form and rising inflection/intonation, is consistently perceived as less credible than the more concise and direct "powerful speech" (Erickson, Lind, Johnson & O'Barr, 1978; Smith, Siltanen & Hosman, 1998). The powerless style is generally found among people low in social power and status, and there is evidence to suggest that the effect of speech style is greater in same-sex evaluations than in opposite-sex evaluations (Erickson, Lind, Johnson & O'Barr, 1978). A narrative style of testimony, that is, a testimony in which the prosecution/defence asks relatively few questions and instead allows the defendant to explain her story in her own words, is also perceived to be more truthful than a fragmented style of testimony, in which the defendant is instructed to answer questions in a brief and concise manner (Conley, O'Barr & Lind, 1978; Erickson, Lind, Johnson & O'Barr, 1978). Taken together, these findings suggest that the cues or indicators most frequently used in determining credibility are rather arbitrary and may in fact have little relation to the actual truthfulness of a defendant.

Research has found few reliable cues to deception, however, both professionals (e.g., police officers) and laypeople believe they are adept lie-detectors (Hartwig, Granhag, Strømwall & Kronkvist, 2006; Vrij, 2008). It is for instance widely believed that gaze is a fairly accurate indicator of an individual's guilt or innocence (Vrij, 2008). Both laypeople and professionals alike have been found to believe that an averted gaze is indicative of deception, despite there being no evidence to suggest a relationship between the two factors (Vrij, 2008). Studies have also examined deception in a cross-cultural perspective (e.g., Bond, Omar, Mahmoud & Bonser, 1990) and the findings indicate that deception detection across cultures is considerably more fraught with errors than in cases where deception detection is within a culture (Bond et al., 1990). Bond et al., (1990) found that both Jordanian and American research participants frequently believed the same cues (e.g., evasive eye contact, pauses in mid-sentence) were indicative of deception. The findings of the study suggested that both groups performed slightly above chance in judging deception in own culture, while both American and Jordanian participants were seemingly unable to detect deception in outgroup members (Bond, et al., 1990). In later, more extensive research it was found that Jordanian, American and Indian participants were indeed able to detect deception in outgroup members but then at margins only slightly above chance (Bond & Atoum, 2000). There are of course factors other than perceived deception (or lack thereof) that may influence impressions of credibility in a judicial setting. Swedish researcher Lindholm (2008) examined perceived reliability of in and outgroup members in mock-eyewitness testimonies. It was found that

subjective confidence swayed Swedish research participants judgements of accuracy and reliability in a positive direction; however, this was only the case when mock-eyewitnesses were from the ingroup (Lindholm, 2008). In cases where mock-eyewitnesses were from the outgroup (in Lindholm (2008) simply described as "immigrants"), neither factual accuracy nor subjective confidence were found to influence judgements. The outgroup eyewitnesses were (regardless of factual accuracy and subjective confidence) judged to be on par with lowaccurate Swedes, suggesting that judging accuracy and confidence might be problematic in cross-cultural interactions (Lindholm, 2008). In other research on possible intergroup biases in a Scandinavian context, findings suggest that innocent immigrants are more likely to be mistakenly identified as the culprit in mock police line-ups (Lindholm & Christianson, 1998). Lindholm proposes that this may be due to stereotyped views of immigrants as more likely to commit criminal acts, which in turn is suggested to be caused by well publicized media accounts of immigrants' overrepresentation in Swedish crime statistics (Lindholm & Christianson, 1998). It should be noted that the bias was evident in both Swedish and Non-Swedish participants, a finding Lindholm (1998) explains may have been due to participants expectancies (or stereotyped beliefs) about ethnicity and criminality in the Swedish context (p. 721). These studies illustrate that deception detection is particularly difficult when actors come from differing cultural backgrounds. In cases where actors do not have a shared understanding of cultural norms and expectations, stereotypes may come to inform judgement.

Cognitive mechanisms of stereotyping

Social stereotypes are thought to develop from a confluence of different mechanisms (Mackie, Hamilton, Susskind & Rosselli, 1996). That is, perception, cognition, affective, motivational and sociocultural factors all play a part in their development (Mackie, et al., 1996). How information is processed influences the content and complexity of the stereotype. Data-driven processing (i.e., bottom up) is likely to give a more complex and factually correct stereotype than conceptually driven, or 'Top-down' processing (Fiske, 1993; Galotti, 2008). Stereotypes serve the purpose of making information processing simpler by allowing individuals to rely on previously stored knowledge to understand and categorize new information (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996). As such, they function as a form of cognitive heuristics that are based on associations between social groups and traits (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; McGarty, Yzerbyt & Spears, 2002). The associations between traits and groups may be favourable or unfavourable (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006) but generally,

stereotypes about ingroups and ingroup members tend to be more favourable than stereotypes about outgroups (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Hilton & von Hippel, 1996). The tendency towards positive ingroup-evaluation and negative outgroup evaluation may be explained by way of Tajfel & Turner's (1979) social identity theory and Turner et al., self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987).

Social identity theory. The assumption behind social identity theory is that social categories, or groups, provide individuals with social identities relative to other groups and individuals (Hogg & Vaughan, 2011; Trepte, 2006). The theory arose in an effort to explain intergroup discrimination and competition in Tajfel's 'minimal group paradigm' (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971; Turner, 1999) in which the researchers found that simply categorizing research participants into distinct groups elicited intergroup competition and discrimination (Turner, 1999). The process itself is believed to have created a new social identity for the research participants (Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner, 1999) and the new social identity elicited positive ingroup evaluations and negative outgroup evaluations, a finding the researchers believe reflects individuals need for a positive social identity (Turner, 1999). Social identities have a descriptive function and a prescriptive function, that is, they inform about the attributes of the group or category, and prescribe how group members should think or behave (Hogg & Vaughan, 2011).

Self-categorization theory. Self-categorization theory functions as an extension of social identity theory (Turner, 1999). Though separate theories, they arose from the same conceptual framework, function in a complimentary manner and are frequently described together under the headings "social identity processes" or "the social identity approach" (Turner, 1999). Self-categorization theory started, according to Turner (1999): "...with the distinction between social identity (self-definitions in terms of social category membership) and personal identity (self-definitions in terms of personal or idiosyncratic attributes)" (p 11). Self-categorization is thought to cause self-stereotyping and a depersonalization of self-perception (Turner, 1999). This in turn is reflected in an enhanced perceptual similarity between the self and other ingroup members, and an enhanced perceptual dissimilarity between ingroup members and outgroup members; i.e., the self becomes depersonalized and both out and ingroup members are stereotyped according to salient social categorizations (Turner, 1999). Simply put then, when individuals self-categorize, the process causes them to perceive the self as part of a larger collective self. Similarities with other group members are

accentuated, differences within the group are perceptually reduced, and stereotypical differences between the ingroup and outgroup come to the fore. As a result, norms, values and beliefs within the group are perceived as consensual, and this perceived agreement may give the illusion of reflecting an external objective reality (Turner, 1999). Thus, it would be reasonable to assume that social identity processes could lead individuals to rely on stereotypes to inform judgements in interactions with outgroup members.

Expectancies. Individuals differ substantially in how they attend to, perceive, interpret and recall environmental stimuli (Goldstein, 2007; Lindholm & Bergvall, 2006). As such, two different individuals can encounter the exact same set of stimuli but may nevertheless present substantially different accounts of the event (Goldstein, 2007; Lindholm & Bergvall, 2006). Factors that contribute to these differences range from the physiological (e.g., visual acuity) to more subjective psychological factors such as expectations and experiences (Lindholm & Bergvall, 2006). Linville's (1982) Complexity-Extremity theory is particularly useful in explaining the content of stereotypes and how these may come to influence and/or inform judgement. The Complexity-Extremity theory rests on the assumption that people have more contact, and therefore more complex knowledge about members of the ingroup compared to members of an outgroup (Linville & Jones, 1980; Linville, 1982; Tan, Fujioka & Lucht, 1997). This knowledge (or lack thereof) is believed to influence judgements (Linville, 1982). In cases where an individual belongs to an ingroup, the assessor has a larger number of independent dimensions on which to draw from when making a judgement; this in turn is likely to result in a more complex and therefore less extreme evaluation. Contrary, in cases where an individual belongs to an outgroup, the assessor has fewer dimensions on which to draw from when making judgements; this is likely to result in a more extreme evaluation (Jussim, Coleman & Lerch, 1987). If the dimension being addressed is 'potential criminality' it would be reasonable to expect that judgements would differ. Ingroup members would likely be assessed on a broader range of dimensions, and might therefore be evaluated more fairly. Outgroup members risk being evaluated on only a few dimensions however, and if some of the beliefs about the group to which he or she belongs are biased (e.g., because of extensive media coverage of criminality in that particular group), the biases can determine how the individual is perceived and judged.

Communication

Communication in court. The term 'communication' is subject to several definitions (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). In the most parsimonious conceptualization, communication is simply defined as 'transmission of information' (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). Communication is an integral part of the culture-concept (Hall, 1959; Mendoza, Halualani, Drzewiecka, 2002; Park, 1938) as evident from Hall's (1959) definition of culture, which maintains that "Culture is communication and communication is culture" (p. 169). According to Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), personal control and access to social power is determined by the communicators ability to express him or herself in a manner appropriate for the context. That is, an individual's communicative skills influences his or her ability to establish their rights and to control their environment (p. 4). Since law and legal systems are cultural products (Kalin, 1986), what is perceived as 'proper' communication in court is subject to cultural variability (Andenæs et al., 2000; Kalin, 1986). Unfamiliarity and a lacking understanding of the communicative expectations in an unfamiliar judicial system could most certainly result in a failure to establish ones rights and to control ones environment. It is therefore most productive to view communication as a function of culture and to examine the concept "in terms of its effects on people's lives" (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982, p. 1).

Conversation is thought to be guided by a set of tacit assumptions outlined by Grice in the theory of the cooperative principle (Grice, 1975). The assumptions, or 'maxims' provide norms for discourse and include the maxim of quality, which assumes that a speaker tells the truth; the maxim of quantity, which requires the speaker to provide an adequate (but not excessive) amount of information; the maxim of relevance (or 'relation') which assumes that the speaker responds in a manner relevant to the topic, and the maxim of manner, in which the speaker is expected to be direct, orderly and to avoid ambiguity (Grice, 1975). The model is not ideal however. The use of vague and value-laden terminology (Pratt, 1986) is problematic, and though the maxims were initially said to be universal (Grice, 1975), research has found that this is not always the case (Keenan, 1976). Nevertheless, the implicit and explicit rules for discourse in Western courts are in accordance with the Gricean maxims (Penman, 1987) and as such, they function to explain communication in Norwegian courts.

Research has found that migrants from a non-Western, primarily Muslim background have considerable contact with the Norwegian Justice System (Skardhamar, Thorsen & Henriksen, 2011). It was therefore decided that the analysis in this thesis should centre on

differences in communication expectations and communication patterns in Arabic and Northern European (or Norwegian) cultures.

Cultural dimensions in communication. The individualism-collectivism continuum is considered the core dimension of cultural variability (Auyeung & Sands, 1996; Trubisky, Ting-Toomey & Lin, 1991). Cultures situated in the global North (e.g., North American and Western European cultures) tend to be considered individualistic, while cultures situated in the global South (e.g., African, the majority of Asian cultures) tend to be considered collectivistic (Hofstede, 2001). Briefly explained, the difference between the two is in how individuals within the culture perceive the self in relation to others. Within individualistic cultures, identity is perceived in terms of personal attributes, while in collectivistic societies, identity is defined in terms of group-attributes (Hogg & Vaughan, 2011). An earlier but similar framework is found in Hall's High-Context and Low-Context continuum (Zaharna, 1995). The distribution of High and Low Context cultures follow roughly the same pattern as that of the collectivism-individualism divide, with High-Context cultures found largely in the global South and with Low-Context cultures found largely in the global North (Barrett, 2005; Zaharna, 1995). Within-culture, or 'monocultural communication' is similarity-based (Bennett, 1998). That is, actors within the culture have a similar cultural frame of reference, they speak a common language, they have comparable behavioural patterns and they have similar understanding of the implicit values of the culture (Bennett, 1998). Contrary, communication between people of different cultures, or 'intercultural communication' is difference-based (Bennett, 1998). That is, actors (may) have dissimilar values, behavioural patterns, display rules, languages and frames of reference, depending on the distance between the two cultures (Bennett, 1998; Ekman & Friesen, 1969).

Intercultural theorists typically juxtapose fundamental cultural differences that have been found to influence communication (Zaharna, 1995). One such division is between predominantly oral and literate societies (Havelock, 1991). Norwegian society is considered predominantly literate (Burke, 1977) and as such, one may expect a preference for analytical, evidence-based rational explanatory style among Norwegians (Zaharna, 1995). Oral cultures, of which the Arabic culture is one, place a higher premium on symbolism, intuition, style and aesthetics, and are less concerned with precision and reasoned analyses (Zaharna, 1995). Hall's (1976) previously mentioned 'High-Context and Low-Context continuum' addresses cultural differences in how much information is found in code (that is, explicitly stated) and how much information is found in the context. Norwegian culture is considered 'Low-

Context' (Barrett, 2005; Nguyen, Heeler & Taran, 2007) and as such, little meaning is placed in the context and communication can be expected to be explicit, analytical and unambiguous (Zaharna, 1995). In contrast, Arab cultures fall into the 'High-Context' end of the continuum (Rice, 2003; Zaharna, 1995). Therefore, more meaning is internalized in the individual or situated in the physical context, and the listener must necessarily be aware of contextual cues in order to fully comprehend the message (Hall, 1976). Levine (1985) offers a third set of dimensions in distinguishing between 'Indirect and Direct' communication styles. The model is similar to Hall's High Context-Low Context continuum. The indirect style is common in Arabic cultures, and is more ambiguous, more emotionally rich and is primarily aimed at creating emotional resonance (Levine, 1985). In contrast, the direct style found in Western cultures avoids emotional overtones and ambiguity and strives for accuracy and precision (Levine, 1985; Zaharna, 1995). A fourth distinction is between Linear and Non-linear cultural thought patterns (Dodd, 1982). The linear thought pattern is characterized by its orderliness; it follows events chronologically, values empiricism and stresses presentation of singular themes (Zaharna, 2004). The linear thought-pattern is typically found in individualistic cultures (Zaharna, 2004), and is the predominant style in Norway (Usunier & Roulin, 2010). The non-linear thought pattern is characterized by several themes co-occurring. Verbal utterances are frequently aided or emphasized by non-verbal behaviour, and people and events are typically prioritized over time orientation and orderliness (Dodd, 1982; Zaharna, 2004). The non-linear style is typically found in collectivistic cultures and is the predominant style in Arabic countries (Zaharna, 1995). To sum up, Arabian culture is an oral, non-linear and highcontext culture (Zaharna, 1995). Subsequently, individuals from this background can be expected to value intuition, aesthetics and emotionality in expression. Contrarily, Norwegian culture is a literate, linear and low-context culture (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005; Dodd, 1982; Hall, 1976; Levine, 1985; Nguyen, Heeler & Taran, 2007). Individuals of a Norwegian background could therefore be expected to value reason, logic, precision and orderliness in expression. The Arabic model of communication stresses language as a social conduit, and the Western, (or Norwegian) model values language as a tool for transmitting information (Zaharna, 1995).

Cultural differences expressed. The aforementioned cultural differences lead to specific differences in expression, some of which could be particularly problematic in a court of law. The use of exaggeration is one such case. Where people from Western cultures may find exaggeration to be boastful, insincere or even suspect, people from Arabic cultures

frequently use exaggeration as a literary device (Shouby, 1951; Zaharna, 1995). A similar example is that of repetition. Arabic speakers use repetition as a way to emphasize a point and to create emotional resonance (Johnstone, 1991; Zaharna, 1995). In the West however, repetition may be sparingly used as a rhetorical device, but overuse is seen as unnecessary, verbose and (potentially) insulting to the listener (Zaharna, 1995). People from Arabic cultures have also been found to prefer indirect forms of expression (Feghali, 1997). This is in direct contrast to the direct and specific speech-style in the West (Zaharna, 1995). In interactions between the two cultures, the direct approach may be perceived as rude and intrusive to Arabic speakers, while the indirect approach is likely to appear ambiguous, confusing and even deceptive to individuals from Western cultures (Zaharna, 1995). Moreover, people of Western descent tend to directly link word and action, as evidenced by phrases like 'practice what you preach' while in Arabic cultures, words are more readily tied to emotions than to direct action (Almaney, 1981; Zaharna, 1995). As such, individuals from Arabic cultures may indeed speak without intending to act, a factor Zaharna suggests may have contributed to a negative and stereotyped image of Arabs in the West (Zaharna, 1995). A final difference is found in individuals preference for imagery or accuracy. Individuals from Western countries prefer accuracy while Arab speakers utilize metaphors and analogies in an effort to engage listeners (Shouby, 1951; Zaharna, 1995). Arab speakers also tend to be considerably more liberal in using adverbs and descriptive adjectives to emphasize a message (Zaharna, 1995). Zaharna upholds that the frequent use of vivid metaphors, aided by descriptive adjectives and adverbs may be perceived as peculiar or even outlandish by American speakers (Zaharna, 1995). What makes for a compelling argument is therefore determined by the cultural backdrop, and what is perceived as 'correct expression' in one culture may be perceived very differently in others.

Communication expectancies and expectancy violations theory. Communication expectancies are patterns of anticipated verbal and nonverbal behaviour (Andersen, Hecht, Hoobler & Smallwood, 2002). Where there are several cultural groups residing in the same geographical area, one may expect differences in expectancies towards ingroup and outgroup members (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). These intercultural expectancies are believed to be shaped by the same forces that underlie other intergroup interactions; that is, people rely on ingroup-outgroup distinctions and social categories to inform expectancies and/or judgement (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). Expectancy violations are expressed behaviours (in this case communication) that run counter to the expected behaviour in a given

situation (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). There are cultural differences in how unusual or deviant a behaviour must be before it is recognized as a violation, and differences in how people respond to violations (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). Typically, cultures who have received a high score on 'uncertainty-avoidance' tend to be dogmatic and intolerant of deviant behaviour, while countries where uncertainty-avoidance is low, tend to be more flexible and accepting. Norway is in the mid-range in terms of uncertainty avoidance with a score of 50% (Hofstede, 2010).

Communication expectancies are influenced by the characteristics of the communicator (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). Valences are attached to each of these characteristics, and the net valence (referred to as the 'communicator reward valence') of all the differing communicator characteristics determines how the individual is perceived and evaluated (Burgoon & LePoire, 1993). Factors that make up the basis for communicator reward valences include proximity, socioeconomic status, status-equality, task-expertise, similarity and familiarity (Burgoon & Hoobler, 2002). Novel or unusual stimuli tend to elicit redirection of attentional resources (Friedman, Cycowicz & Gaeta, 2001). In terms of expectancy violations, attention is directed towards the violator and the violating act (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). The redirection of attentional resourced is followed by an appraisal-process in which the individual interprets and evaluates the violative act (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). The outcome of the evaluation depends on both context and the communicator reward valence; if the violation is subject to several possible interpretations, the communicator reward valence may influence which interpretation is chosen (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). Negative violations are thought to result in more unfavourable outcomes than if the individual had simply conformed to expectations, and positive violations are thought to be perceived particularly favourably compared to conformity (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). In cases where the violator is perceived favourably, a negative violation might be attributed to the context and not to perceived negative personality traits (or likewise). If the violator is disliked however, the violation may be perceived to be reflecting an underlying negative personality trait (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). Individuals who hold a positive reward valence tend to be allowed to deviate further from the norm before the behaviour is perceived as unusual or unexpected (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005). As such, more extreme behaviour is required before it is perceived as a positive violation (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005). Individuals who hold a negative reward valence are not allowed the same latitude, making it easier for a negative-valence individual to commit a

positive violation (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005). In research on policing and impression formation, this was indeed found to be the case. Vrij & Winkel (1992) found that negative-valence communicators (in this case black confederates) were perceived particularly favourably when they violated police officers expectations by reporting to hold beliefs similar to those held by the officers (p. 1556). So, a rather mundane positive violation was sufficient to change police officers beliefs about the violator.

Culture and expectancy violations. People are generally well-aware of communication expectancies within their own culture. They may also have expectations for, or beliefs about communication-norms in other cultures (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). The expectations may be based on factual knowledge, or could be based on limited, and therefore potentially stereotyped beliefs (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005). It could also be that the uncertainty inherent in intercultural encounters might lead individuals to accept a greater range of behaviours, and to be more lenient towards violations (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005).

The present study

The objective of this thesis was to examine whether an unfamiliar explanatory style influenced judgements of credibility and guilt in a Norwegian setting. The unfamiliar communication style was modelled on a non-Western (more specifically Arabic) communication style. The test-material was presented in written form. The decision to use written texts over (for instance) videotaped material was made in an effort control for possible appearance-related extraneous variables. The study used a 2 (Ethnicity; Norwegian, Non-Norwegian) x2 (Statement length; Long, Short) between subjects factorial design. One statement included communication characteristics common to the Norwegian language and the second statement included communication characteristics common to the Arabic language. Ethnicity was indicated by the use of a traditionally Norwegian or a traditionally Arabic name (Johan Pettersen or Kemal Hussein). Participants were therefore presented with one of two different statements (Long or Short Statement) and one of two different mock-defendants (Kemal Hussein or Johan Pettersen). Participants were then told to fill out a questionnaire (described in detail in the method section).

Hypotheses. We made four predictions. We hypothesized that the ethnicity of the non-Norwegian defendant would have a negative influence on research participants' judgements of credibility and guilt. Our second hypothesis predicted that the Non-Norwegian mock-

defendant would be perceived particularly favourably when he violated expectancies by conforming to Norwegian language norms. Based on earlier findings (Vrij & Winkel, 1994) our third hypothesis predicted that research participants judgements would remain unaffected by an unfamiliar speech style if the mock-defendant was identified as belonging to the ingroup. The fourth and last prediction was again based on earlier findings. Because non-verbal emotionality has been associated with more favourable judgements (Wessel et al., 2012), we predicted that expressed emotionality would have a positive effect on research participants beliefs about the mock-defendants credibility and guilt.

Method

Participants

A research proposal outlining the current study was initially sent to the Division of Student and Academic Affairs (STA) at the University of Oslo. Upon request, the STA agreed to randomly distribute the survey to a total of 1600 students enrolled at the University of Oslo. Only students who had previously identified as having a Norwegian background (i.e., born in Norway to Norwegian parents) were contacted; this because of the nature of the research question. A total of one hundred and seventy eight (58.4 % female) students responded. The mean age of the participants was 25.7 years (SD=7.5). Participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions. They were then instructed to read a brief (online) description of a crime-scenario, followed by a questionnaire containing a total of fourteen questions.

Materials

Statements. This particular research question has (to our knowledge) never been addressed in Norwegian research, so all the material used in this project had to be constructed by the researchers. It was decided that all test-material should be in written form, as videotaped statements, pictures or likewise could be a source of confounds. Two statements were prepared (see appendix), one short (containing a total of 138 words) and one longer statement (containing a total of 293 words). The long statement was loosely based on an explanation given in an Oslo court by an accused narcotics trafficker of Non-Western descent. A Norwegian defense lawyer was consulted in order to assure that the statements were representative of the target group of defendants. The two statements conveyed the same

meaning, but were expressed slightly differently. The short statement reflected typical Norwegian speech patterns as described in the introduction, that is, it followed a linear pattern, answers were brief and concise, and there were no overt emotion expressed. The long statement reflected communication characteristics common to Arabic speakers. That is, it included repetitions, more peripheral (or 'irrelevant') information, more adverbs and a higher degree of overt expressions of emotion. The defendant was named in all four conditions. The name 'Kemal Hussein' was used in two of the conditions (Long/Short condition) and the name 'Johan Pettersen' was used in the remaining two conditions (Long/Short condition). The material was distributed through Survey-Monkey (www.surveymonkey.com), an online websurvey tool.

Questionnaire. The questionnaire (see appendix) contained a total of 14 questions and was identical for all four conditions. The first 11 questions examined participants opinions about the statements. Participants were instructed to indicate whether the testimony appeared truthful, credible, coherent and emotional. They were also instructed to indicate whether the statement corresponded with their beliefs about what is considered "proper" communication in court. Answers were rated on a 7-point Likert scale. One open-ended question was included in an effort to examine whether possible extraneous factors might have influenced participant's judgements. The lack of responses indicated that this was not the case.

Participants were then encouraged to imagine themselves as part of a jury, and were asked about the likelihood of punishment. The answers was rated on a ten-step percentage scale (0-100%). A second question concerned participants beliefs about the mock-defendants' guilt. Responses were given on a dichotomous scale (Guilty/Not Guilty).

The last question in the questionnaire concerned demographic information. To ensure that the questions were understood as intended, a small pilot study was conducted prior to the main study. Responses in the Pilot study indicated that a funnel debrief (or similar) was unnecessary.

Procedure

Participants received an invitation to participate in the study via email (see appendix for sample email). The email included a brief description of the study and a link to one of the four conditions. Participants were told that the intent of the study was to assess the usefulness of written (or videotaped/ audiotaped) testimonies in court. They were then instructed to read the statements and to complete the questionnaire. The questions were carefully formulated so

that no personal or identifying information would be revealed, and participants confirmed consent by clicking the link and completing the questionnaire. Participants were not debriefed, but the researchers contact information was included in the test-material, and participants were encouraged to contact the researchers if they had questions or concerns about the study.

Results

All the data was analyzed using PASW statistics software (version 18, SPSS Inc., Chicago, IL). Statistical significance was defined at an alpha level of .05. The objective of the study was to examine whether an unfamiliar explanatory style might influence judgements of credibility and guilt in a Norwegian setting. Four predictions were made. We predicted that the ethnicity of the Non-Norwegian defendant would have a negative influence on research participants' judgements of credibility, reliableness and guilt. Our second hypothesis predicted that the Non-Norwegian mock-defendant would be perceived particularly favourably when he violated expectancies by conforming to Norwegian language norms. Our third hypothesis predicted that research participants judgements would remain unaffected by an unfamiliar speech style if the mock-defendant was identified as belonging to the ingroup. The fourth and last hypothesis predicted that expressed emotionality would have a positive effect on research participants beliefs about the mock-defendants credibility and guilt. For ease of reading and comprehension, the Non-Norwegian mock-defendant is hereafter referred to by the name 'Kemal' and the Norwegian mock-defendant is referred to by the name 'Johan'.

1. The Impact of Outgroup Ethnicity on Perceived Credibility, Reliableness and Guilt

To test our first hypothesis we conducted a parametric analysis variance (Univariate ANOVA) and examined whether the independent variables (Ethnicity and Statement Length; hereafter collectively referred to as 'Condition') and Gender had an overall effect on the dependent variables (Perceptions of Credibility, Reliableness and Guilt). An additional analysis was conducted to examine the influence of Condition and Gender on Perceptions of Coherence (Perceived Clarity; Perceived Orderliness; Perceived Relevance) and Emotionality. A Univariate ANOVA was conducted for all five models. The analysis was followed by a Binary Logistic Regression Analysis. The last analysis was conducted in order to reveal if (and to what extend) the factors mentioned could predict guilty verdicts.

The impact of Condition on Perceived Credibility and Perceived Reliableness. The full model of analysis of variance (ANOVA) did not reveal a main effect of Condition on Perceived Credibility, F(3,170)=1.39, p=.249, (eta_p²=.024) (see fig. 1) or a main effect of Condition on Perceived Reliableness, F(3,170)=1.59, p=.193 (eta_p²=.027).

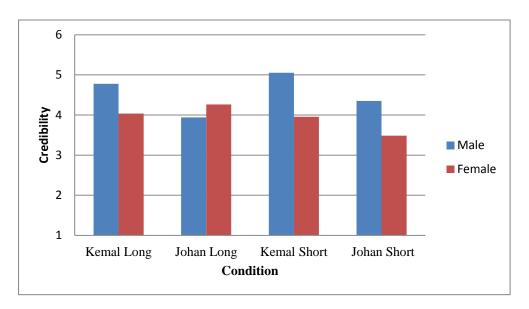


Figure 1. The effect of Condition and Gender on Perceived Credibility. The four conditions varied with respect to ethnicity and statement length

Guilty Verdicts. To examine whether there was a main effect of Condition on Guilty Verdicts, a non-parametric test had to be used. We used a Chi-square Test for independence to determine whether there was a relationship between Guilty Verdicts and the different categories of the Condition (Ethnicity and Statement Length). The output showed that no cells (0%) had an expected count of less than five. The assumptions for the chi-square test's "minimum expected cell frequency" were therefore met. The test revealed no main effect of Condition on Guilty Verdicts, Pearson chi-square χ (3,178) = 4.103, p =.251. The results showed that that 52.2 % of the respondent decided on Guilty Verdicts and 47.8 % decided on Not Guilty Verdicts in the 'Kemal'/Long Statement Condition. For the 'Johan'/Long Statement Condition, 55 % of participants decided on a Guilty Verdict and 45% decided on a Not-Guilty Verdict. For 'Kemal'/Short Statement Condition 43.9 % of the participants decided on Guilty Verdicts. For 'Johan'/Short Statement Condition 64.7 % of the participants decided on Guilty Verdicts and 35.3 % of the participants decided on Not-Guilty Verdicts and 35.3 % of the participants decided on Not-Guilty Verdicts and 35.3 % of the participants decided on Not-Guilty Verdicts (see fig. 2).

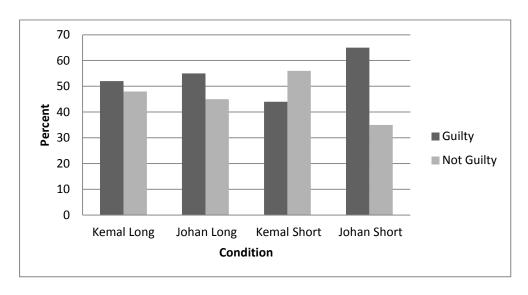


Figure 2. The influence of Condition on judgements of Guilt, displayed in percentages.

Additional analysis. To test the effect of Condition and Gender on Perceived Coherence and Emotionality, we entered Perceived Clarity, Perceived Orderliness, Perceived Relevance and Perceived Emotionality as the dependent variables. Condition (ethnicity, statements length) and Gender (females, males) were entered as the independent variables in a Univariate ANOVA model. The results showed no significant effect of Condition on Perceived Orderliness, F(3, 170)=1.41, p=.240 (eta_p²=.024), or Perceived Relevance F(3, 170)=1.41, P=.240 (eta_p²=.024), or Perceived Relevance P(3, 170)=1.41, P=.240, 170)=1.42, p= .239 (eta_p²=.024). We did however find a statistically significant main effect of Condition on Perceived Clarity and on Perceived Emotionality. The results for Perceived Clarity was F(3,170)=2.74, p=.045 but the effect size was small (eta_p²= .046). The biggest differences were between the two Long Statements, 'Kemal Long Statement' (M=4.54, SD= 1.56) and 'Johan Long Statement' (M=3.87, SD=1.55), and the two short statements, 'Kemal Short Statement' (M=4.43, SD= 1.78) and 'Johan Short Statement' (M=3.70, SD= 1.70)(see fig. 3). The two-way ANOVA also exposed a statistically significant main effect of Condition on Perceived Emotionality, F(3,170) = 8.378, p<.001. The effect size was medium (eta_p²=.129). A post hoc (Tukey HSD) test indicated that the mean score for Kemal Long Statement (M=3.80, SD = 1.86) was significantly different from Kemal Short Statement (M= 2.58, SD=1.54), p=.003. The same was the case between the mean scores for Johan Long Statement (M=3.47, SD=1.48) and Johan Short Statement (M=2.43, SD=1.58), p=.012.

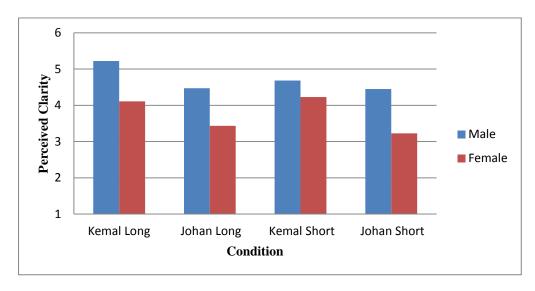


Figure 3. The influence of Condition and Gender on Perceived Clarity

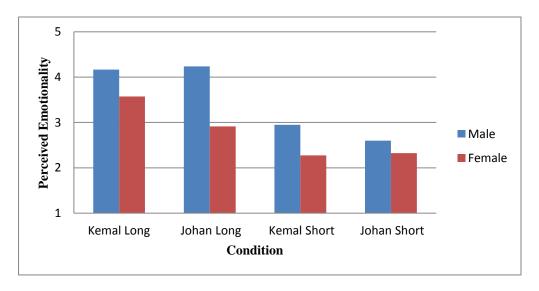


Figure 4. The influence of Condition and Gender on Perceived Emotionality

To assess whether males and females were influenced differently by the various Conditions we entered all the different factors (Perceived Credibility, Perceived Reliableness, Perceived Clarity, Perceived Orderliness, Perceived Relevance and Perceived Emotionality) as the dependent variables and Condition (ethnicity, statements length) and Gender (males, females) were entered as the independent variables. The results revealed a statistically significant effect of Gender on all measures (see table 1; fig. 1, 3, 4) but no interaction effects were found (see table 2).

Table 1: Main Effects of Gender on all variables (n=178)

Variables				F value	P value	Eta_p^2
	Gender	Mean	SD			r
Credibility				6.45	.012	.037
	Females	3.90	1.59			
	Males	4.54	1.49			
Reliableness				8.20	.005	.046
	Females	3.82	1.79			
	Males	4.55	1.55			
Clarity				15.53	.001	.084
	Females	3.72	1.63			
	Males	4.70	1.60			
Orderliness				12.42	.001	.068
	Females	4.00	1.60			
	Males	4.83	1.40			
Relevance				14.07	.006	.043
	Females	4.96	1.46			
	Males	5.53	1.24			
Emotionality				8.604	.004	.048
-	Females	2.77	1.64			
	Males	3.44	1.76			

Table 2: Interaction effects between Gender and Condition (ethnicity, statement length).

Variables	F value	P value	Eta_p^2
Credibility	1.67	.175	.029
Reliableness	.397	.756	.007
Clarity	.493	.688	.009
Orderly	.664	.575	.012
Relevance	1.89	.133	.032
Emotionality	.791	.500	.014

Splitting up file by gender and selecting females only revealed that Condition had a significant influence on Perceived Emotionality F(3,100)=4.048, p=.009. The effect size was moderate (eta_p²=.108). The post hoc test (Tukey HSD) indicated that the significant effect of Condition was only between 'Kemal Long Statement' (M=3.57, SD = 1.87) and 'Kemal Short Statement' (M= 2.27, SD= 1.42), p=.024. Among female participants, 'Kemal Long Statement' was perceived to be significantly higher in Emotionality than Kemal Short Statement. Selecting males only also showed that condition had a significant influence on Perceived

Emotionality F(3,70)=4.856, p=.004, and the effect size was large (eta_p²=.172). Among male participants, the post hoc test (Tukey HSD) indicated that the significant effect of Condition was only between 'Johan Long Statement' (M=3.57, SD = 1.87) and 'Johan Short Statement' (M=2.27, SD=1.42) p=.018. Males rated 'Johan Long Statement' as significantly higher in Perceived Emotionality than 'Johan Short Statement'.

Verdict. To unveil the factors that helped predict guilty verdicts, we used a Binary Logistic Regression Analysis. Verdict was entered as the dependent variable. Credibility and Reliableness were entered as predictors. The analyses showed that Credibility and Reliableness were both strong predictors of Not-Guilty Verdicts. The model showed that Credibility was a significant predictor of Not-Guilty Verdicts $\beta = .796$, p < .001, and that it explained between 23.6 % (Cox & Snell) and 31.6% (Nagelkerke) of the variance in the guilty verdicts. Chi square according to the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test indicated a good model fit χ (4, N = 178) = 3.119, p < .538. The analysis of Perceived Reliableness revealed that it was a significant predictor of Not-Guilty verdicts, $\beta = .667$, p < .001 and that it explained between 21% (Cox & Snell) and 28% (Nagelkerke) of the variance in the verdicts. Chi square according to the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test indicated a good model fit χ (5, N = 178) = 10.02, p < .074). Splitting up file and comparing all four conditions showed that Perceived Credibility and Perceived Reliableness were strong predictors in all four groups.

Perceived Orderliness, Perceived Clarity, Perceived Relevance and Perceived Emotionality were however *not* strong predictors of Not-Guilty Verdicts. Perceived Orderliness was not a significant predictor for Not-Guilty Verdicts, $\beta = .035$, p = .718, and it explained only 0.1 % (for both Cox & Snell; Nagelkerke) of the variance in the verdicts. Chi square indicated a good model fit χ (5, N = 178) = 953, p = .966. Similarly, Perceived Clarity was not a significant predictor for Not-Guilty Verdicts, $\beta = .078$, p = .392, and it only explained between 0.4 % (Cox & Snell) and 0.6 % (Nagelkerke) of the variance in the verdicts. Chi square indicated a good model fit χ (5, N = 178) = 1.188, p = .392. Perceived Relevance was a significant predictor of Not-Guilty Verdicts, $\beta = .334$, p < .004, but it still only explained between 4,8 % (Cox & Snell) and 6,5 % (Nagelkerke) of the variance in the guilty verdicts. Chi square value χ (3, N = 178) = 1.29, p < .731 indicated a good model fit. Splitting up the Condition file did reveal that Perceived Relevance was only a significant predictor for Guilty/Not-Guilty verdicts in the Kemal Long Statement condition

 β = .919, p < .005. Perceived Emotionality was also a significant predictor of Not-Guilty Verdicts, β = .290, p< .002, and it explained between 5.7 % and 7.6 % of the variance in the guilty/not-guilty verdicts. Chi square indicated a good model fit χ (4, N = 178) = 4.49, p < .343.

2. Expectancy Violation

To test the expectancy violation hypothesis we initially conducted a one-way ANOVA with planned comparison between the two Short Statement Conditions (i.e., Kemal Short Statement and Johan Short Statement). Perceived Credibility was entered as the dependent variable and Condition was entered as the independent variable in the model. The result did not reveal a statistically significant difference between the two groups F(1, 174) = 3.76, p = .054. Though not statistically significant, the result will be addressed in the discussion.

When Perceived Clarity was entered as the dependent variable and Condition as the independent variable into the planned comparison model, we did however find a statistically significant difference between the two groups F(1,174) = 4.481, p = .036. Kemal Short Statement (M = 4.43, SD = 1.77) had overall higher scores compared to Johan Short Statement (M = 3.70, SD = 1.70.).

Guilty verdicts. In the two Short Statements Conditions, 43.9 % of participants gave Kemal Short Statement a Guilty Verdict, and 56.1 % of participants responded with a Not-Guilty Verdict. Comparatively, 64.7% of research participants gave Johan Short Statement a Guilty Verdict, while the remaining 35.3 % responded with a Not-Guilty Verdict. To test the expectancy violation hypothesis we decided to select cases and perform a chi-square test including only the two Short Statement Conditions. The Pearson chi-square χ (1,92) = 3.982, p=.046 did reveal a significant difference between the two Short Statement Conditions. By using Yates` Correction for Continuity, which compensates for the overestimate of the chi-square value (when used with 2 by 2 table), it was nevertheless found that the difference was not significant χ (1,92) = 3.184, p=. 074. When we split up by gender and selected males only, the results did reveal a significant difference between the two Short Conditions and the subsequently awarded Guilty Verdicts χ (1,39) = 4.414, p=.036 (after using the Yates` Correction for Continuity).

3. Intra-group expectancies

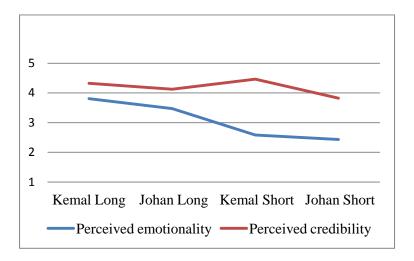
To test the third hypothesis we conducted one-way ANOVA with planned comparison between the two Long Statement Conditions (i.e., Kemal Long Statement and Johan Long Statement). The result revealed no significant difference between the two Conditions for the different variables. We can assume no equal variances (Levene's test was not significant). The results revealed no significant effects between the two conditions (Kemal Long Statement, Johan Long statement) and the following variables; Perceived Credibility F(1,174)=.350, p=.55, Perceived Reliableness F(1,174)=1.71, p=.193, Perceived Clarity/Coherence F(1,174)=3.50, p=.063, Perceived Orderliness F(1,174)=2.86, p=.093, Perceived Relevance F(1,174)=1.036, p=.310 and Perceived Emotionality F(1,174)=.874, p=.351. Splitting up according to gender did not reveal any significant effects between the two conditions.

4. Emotionality and judgement

A parametric analysis of variance (Univariate ANOVA) was conducted to examine the effect of Perceived Emotionality and Condition upon Perceived Credibility. Perceived Credibility was entered as the dependent variable and Perceived Emotionality and Condition were entered as independent variables. The analysis did *not* reveal any statistically significant effect of Condition upon Perceived Credibility F(3, 150)=.633, p=.240, (eta_p²=.595), or a statistically significant effect of Perceived Emotionality on Perceived Credibility F (6, 150)= 1.620, p=.145. There was also no interaction effect F(18, 150)=1.600, p=.066. In an earlier analysis of variance we examined the impact of Condition (ethnicity, statement length) and Gender on Perceived Emotionality (found under hypothesis 1, 'additional analyses'). This analysis revealed a statistically significant effect of Statement Length on Perceived Emotionality. To examine the influence of Statement Length on Perceived Emotionality further, we initially excluded the two "Johan groups" (Johan Long Statement, Johan Short Statement) and selected only the two Kemal conditions (Kemal Short Statement, Kemal Long Statement i.e., a 'within ethnicity' analysis). Using "select cases", we performed a two-way ANOVA. Perceived Credibility was entered as the dependent variable and Perceived Emotionality and Condition were entered as the independent variables. The analysis showed no significant effect of Condition F(1, 73) = 1.682, p = .199, and no significant effect of perceived Emotionality F(6, 73) = 1.879, p = .096 on Credibility. The results did however indicate an interaction effect F(6, 73) = 2.975, p = .012, and the effect size was large eta_p²= .197. To further investigate the interaction effect, we decided to split the Condition (Kemal

Short Statement, Kemal Long Statement). The results revealed a statistically significant effect of Perceived Emotionality on Perceived Credibility for Kemal Long Statement only F (6, 39)= 4.974, p=.003. A Post Hoc test (Tukey HSD) showed a significant difference in Perceived Emotionality and Perceived Credibility. When the statement was perceived to be moderately emotional (value 4), Perceived Credibility was rated low (M= 2.66, SD= 1.21), p=.001. When the statement was perceived to be very emotional (value 7) Perceived Credibility was rated very low (M=1.5, SD = .70), p=.006. We did not find an equivalent interaction effect between the two Johan Conditions (Johan Long Statement, Johan Short Statement). The Univariate ANOVA analysis found no significant effect of Condition F(1,77)=.074, p=.787, and no significant effect of Perceived Emotionality F(6,77)=.881, p=.231, nor an interaction effect F(6,77)=.446, p=.846.

To further investigate the relationship between Perceived Emotionality and Perceived Credibility we decided to use a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. There was a small, positive correlation between the two variables (r= .16, n= 178, p<.028), that is, high levels of Perceived Emotionality was associated with high levels of Perceived Credibility. To compare the correlation coefficients for the different Conditions (Johan Short/Long Statement; Kemal Short/Long Statement), we decided to split file by Condition and repeat the analysis for each group separately. The results showed that there was a medium, positive correlation between Perceived Emotionality and Perceived Credibility for the Johan Long Statement Condition (r= .32, n= 40, p<.039). There was however no significant relationship between the variables for the 'Kemal Long Statement' Condition (r= .12, r= 46, r<.427) or for the 'Johan Short Statement' Condition (r= .204, r= 51, r<.151). A negative correlation was found between Perceived Emotionality and Perceived Credibility for the Kemal Short Statement condition (see fig. 5), but the relationship was not statistically significant (r= -.012, r= 41, r<.942).



Figur 5: Correlation between perceived Emotionality and Credebility for all four Conditions (ethnicity, statement length).

An earlier regression analysis revealed that Perceived Emotionality was a significant predictor of guilty/not-guilty verdicts. Splitting up the condition file revealed that Perceived Emotionality was only a significant predictor for Guilty/Not-Guilty verdicts in the Johan Long Statement Condition $\beta = .778$, p < .008. That is, in the 'Johan Long Statement' condition, an increase in Perceived Emotionality resulted in a increased probability of a Not-Guilty Verdict (score of 1 in the dependent variable). The analysis also showed that the odds ratio Exp (B) for emotionality was 2.177. The odds that a person would give a Not-Guilty Verdict was therefore 2.177 higher for Johan Long Condition than for the other conditions, all other factors being equal (2.177, 95.0% CI for EXP (B) 1.223-3.875).

Discussion

Previous research on possible intergroup biases in judicial proceedings has primarily examined the influence of non-verbal behaviours on judgement formation (e.g., Bond et al., 1990; Vrij & Winkel, 1994). This study extends the previous research by examining the influence of verbal behaviours on impression formation in a mock court context. The primary aim of this thesis was to examine the influence of an unfamiliar communication style on judgements of credibility or guilt in a Norwegian setting. We made four predictions, these are discussed in order below. We did not initially expect gender differences, but in analyzing the results, it became evident that there was considerable variation in the data as a function of

gender. As such, findings according to gender are treated in a separate subsection of the discussion.

1. Ethnicity and Credibility/Guilt

Our first hypothesis predicted that when the mock-defendant was identified as belonging to an out-group (i.e., 'non-Norwegian'), group-belonging would negatively influence research participants judgements about credibility and guilt. To conduct the analysis, all four conditions were compared. As previously mentioned, the two long statements were identical and were intended to reflect communication characteristics commonly found among Arabic speakers. The two short statements were also identical, but were instead intended to reflect communication characteristics found among Norwegian speakers. We did not find statistically significant differences between the four conditions, and we found no significant main effect of ethnicity on judgements of credibility and/or guilt. Additional analyses were conducted in order to examine other possibly influential factors. A comparison between the long statements and the short statements revealed a statistically significant main effect of Condition on Perceived Clarity and Perceived Emotionality. The non-Norwegian mock-defendant was rated as significantly more clear and concise compared to the Norwegian mock-defendant, regardless of statement length. Since statements only differed in terms of the name assigned to the mock-defendants, the finding suggests that we may have encountered a social desirability bias (Hogg & Vaughan, 2011). As intended, the Long Statements were perceived as significantly higher in emotionality than the short statements. Perceived emotionality was also found to influence judgements of credibility. Possible reasons for the emotionality-findings will be outlined in the discussion of the fourth hypothesis.

2. Expectancy violations

The second hypothesis concerned expectancy violations. Earlier research has found that positive expectancy violations may result in particularly favourable judgements in intergroup interactions (Vrij & Winkel, 1992). In the present study, the 'expectancy violation condition' was conceptualized through the pairing of a non-Western name with a distinctly Norwegian communication style (as found in the 'Short Statement'). Conversely, the 'expectancy confirmation condition' was conceptualized through the pairing of a distinctly Norwegian name with a Norwegian communication style (as found in the 'Short Statement'). The initial

analysis examined the relationship between the two aforementioned conditions and perceived credibility. Though not statistically significant (p=.054) the result was nevertheless telling. Research participants awarded higher ratings of credibility to the expectancy violation condition compared to the expectancy confirmation condition. That is, when the non-Norwegian confederate conformed to Norwegian language norms, he was perceived as being more credible than the Norwegian confederate who conformed to the exact same norms. The data also revealed statistically significant differences in how concise and clear the statements were perceived to be. The 'expectancy violation condition' was again perceived as being more concise and clear when compared to the 'expectancy confirmation condition'. The results are similar to those found in earlier research (Vrij & Winkel, 1992) and the evidence suggests that the findings are the result of an expectancy violation effect (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005). Because Norwegian research participants are likely to have more extensive experience with other Norwegians, they are also likely to have a more complex understanding of 'typical Norwegian behaviour' (Linville, 1982). With less experience, one may assume that social identity processes come to the fore (Turner, 1999) and expectancies may therefore to a greater extent be informed by stereotypical beliefs (Turner, 1999). In the expectancy violations framework, Kemal Hussein would likely have been awarded a low communicator reward valence as a function of his outgroup-membership (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005). By conforming to Norwegian language norms, he appears to have violated the Norwegian research participants expectancies, and the positive violation resulted in a disproportionately favourable evaluation. The same was not the case for Johan Pettersen. When Johan conformed to Norwegian language norms, research participants perceived him to be less credible and less concise/clear compared to Kemal. This finding is again consistent with the expectancy violations theory (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005).

By examining our findings in light of earlier research, it becomes evident that what is perceived as credible in an intra-cultural perspective may not be perceived as credible in a cross-cultural perspective. Conley and colleagues (1978) found that a narrative style of testimony was perceived as more likely to be truthful when compared to a fragmented style testimony. The short statement/testimony used in the analysis was decidedly phrased using a fragmented style, and should as such have been perceived as less credible than the longer narrative statement. Similarly, researchers found that under some circumstances, a greater degree of displayed emotions led to higher ratings of credibility (Wessel et al., 2012). Great care was taken by the researchers to eliminate emotional expressions from the short statement

used in this study, and the short statement should as such be perceived as less credible. However, the pairing of a foreign name ('Kemal Hussein') with a short, fragmented and unemotional statement, was perceived as *more* credible than a longer, narrative and more emotional statement. It appears then that non-Norwegian defendants have much to gain in terms of credibility by simply conforming to Norwegian language norms, and it seems that the 'rules' that apply in judicial contexts vary as a function of group-belonging. If the defendant belongs to the majority population, he or she appears to benefit from expressing emotions and presenting a longer narrative answer. The contrary appears to be true if the defendant belongs to an outgroup: in that case, a brief, concise and unemotional testimony might be perceived as more credible.

3. Intra-group expectancies

Our third hypothesis proposed that research participants judgements would remain unaffected by an unfamiliar speech style if the mock-defendant was identified as belonging to the ingroup. We found no statistically significant main effect between the two long statements, that is, the hypothesis did receive support from the results. Research participants were in this case evaluating an ingroup member. Social identity theory maintains that an individual's perceived ingroup-membership is likely to elicit positive evaluations (Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner, 1999). In terms of expectancy violation theory, one may therefore assume that 'Johan Pettersen' holds a positive communicator valence (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005). This positive reward valence allows an ingroup-member to deviate further from the norm before his behaviour is perceived as unusual or unexpected. Therefore, an ingroup-member has to engage in more extreme behaviour before the behaviour qualifies as an expectancy violation (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005). In addition to this, the information used to make a judgement is likely to be more complex (Linville, 1982) and would therefore be less liable to be influenced by stereotypical beliefs (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005; Turner, 1999). In Johan's case, conforming to non-Norwegian language norms was not enough to elicit an expectancy violation effect in this case. Again we see that communication expectancies and subsequent rewards differ as a function of group-belonging. Outgroup members appear to be rewarded when they conform to Norwegian language norms while ingroup members are seemingly not expected to adhere to the same rules.

4. Emotionality and judgement

The fourth and last hypothesis concerned the impact of emotionality on beliefs about credibility and guilt. The analysis revealed a statistically significant difference in perceived emotionality between the long and the short statements. The long statement was perceived to be considerably more emotional than the short statement. The effect size was medium. Perceived emotionality was found to have a moderate predictor effect on verdict, but only for the 'Johan Long Statement' condition. Where the ingroup member (i.e., 'Johan Pettersen') was perceived as being more emotional, he was also perceived as less likely to be guilty. This finding is consistent with earlier intra-cultural research where it was found that a longer, narrative statement was perceived as more credible than short, fragmented statements (Erickson et al., 1978). The long statement also contained overt expressions of emotion and according to earlier research, expressed non-verbal (negative) emotions have in some cases been assumed to be an indicator of innocence (Wessel et al., 2006). The opposite was true for the outgroup member (i.e., 'Kemal Hussein'). In Kemal's case, there was an inverse relationship between credibility and emotionality; where Kemal was perceived as being moderately emotional (as indicated by a score of 4) he was also perceived as only moderately credible. When Kemal was perceived as being highly emotional (as indicated by a score of 7), his credibility-ratings plummeted. That is, though the behaviour displayed was identical, Johan was rewarded while Kemal was punished.

The finding is likely a result of expectancies, cultural display rules and stereotyped beliefs about cultures and emotional expression (Andersen, Hecht, Hoobler & Smallwood, 2002; Burgoon, 1993; Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Ekman & Friesen, 1971; Lindholm & Christianson, 1998). Johan had, as a function of his ingroup-membership, already a positive communicator reward valence (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005). Though grand emotional expressions are not characteristic of Norwegian communication (Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005; Dodd, 1982; Hall, 1976), emotionality under duress has been found to be rewarded in earlier Norwegian research (Wessel et al., 2012). Because research participants did not expect emotionality, it could be that the unusualness of the behaviour combined with the ethnicity of the defendant served to emphasize impressions of innocence. Or, to put it plainly, it could be that beliefs or stereotypes about Norwegians 'inherently stoic nature' made research participants refocus on the unusual behaviour. The behaviour may have qualified as a positive expectancy violation, and as a result, Johan could have been perceived as more likely to be

innocent *because* of the uncharacteristic emotionality. It is also possible that a combination of stereotypes and factual information served to inform judgement in Kemal's case. Participants may have expected Kemal to be emotional simply because of his group-belonging. As previously explained, the Arabic communication style does tend to have a higher degree of emotionality than the Norwegian communication style (Zaharna, 1995). It could therefore be that Kemal's emotionality was expected and was consequently *not* rewarded. As such, it appears that ethnicity alone is not enough to elicit biased judgements, however, ethnicity combined with emotionality does seem to influence judgements among Norwegian research participants.

Gender differences

Gender was entered as an independent variable in a univariate analysis of variance. The results revealed a statistically significant effect of Gender on Perceived Credibility; Perceived Reliableness, Perceived Clarity, Perceived Relevance and Perceived Emotionality. As such there was a statistically significant effect of Gender on *all* the variables examined. Female participants were consistently found to be more critical than the male participants. That is, female participants were found to give lower scores on all the measures used in the questionnaire.

Male and female participants also differed in judgements of emotionality. Among female participants, the only condition found to be significantly different was when the Long Statement was paired with a non-Norwegian name (i.e., a 'congruent condition'). The contrary was true for male participants. The only condition found to be significantly different from the others among males was the Long Statement paired with a Norwegian name (i.e., an 'incongruent condition'). In both cases, emotionality was perceived as higher than in the remaining conditions.

A third difference was found in verdicts. We used a chi-square test for independence to determine whether there was a relationship between guilty verdicts and the various conditions (i.e., Ethnicity/Statement Length). Among male participants, it was found that the only statistically significant difference was between the two Short Statements. The same analysis was conducted with female participants, but in this case, none of the Conditions were found to be statistically significantly different.

That female participants consistently gave lower scores than their male counterparts is curious. It could of course be that our particular sample of female participants was unusually critical, however, it is likely that the gender of the mock-defendants might have influenced judgements. An obvious difference between male and female participants was that females were judging outgroup members (i.e., male confederates) in all four conditions, while male participants were only judging outgroup members in two of the conditions. Previous research has suggested that the effect of speech style is considerably more robust when males evaluate other males and females evaluates other females (Erickson et al., 1978). It could therefore be that the lower scores given by female participants was an expression of uncertainty, or a bias against an outgroup (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006), that is, a bias against both male confederates. It is also possible that the scenario outlined in the statement may have influenced female participants impressions. In all four conditions, male mock-confederates denied having knowledge about a girlfriends actions. Ingroup-identification with Kemal/Johan's girlfriend ('Elvira') combined with the aforementioned denial may have caused the mock-defendants to appear suspect to female participants. That is, we might unintentionally have found a defendant bias in Elvira's favour among female participants (Lindholm & Cederwall, 2010). As such, the inclusion of a female character in the statements might have been the source of a confound.

In-and outgroup identification may also be responsible for the gender-differences found in 'perceived emotionality'. Female participants perceived the combination of a non-Norwegian name and a long statement to be significantly more emotional than the remaining three combinations. The statement was the exact same as the one used in the 'Johan Long Statement' condition, thereby suggesting that ethnicity influenced female participants judgements. It could again be that female participants had expectancies towards non-Norwegian communication style. The name 'Kemal Hussein' may have redirected female participants' attention; 'Kemal' could then have been stereotyped according to salient social markers (in this case his name); his outgroup-status combined with expected behaviour may have resulted in an extreme judgement, and the statement might therefore have been perceived as significantly different (Linville, 1982; Turner, 1999). Male participants considered the 'Long Statement paired with a Norwegian name' to be significantly different from the three remaining conditions. This might again have been because of an expectancy violation effect (Burgoon & Ebesu-Hubbard, 2005). Male participants were evaluating an ingroup-member who *did not* conform to Norwegian communication patterns (Burgoon &

Ebesu Hubbard, 2005; Dodd, 1982; Hall, 1976; Nguyen, Heeler & Taran, 2007; Levine, 1985). It is possible that male participants used their own speech style as a referent (Erickson et al., 1978) and therefore perceived the wording as odd *because* it was uttered by an ingroup member; this may in turn have elicited higher emotionality scores when the name Johan Pettersen was combined with a long statement. In evaluating 'Kemal Long Statement', female participants were evaluating an individual who was twice removed (i.e., both through gender and ethnicity) in terms of group-membership.

There was, as previously mentioned, also a difference between male and female participants in terms of guilty verdicts. Female participants did not perceive the two short statements to be significantly different; subsequently, there were no significant differences between the four conditions in terms of guilty-verdicts. It appears then that female participants were able to identify behaviour that confirmed expectancies but did not identify the expectancy violations. Among male participants, a statistically significant difference was found between the two short statements. Male participants were found to rate the likelihood of a guilty verdict as significantly lower for Kemal compared to Johan. That is, male participants appeared able to identify the expectancy violation. Males did however not identify expectancy confirmations. It is possible that the male participants may have used own speech patterns as referent. If this was the case, a violation would likely be particularly salient because of the participants intimate familiarity with ingroup communication and speech styles. Female participants were unable to use own speech style as a referent. Because female participants were evaluating outgroup members (and by extension, outgroup speech patterns) violations may not have appeared particularly salient.

Conclusion

Several important, and possibly ecologically valid findings were obtained in this study. The first of these findings indicate that a non-Western defendant may have much to gain in terms of credibility by conforming to a Norwegian speech style. Though the result was just shy of reaching statistical significance at the 5% level, it appears that study participants did hold expectancies towards outgroup communication. When the non-Norwegian mock-confederate violated expectancies by conforming to Norwegian speech style, he was rewarded with higher credibility scores. The contrary was true for the Norwegian confederate; 'Johan Pettersen' was rewarded when he conformed to a <u>non-Norwegian speech style</u>. As such, a Norwegian defendant would likely benefit from presenting a narrative statement that is also

higher in emotionality that what is expected in the Norwegian context. A non-Western defendant however, would be well-advised to avoid overt expressions of emotion and to answer questions briefly and succinctly when presenting his statement in court. A second important finding relates to the gender differences found in this study. Male participants were subject to the expectancy violation effect, while in this case, female participants were not. That is, male participants rewarded the expectancy violation when the outgroup-member conformed to Norwegian speech norms. The same effect was not found among female participants. Female participants did not reward positive expectancy violations. Moreover, female participants were able to identify expectancy confirmations in the outgroup-member but not in the ingroup-member. This suggests that female participants may, to some extent, have relied on stereotypes to inform judgement. It is plausible that the difference between male and female participants was a function of differences in group-identification, but more research is required to examine if this might indeed be the case.

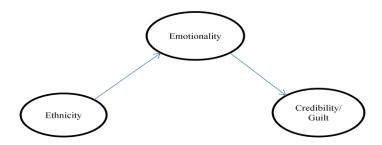


Figure 6. Illustration of the (possible) relationship between Ethnicity and Credibility

Limitations

As this is (likely) the first study of its kind in Norway, all the test-materials had to be developed by the researchers. Developing new test-material is a risky venture and in so doing, the researchers have to accept that there will be some uncertainty in terms of reliability and validity. One problem relates to the scenario presented in the statements. Attempts were made to control for extraneous and possibly confounding variables by asking participants to identify possible 'other' factors that may have influenced judgements None of the participants identified the inclusion of a female character as problematic, yet it is still possible that the inclusion of a female character may have surreptitiously swayed female participants judgement in a negative direction. That is, we are somewhat uncertain about the internal validity of the study. It should be noted that females were somewhat (58.4%) overrepresented

among participants, and as such, had a larger influence on the data-set compared to male participants. The use of a written transcript instead of (for instance) videotaped statements may also have presented a threat to the external validity of the findings. The intent behind using written mock-transcripts was to control for extraneous (non-verbal) variables. By controlling for non-verbal variables, we may also have removed any possibly potentiating effects of the non-verbal behaviours. It is entirely plausible that a combination of (i.e.,) verbally expressed emotionality and expressive body-language would have produced stronger effect sizes. There are of course additional problems related to the test-situation and to the sampling method. Because of the artificiality of the test-situation, we cannot be certain that scores given on a relatively informal computerized test reflect decision-making in real life situations. Moreover, our sample was largely composed of university students. Students in higher education may not accurately reflect the larger population, and sampling from a student pool may therefore present a threat to the external validity of the study. A final problem is the influence of social desirability biases. We suspect that this bias may to some extent have influenced our results. Our findings nevertheless indicate that ethnicity and speech style are indeed influential factors in determining judgement. The results further suggest that stereotypes may have influenced research participants judgements. Due process according to Norwegian law, must be afforded all individuals in Norwegian society. The seriousness of stereotype-informed biases entering a court of law can therefore not be overstated. It is as such, our belief that the findings of this study are relevant and important, and that they present a valuable addition to the field of psychology and law.

References

- Almaney, A. J. (1981). Traits of the Arabs: Growing Interest for International Management.

 Management International Review 21(3): 10-18.
- Andenæs, J. (2009). Norsk straffeprosess (4th ed.). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Andenæs, K., Gotaas, N., Nilsen, A. B., & Papendorf, K. (2000). *Kommunikasjon og rettssikkerhet. Utlendinger og språklige minoriteters møte med politi og domstoler.*Oslo: Unipub forlag.
- Andersen, P. A., Hecht, M. L., Hoobler, G. D., & Smallwood, M. (2002). Nonverbal Communication Across Cultures. In W. B. Gudykunst & B. Mody (Eds.), *Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication* (2nd ed., pp. 89-107). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Auyeung, P., & Sands, J. (1996). A cross cultural study of the learning style of accounting students. *Accounting and Finance 36*: 261-274.
- Barrett, D. (2005). *Leadership Communication* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Bennett, M. J. (1998). Intercultural communication: A current perspective. In M. J. Bennett (Ed.), *Basic concepts of intercultural communication: Selected readings* (pp. 1-34). Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- Bond, C. F., & Atoum, A. O. (2000) International Deception. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26(3): 385-395.
- Bond, C. F., Omar, A., Mahmoud, A., & Bonser, N. R. (1990). Lie Detection Across Cultures. *Journal of Non-verbal Behavior 14*(3): 189-204.
- Bond, C. F., Omar, A., Pitre, U., Lashley, B. R., Skaggs, L. M. & Kirk, C. T. (1992). Fishylooking liars: Deception judgment from expectancy violation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 63(6): 969-977.
- Burgoon, J. K. (1993). Interpersonal Expectations, Expectancy Violations and Emotional Communication. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 12: 30-48.

- Burgoon, J. K., & Ebesu Hubbard, A. S. (2005). Cross-Cultural and Intercultural Applications of Expectancy Violations Theory and Interaction Adaptation Theory. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication* (pp. 149-173). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Burgoon, J. K., & Hoobler, G. D. (2002). Nonverbal signals. In M. L. Knapp & J. Daly (Eds.), *Handbook of Interpersonal Communication* (pp. 240-299). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Burgoon, J. K., & LePoire, B. A. (1993). Effects of Communication Expectancies, Actual Communication, and Expectancy Disconfirmation on Evaluations of Communicators and Their Communication Behavior. *Human Communication Research* 20(1): 67-96.
- Burke, P. (1977). Popular Culture in Norway and Sweden. *History Workshop No. 3*: 143-147.
- Cappelen, Å., & Skjerpen, T. (2012). Immigration to Norway 1969-2010: Effects of policies and EEA membership. *Discussion Papers No. 687, March 2012*, Oslo: Statistics Norway.
- Coleman, D. (2008). The demographic effects of international migration in Europe. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 24(3): 452-476.
- Conley, J. M., O'Barr, W. M., & Lind, E. A. (1978). The Power of Language: Presentational Style in the Courtroom. *Duke Law Journal* 1978(6): 1375-1399.
- Dodd, C. H. (1992). *Dynamics of intercultural communication*. Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown Publishers.
- Ekman, P., & Friesen, W. V. (1969). The Repertoire of Nonverbal Behavior: Categories, Origins, Usage, and Coding. *Semiotica 1*(1): 49-98.
- Ekman, P., & Friesen, W. V. (1971). Constants Across Cultures in the Face and Emotions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 17(2): 124-129.
- Erickson, B., Lind, E. A., Johnson, B. C., & O'Barr, W. M. (1978). Speech style and impression formation in a court setting: The effects of "powerful" and "powerless" speech. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 14(3): 266-279.

- Feghali, E. (1997). Arab Cultural Communication Patterns. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 21(3): 345-378.
- Fiske, S. T. (1993). Controlling Other People: The Impact of Power on Stereotyping. *American Psychologist 48*(6): 621-628.
- Friedman, D., Cycowicz, Y. M., & Gaeta, H. (2001). The novelty P3: an event-related brain potential (ERP) sign of the brain's evaluation of novelty. *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews* 25(4): 355-373.
- Galotti, K. M. (2008). *Cognitive Psychology: In and Out of the Laboratory (4th ed)*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Goldstein, E. B. (2007). *Sensation and Perception* (7th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Learning Inc.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Krieger, L. H. (2006). Implicit Bias: Scientific foundations. *California Law Review* 94(4): 945-967.
- Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. Morgan (Eds.) *Syntax and Semantics* (pp. 41-58). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Gumperz, J. J., & Cook-Gumperz, J. (1982). Introduction: language and the communication of social identity. In J. Gumperz (Ed.), *Language and Social Identity* (pp. 1-21). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, E. T. (1959). *The Silent Language*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- Hall, E. T. (1976). Beyond Culture. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- Hartwig, M., Granhag, P. A., Strømwall, L. A., & Kronkvist, O. (2006). Strategic Use of Evidence During Police Interviews: When Training to Detect Deception Works. *Law and Human Behavior 30*: 603-619.
- Havelock, E. (1991). The oral-literate equation: a formula for the modern mind. In D. R.Olson & N. Torrance (Eds.), *Literacy and Orality* (pp. 11-27). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hilton, J. L., & Von Hippel, W. (1996). Stereotypes. *Annual Review of Psychology* 47: 237-271.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hofstede, G. (2010). Norway. In *National Culture* (Countries). Retrieved from http://geert-hofstede.com/norway.html
- Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2011). Social Psychology. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Johnstone, B. (1991). Repetition in Arabic Discourse: Paradigms, Syntagms and the Ecology of Language. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Jussim, L., Coleman, L. M., & Lerch, L. (1987). The Nature of Stereotypes: A Comparison and Integration of Three Theories. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 52(3): 536-546.
- Kalin, W. (1986). Troubled Communication: Cross-Cultural Misunderstandings in the Asylum Hearing. *International Migration Review* 20(2): 230-241.
- Keenan, E. O. (1976). The universality of conversational postulates. *Language in Society* 5(1): 67-80.
- Levine, D. N. (1985). *The flight from ambiguity: Essays in social and cultural theory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lindholm, T., & Bergvall, S. (2006). Diskriminering i vittnessammanhang: Resultat fran ett social-kognitivt forskningsprojekt SOU, 2006:30.
- Lindholm, T., & Christianson, S. Å. (1998). Intergroup Biases and Eye Witness Testimony. *The Journal of Social Psychology 138*(6): 710-723.
- Lindholm, T. (2008). Validity in judgements of high- and low-accurate witnesses of own and other ethnic groups. *Legal and Criminological Psychology* 13(1): 107-121.
- Littlejohn, S.W., & Foss, K. A. (2008). *Theories of Human Communication* (9th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Higher Education.

- Linville, E. W. (1982). The complexity- extremity effect and age-based stereotyping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42: 193-211.
- Linville, E. W., & Jones, E. E. (1980). Polarized appraisals of outgroup members. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 38*: 689-703.
- Mackie, D. M., Hamilton, D. L., Susskind, J., & Rosselli, F. (1996). Social Psychological foundations of Stereotype Formation. In C. N. Macrae, C. Stangor & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Stereotypes & Stereotyping* (pp. 41-79). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- McGarty, C., Yzerbyt, V. Y. & Spears, R., (2002). *Stereotypes as Explanations: The formation of meaningful beliefs about social groups*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mendoza, S. L., Halualani, R. T., & Drzewiecka, J. A. (2002). Moving the Discourse on Identities in Intercultural Communication: Structure, Culture and Resignifications. *Communication Quarterly* 50(3,4): 312-327.
- Nafstad, I. (2011). Changing Control of the Open Drug Scenes in Oslo- Crime, Welfare, Immigration Control, or a Combination? *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 12(2): 128-152.
- Nguyen, A., Heeler, R. M., & Taran, Z. (2007). High-low context cultures and price-ending practices. *Journal of Product & Brand Management 16*(3): 206-214.
- Park, R. E. (1938). Reflections on Communication and Culture. *American Journal of Sociology* 44(2): 187-205.
- Penman, R. (1987). Discourse in court: Cooperation, coercion and coherence. *Discourse Processes* 10(3): 201-218.
- Pratt, M. L. (1986). Ideology and speech-Act Theory. *Poetics Today* 7(1): 59-72.
- Rice, G. (2003). The challenge of creativity and culture: a framework for analysis with application to Arabian Gulf firms. *International Business Review 12*(4): 461-477.
- Saladin, M., Saper, Z., & Breen, L. (1988). Perceived Attractiveness and Attributions of Criminality: What is Beautiful is not Criminal. *Canadian Journal of Criminology 30*: 251-259.

- Sandberg, S. (2008). Street capital: Ethnicity and violence on the streets of Oslo. *Theoretical Criminology* 12(2): 153-171.
- Shouby, E. (1951). The Influence of the Arabic Language on the Psychology of the Arabs. *Middle East Journal* 5(3): 284-302.
- Skardhamar, T., Thorsen, L. R. & Henriksen, K. (2011). Kriminalitet og straff blant innvandrere og øvrig befolkning. Oslo: Statistisk Sentralbyrå
- Skilbrei, M-L., & Tveit, M. (2011). Mission Impossible? Voluntary and Dignified Repatriation of Nigerian Victims of Trafficking. *Transnational Migration and Human Security* 6(3): 135-145.
- Smith, V., Siltanen, S. A., & Hosman, L. A. (1998). The effects of powerful and powerless speech styles and speaker expertise on impression formation and attitude change. *Communication Research Reports* 15(1): 27-35.
- Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1(2): 149-178.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G.
 Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33-47). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Tan, A., Fujioka, Y., & Lucht, N. (1997). Native American Stereotypes, TV Portrayals, and Personal Contact. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 74(2): 265-284.
- Trepte, S. (2006). Social Identity Theory. In J. Bryant & P. Vorderer (Eds.), *Psychology of Entertainment* (pp. 255-271). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Trubisky, P., Ting-Toomey, S., & Lin, S-L. (1991). The Influence of Individualism-Collectivism and Self-Monitoring on Conflict Styles. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 15: 65-84.
- Turner, J. C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, & B. Doojse (Eds.), Social identity: Context, commitment, content (pp. 6–34). Oxford: Blackwell.

- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D. & Wetherell, M. S. (1987).

 Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Usunier, J-C., & Roulin, N. (2010). The Influence of High- and Low-Context Communication Styles on the Design, Content, and Language of Business-To-Business Web Sites. *Journal of Business Communication* 47(2): 189-227.
- Vrij, A. (1993). Credibility judgments of detectives: The impact of non-verbal behavior, social skills and physical characteristics on impression formation. *The Journal of Social Psychology 133*: 601-610.
- Vrij, A. (2008). *Detecting Lies and Deceit: Pitfalls and Opportunities*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Vrij, A., Dragt, A., & Koppelaar, L. (1992). Interviews with ethnic interviewees: Non-verbal communication errors in impression formation. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 2(3): 199-208.
- Vrij, A., & Firmin, H. R., (2001). Beautiful Thus Innocent? The Impact of Defendants' and Victims' Physical Attractiveness and Participants' Rape Beliefs on Impression Formation in Alleged Rape Cases. *International Review of Victimology* 8(3): 245-255.
- Vrij, A., & Winkel, F. W. (1992). Crosscultural Police-Citizen Interactions: The Influence of Race, Beliefs, and Nonverbal Communication on Impression Formation. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 22(19): 1546-1559.
- Vrij, A., & Winkel, F. W. (1994). Perceptual Distortions in Cross-Cultural Interrogations: The Impact of Skin Color, Accent, Speech Style, and Spoken Fluency on Impression Formation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 25(2): 284-295.
- Wessel, E. M., Bollingmo, G. C., Sønsteby, C., Nielsen, L. M., Eilertsen, D.E., & Magnussen, S. (2012). The emotional witness effect: story content, emotional valence and credibility of a male suspect. *Psychology, Crime & Law* 18(5): 417-430.
- Zaharna, R. (1995). Understanding Cultural Preferences of Arab Communication Patterns. *Public Relations Review 21*(3): 241-255.

Zaharna, R. (2004). Asymmetry of Cultural Styles & the Unintended Consequences of Crisis

Public Diplomacy. In H. Slavik (Ed.), *Intercultural Communication & Diplomacy*(pp. 133-142). Malta: Diplo Foundation.

Appendix

The statements

Short Statement

Denne undersøkelsen er en del av en større studie som ser på effekten av å fremlegge transkriberte (skriftlig), video- eller lydbåndopptak av politiavhør i retten og hvorvidt det vil kunne påvirke en jurys bedømmelse av skyldspørsmålet. Vi ønsker at du skal lese følgende forklaring og deretter svare på noen spørsmål.

Bakgrunn

Kemal Hussein er anklaget for sammen med kjæresten sin Elvira, å ha oppbevart narkotika i leiligheten hvor hun bor. Tiltalte skylder på Elvira. Han sier at han forstod at det var narkotika i leiligheten, men benekter å ha hatt noe med oppbevaringen å gjøre. Det er ikke straffbart å ha kjennskap til at andre oppbevarer narkotika. Avgjørende for skyldspørsmålet er om tiltalte selv har håndtert stoffet eller hjulpet Elvira med å gjøre det.

Etterforsker: Kan du fortelle meg om din befatning med denne saken?

Kemal: Jeg traff Elvira etter at jeg kom til Oslo og etter hvert ble vi kjærester. Jeg har vært i hennes leilighet noen ganger, og jeg oppdaget da raskt en lukt som minnet om marihuana eller hasj. Jeg spurte om hvorfor det luktet sånn, men hun ville ikke svare.

Etterforsker: Når forsto du at det kunne være narkotika?

Kemal: En kveld kom det en gutt på døren som var morokaner eller fra kurdistan eller noe. Jeg vet ikke sikkert. Jeg ser han gir penger til Elvira. Jeg så ikke at Elvira ga noe til han og at hun fikk penger fra ham som hun la fra seg. Men hun ville ikke si til meg hva dette handlet om.

Etterforsker: Har du hatt befatning med narkotikaen?

Kemal: Nei.

Vi vet at det er annen informasjon som må tas i betraktning når man bestemmer utfallet av en sak, men vi vil gjerne høre din mening om forklaringen som her ble gitt.

Long statement

Denne undersøkelsen er en del av en større studie som ser på effekten av å fremlegge transkriberte (skriftlig), video- eller lydbåndopptak av politiavhør i retten og hvorvidt det vil kunne påvirke en jurys bedømmelse av skyldspørsmålet. Vi ønsker at du skal lese følgende forklaring og deretter svare på noen spørsmål.

Bakgrunn

Johan Pettersen er anklaget for sammen med kjæresten sin Elvira, å ha oppbevart narkotika i leiligheten hvor hun bor. Tiltalte skylder på Elvira. Han sier at han forstod at det var narkotika i leiligheten, men benekter å ha hatt noe med oppbevaringen å gjøre. Det er ikke straffbart å ha kjennskap til at andre oppbevarer narkotika. Avgjørende for skyldspørsmålet er om tiltalte selv har håndtert stoffet eller hjulpet Elvira med å gjøre det.

Etterforsker: Kan du fortelle meg om din befatning med denne saken?

Johan: Vi hadde først litt kontakt gjennom søsteren min, så ble vi kjærester. Jeg har vært i hennes leilighet noen ganger. I begynnelsen var hun veldig snill og grei. I denne perioden merket jeg at hun skjulte noe i leiligheten. Jeg merket at hun hadde noen hemmeligheter som hun ikke ville fortelle meg. Når jeg var hos henne luktet det veldig vondt. Jeg sa "hvorfor lukter det så vondt". Det luktet som marihuana eller hasj. Den lukten var det i huset. Jeg tenkte da at hun hadde sånne saker i leiligheten. Men hun sa ingenting om det. I et diskotek kan det være litt lukt, men her var det mye.

Etterforsker: Når forstod du at det kunne være narkotika?

Johan: En kveld jeg var i leiligheten skjedde det noe. Det kom en gutt på døren som var marokkaner eller fra Kurdistan eller noe. Jeg vet ikke sikkert. Jeg ser at han gir penger til Elvira. Elvira vil ikke si noen ting om dette til meg. Jeg så heller ikke at Elvira ga noe til han, men jeg så at hun fikk penger fra ham som hun la fra seg. Jeg spurte meg selv hvilket forhold hun har til denne marokkanske mannen. Jeg var hennes kjæreste, hva har hun med han å gjøre. Når jeg så at en ung gutt kom med penger da blir det klart for meg at hun har noe i huset som hun skjuler for meg. Siden gutten gir henne penger, og det lukter, da tenker jeg at hun har narkotika i huset eller at hun oppbevarer narkotika. Jeg skjønte at hun hadde med sånne saker å gjøre.

Etterforsker: Har du hatt befatning med narkotikaen?

Johan: Nei, jeg sverger.

Vi vet at det er annen informasjon som må tas i betraktning når man bestemmer utfallet av en sak, men vi vil gjerne høre din mening om forklaringen som her ble gitt.

Questionnaire

1). Tiltaltes forklaring virket				
13	4	5	6	7
Troverdig				Ikke troverdig
2). Tiltaltes forklaring virket				
13	4	5	6	7
Sannsynlig				Ikke sannsynlig
3). Tiltaltes forklaring virket				
133	4	5	6	57
Klar/presis				Uklar/upresis
4). Tiltaltes forklaring virket				
13	4	5	6	7
Ryddig				Lite ryddig
5). Tiltaltes forklaring virket				
13	4	5	6	57
Relevant				Lite relevant
6). Tiltaltes forklaring virket				
13	4	5	6	<u> 5</u> 7
Emosjonell				Lite emosjonell

Hva var sentralt for din vurdering av troverdighet?

7.1). Måten forklaringen ble lagt frem	på (forklaringens struktur, ryddighet o.l)?
14	7
Viktig	Ikke viktig
7.2). Hvor omfattende/utdypende fork	laringen var?
14	7
Viktig	Ikke viktig
7.3). Hvor presis forklaringen var?	
14	7
Viktig	Ikke viktig
7.4). Innholdet i forklaringen (informa	ativ o.l)?
14	57
Viktig	Ikke viktig
7.5). Tiltaltes kulturelle bakgrunn?	
14	7
Viktig	Ikke viktig

8). Andre forhold?				
9). Dersom du har oppgitt andre forh	old, hvor sentrale var nevnte forhold for din vurdering?			
14	7			
Viktig	Ikke viktig			
10). Vil du si at tiltaltes forklaring san troverdig forklaring skal gis?	msvarer med dine forventninger om hvordan en			
14	57			
Samsvarer	Samsvarer ikke			
Hvor enig/uenig er du i følgende på	stander?			
11.1). Alt som fremkom av forklaring	en var tilstrekkelig			
14	7			
Helt enig	Helt uenig			
11.2). Alt som fremkom av forklaring				
Helt enig	Helt uenig			

12). Sannsynlighete	for at han blir dømt:
020	308090100%
13). Merk av hvorvid	t du tror han er skyldig eller ikke-skyldig
Skyldig	Uskyldig
Og så vil vi vite litt	om deg:
Kjønn:	
Alder:	
Fagområde:	
Semester:	

Se for deg at du som jurymedlem skal stemme over skyldspørsmålet i retten. Vi vet at

det er annen informasjon som må tas med i betraktning når man skal avgjøre

skyldspørsmålet. Likevel ønsker vi din mening om følgende:

Recruitment email

Hei!

Vil du delta i et vitnepsykologisk forskningsprosjekt?

Dette forskningsprosjektet er en del av et større prosjekt ved Psykologisk Institutt ved Universitetet i Oslo. Det vi ønsker å se på er om ulike presentasjonsformer av politiavhør i retten kan påvirke en jurys bedømmelse av skyldspørsmålet.

Nedenfor finner du en link til en skriftlig forklaring med påfølgende spørreskjema. Skjemaet inneholder ingen personlige spørsmål, det er helt anonymt og tar mellom 5-15 minutter å besvare.

Tusen takk for din deltakelse!

Her ligger linken: https://www.surveymonkey.com/

Ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet er stipendiat Ellen Margrethe Wessel, og denne undersøkelsen gjennomføres av masterstudent Susan Fooladi og masterstudent Christin N. Dietrichson.