

# Scientific Content Analysis (SCAN) cannot distinguish between truthful and fabricated accounts of a negative event

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In review

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The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest

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All authors have made substantial contributions to the conception and design of the work, GB acquired and analysed the data, and all authors interpreted the data and revised the article concerning its content and approved the current version.

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### *Abstract*

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The Scientific Content Analysis (SCAN) is a verbal veracity assessment method that is currently used worldwide by investigative authorities. Yet, research investigating the accuracy of SCAN is scarce. The present study tested whether SCAN was able to accurately discriminate between true and fabricated statements. To this end, 117 participants were asked to write down one true and one fabricated statement about a recent negative event that happened in their lives. All statements were analyzed using 11 criteria derived from SCAN. Results indicated that SCAN was not able to correctly classify true and fabricated statements. Lacking empirical support, the application of SCAN in its current form should be discouraged.

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The study was approved by the standing ethical committee of the Faculty of Psychology and Neuroscience, Maastricht University.

*Please detail the consent procedure used for human participants or for animal owners. If not applicable, please state this.*

Upon arrival at the lab, all participants provided written informed consent

*Please detail any additional considerations of the study in cases where vulnerable populations were involved, for example minors, persons with disabilities or endangered animal species. If not applicable, please state this.*

Not applicable

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**Abstract**

The Scientific Content Analysis (SCAN) is a verbal veracity assessment method that is currently used worldwide by investigative authorities. Yet, research investigating the accuracy of SCAN is scarce. The present study tested whether SCAN was able to accurately discriminate between true and fabricated statements. To this end, 117 participants were asked to write down one true and one fabricated statement about a recent negative event that happened in their lives. All statements were analyzed using 11 criteria derived from SCAN. Results indicated that SCAN was not able to correctly classify true and fabricated statements. Lacking empirical support, the application of SCAN in its current form should be discouraged.

In review

36 **Introduction**

37 Research has revealed that non-verbal cues (e.g., behavioural cues such as gaze  
38 aversion, sweating) are faint and differences between liars and truth tellers are small  
39 at best (DePaulo et al., 2003; Sporer and Schwandt, 2007). However, findings about  
40 verbal cues are less variable and are more strongly related to deception (Vrij, 2008;  
41 Bond and DePaulo, 2006; Vrij, 2008). Verbal cues (or content cues) are cues that can  
42 be found in the content and meaning of a statement, such as the number of details that  
43 are included in a story (e.g., he had a large spider tattoo in his neck). Indeed, lying has  
44 been shown to result in qualitative differences between deceptive and truthful  
45 language. As a result, various verbal credibility assessment tools have been developed  
46 that address these content criteria within statements. Although the exact content  
47 criteria included may differ depending on the method, the procedure is highly similar.  
48 The presence of the criteria within the statements is carefully checked, and based on  
49 the presence or absence of the various criteria, a conclusion is drawn about its  
50 truthfulness.

51  
52 One example of such a content criterion is “quantity of details”. In order to fulfil this  
53 criterion, a statement has to be rich in details, such as mentioning places (e.g., it  
54 happened in the kitchen), times (e.g., on Sunday evening at 8 p.m.), descriptions of  
55 people and objects (e.g., a tall man with bright blue eyes), etc. Additionally, deceit has  
56 been related to the use of fewer personal pronouns (e.g., using “the house” instead of  
57 “our house”) and fewer negations (e.g., no, never, not), using less perceptual  
58 information (e.g., “I could smell the alcohol in his breath”), less details overall and  
59 shorter statements (Amado et al., 2015; Hauch et al., 2014; Masip et al., 2005;  
60 Newman et al., 2003). As mentioned previously, several methods have been  
61 developed to address these issues.

62  
63 Two well-established credibility assessment tools that tap into such content  
64 differences are the Criteria Based Content Analysis (CBCA) and Reality Monitoring  
65 (RM). For CBCA, two theoretical assumptions have been presented by Köhnken  
66 (1996). First, lying is seen as more cognitively challenging than telling the truth.  
67 Second, liars are expected to be more concerned with impression management than  
68 truth tellers. More precisely, a first subset of CBCA criteria is included because they  
69 are deemed too difficult to fabricate (e.g., descriptions of interactions with the  
70 perpetrator). Hence, their presence in a statement indicates an actual experience. The  
71 remainder of the CBCA criteria are concerned with the way an interviewee presents  
72 his or her story. It is expected that liars are concerned with how they are viewed by  
73 others and therefore leave out information that can possibly damage their view of  
74 being an honest person (e.g., mentioning self-deprecating information). Consequently,  
75 a truthful person is more likely to include these criteria in their statement than a  
76 deceptive person. RM, in contrast, is derived from memory research and holds that  
77 memories of real events are obtained through sensory processes, making them more  
78 clear, sharp and vivid. Fabricated statements, on the other hand, are the result of  
79 fantasy and are usually more vague and less concrete (Johnson and Raye, 1981).  
80 Indeed, various studies reported supportive evidence for these methods. Their overall  
81 accuracy for detecting deceit varies around 70%, and is considerably higher than  
82 chance level (Amado et al., 2015; Johnson and Raye, 1981; Masip et al., 2005; Steller  
83 and Köhnken, 1989; Undeutsch, 1967; Vrij, 2005).  
84

85 Despite the research showing above chance accuracy for CBCA and RM, their field  
86 use seems limited. A third method - that is used by Law enforcement worldwide - is  
87 Scientific Content Analysis (SCAN). SCAN was developed by former Israeli  
88 polygraph examiner Avinoam Sapir (2005), who - based on his experience with  
89 polygraph examinees - argues that people who tell the truth differ from liars in the  
90 type of language they use. Based on these assumed differences, Sapir developed  
91 criteria that, according to him, can assist in differentiating between true and fabricated  
92 statements, but without reporting a theoretical foundation as to why these specific  
93 criteria should differ. For example, SCAN includes the criterion “social introduction”.  
94 It is argued that people who are described in the statement should be introduced with  
95 name and role (e.g., My friend, John). If a person leaves out information (e.g., We  
96 stole the key), so leaving out the name, role or both, this indicates deception. Another  
97 criterion is the “structure of the statement”. According to SCAN, 20% of the  
98 statement should consist of information that led up to the event, 50% should be about  
99 the main event and 30% of the statement should be about what happened after the  
100 event. The more the statement deviates from this structure, the higher the likelihood  
101 that the statement is deceptive. Yet, in contrast to CBCA and RM, no theoretical  
102 rationale is presented, and there is no evidence that these criteria are actually  
103 diagnostic (Bogaard et al., 2014; Nahari et al., 2012; Vanderhallen et al., 2015).

104  
105 Research about SCAN is scarce, although the method is used worldwide (e.g.,  
106 Australia, Belgium, Canada, Israel, Mexico, UK, US, the Netherlands, Qatar,  
107 Singapore, South Africa) and is also used by federal agencies, military law  
108 enforcement, private corporations, and social services (retrieved from  
109 [www.lsiscan.com/id29.htm](http://www.lsiscan.com/id29.htm)). Moreover, the third author asked during an investigative  
110 interviewing seminar which lie detection tool was used by the practitioners in the  
111 audience. These practitioners came from many different countries and the most  
112 frequent answer was SCAN (Vrij, 2008). In a typical SCAN procedure, the examinee  
113 is asked to write down “everything that happened” in a particular period of time, to  
114 get a “pure version” of the facts (Sapir, 2005). This pure version is typically obtained  
115 without the interviewer interrupting or influencing the examinee. Next, a SCAN  
116 trained analyst investigates a copy of the handwritten statement, using several criteria  
117 that are described throughout the SCAN manual (Sapir, 2005). Criteria that are  
118 present within the written statements are highlighted according to a specific colour  
119 scheme, circled or underlined. The presence of a specific criterion can either indicate  
120 truthfulness or deception, depending on the criterion itself. This SCAN analysis is  
121 then used to generate questions that could elucidate important details within the  
122 statement, and/or to make a judgment of the veracity of the statement. Although  
123 SCAN is used worldwide, it lacks a well-defined list of criteria, as well as a  
124 standardized scoring system. Bogaard et al. (2014) has shown that 12 criteria  
125 primarily drove SCAN in sexual abuse cases, largely overlapping with the criteria list  
126 described in Vrij (2008). Only six published studies examined the validity of SCAN  
127 (Bogaard et al., 2014; Driscoll, 1994; Nahari et al., 2012; Porter and Yuille, 1996;  
128 Smith, 2001; Vanderhallen et al., 2015) of which only four were published in peer  
129 reviewed journals. The two studies that were not published in peer reviewed journals  
130 (Driscoll (1994) and Smith (2001)) were both field studies investigating suspect  
131 statements.

132

133 Driscoll (1994) investigated 30 statements that were classified as either apparently  
134 accurate or doubtful. With the help of SCAN, 84% of the statements could be

135 classified correctly. In the study of Smith, five groups of experts were asked to  
136 analyse 27 statements. These statements were previously classified by police officers  
137 as truthful, false or undecided. This classification was made on the basis of  
138 confessions and supportive evidence. Three groups consisted of SCAN trained  
139 officers that had minimal, moderate or extensive experience with using SCAN. The  
140 two other groups consisted of newly recruited officers and experienced officers. The  
141 first three groups used SCAN to analyse the statements, while the latter two groups  
142 judged the veracity of the statements without using SCAN. Overall, the SCAN groups  
143 correctly judged 78% of the statements, which was similar to the accuracy of the  
144 experienced officers. At first glance, these results seem to support SCAN. Yet, in both  
145 studies ground truth of the statements was unknown and statements were categorized  
146 as either truthful or doubtful without having hard evidence supporting this  
147 categorisation. Moreover, it cannot be excluded that the SCAN outcome influenced  
148 the course of the investigation, and therefore the confessions and supporting evidence  
149 that was gathered. A typical problem that can occur in such studies is that errors are  
150 systematically excluded from the sample. For example, if a statement is erroneously  
151 judged as truthful, no further investigation takes place. This means that no evidence  
152 will be found revealing that an error has been made, and such erroneous  
153 classifications are then excluded from the sample. This way of selecting the sample  
154 may therefore be biased to overestimate SCAN's accuracy (for more information see  
155 Iacono, 1991; Meijer et al., In press). Moreover, in Smith's study, it was unclear  
156 whether the three undecided statements were included in the reported analyses  
157 (Armistead, 2011).

158  
159 The following four studies investigating SCAN were published in peer-reviewed  
160 journals. Porter and Yuille (1996) resolved the problem of ground truth by asking  
161 participants to commit a mock crime. However, they only investigated three SCAN  
162 criteria (i.e., unnecessary connectors, use of pronouns and structure of the statement),  
163 and results indicated no significant differences between true and fabricated statements  
164 concerning these criteria. Nahari et al. (2012) asked six independent raters to assess  
165 the presence of 13 SCAN criteria within various true and fabricated statements.  
166 Results showed that SCAN did not discriminate between truthful and fabricated  
167 statements, a conclusion that was also supported by Bogaard et al. (2014). In their  
168 study, participants were asked to write down one truthful and one fabricated  
169 autobiographical statement about a negative event that recently happened to them.  
170 Two raters indicated the presence of 12 SCAN criteria, but no significant differences  
171 emerged between truth tellers and liars. Vanderhallen et al. (2015), finally, asked  
172 SCAN trained police officers to classify four statements as either truthful or deceptive  
173 based on SCAN, and compared their accuracy to students and police officers who  
174 made this classification without the help of SCAN. The SCAN group had an average  
175 accuracy of 68%, police officers without SCAN 72%, and students 65%. The  
176 accuracy of the SCAN group did not significantly differ from the police officers who  
177 did not use SCAN. Consequently, from these results it was concluded that SCAN did  
178 not have an incremental value in detecting deceit.

179  
180 Given that SCAN is used worldwide in police investigations, providing support, or the  
181 lack thereof, is not trivial (Meijer et al., 2009). Using a data set of 234 statements, the  
182 current study aimed at extending previous SCAN findings, and to investigate whether  
183 the different SCAN criteria can actually discriminate between truthful and fabricated  
184 statements. Although Nahari et al. (2012), Bogaard et al. (2014) and Vanderhallen et

185 al. (2015) investigated SCAN, Bogaard et al. mainly focused on the SCAN total  
186 scores, and not on the separate criteria, or the accuracy of SCAN. Separate criteria  
187 scores were reported, but their power was too low to make any conclusions from these  
188 results. In contrast, Nahari et al. asked participants to perform a mock crime, meaning  
189 that the statements that were analysed with SCAN were restricted to “false denials”  
190 (i.e., people who performed the mock crime but lied about it). Moreover, in the study  
191 of Vanderhallen et al. four statements on traffic accidents were used. The statements  
192 included in our study are broader than false denials or traffic accidents, as we  
193 requested participants to write about a negative autobiographical event. In this way,  
194 participants not only reported false denials, but also false allegations (i.e., stating they  
195 fell victim to a crime, while in fact they were not). Participants could report about  
196 whatever they preferred, thereby including various topics, as would also be the case in  
197 police investigations where SCAN is usually applied.

198

## 199 **Method**

### 200 *Participants*

201 All participants ( $N=117$ ) were first and second year health sciences students (i.e.,  
202 Mental health or Psychology) of Maastricht University (37 men). The data of 85  
203 participants were collected specifically for this study, while the remaining 32 came  
204 from the control group of Bogaard et al. (2014). Instructions for these 2 datasets were  
205 identical, and they were combined to increase power. We report the analysis for the  
206 entire sample below, but also include the findings for the new dataset in appendix B.  
207 Participants could choose whether they wanted to receive one course credit or a 7,5  
208 Euro gift voucher for their participation. Approximately 50 students chose the gift  
209 voucher over the course credit. All participants read and signed a letter of Informed  
210 Consent before they took part in this study. Participants had a mean age of 21 years  
211 ( $SD = 2.35$ ). The experiment was approved by the appropriate standing ethical  
212 committee.

213

### 214 *Procedure*

215 Upon arrival in the lab, participants were told that the study was about the accuracy of  
216 verbal lie detection methods. Participants were asked to write about a truthful and a  
217 fabricated event. The order in which participants wrote these statements was  
218 randomized. Approximately half of the participants started with the truthful statement,  
219 the other half started with the fabricated statement. For the truthful statement  
220 participants received the following instruction: “For this study we ask you to think  
221 about an event you actually experienced. More specifically, this event should be about  
222 a recent negative experience; think about a financial, emotional or physical negative  
223 event you’ve been through the past months.” For the fabricated statement participants  
224 received the following instruction: “ For this study we ask you to think about an event  
225 that you have not actually experienced. This event should be about a recent negative  
226 experience; think about a financial, emotional or physical negative event you could  
227 have been through the past months. This event should not be based on something that  
228 actually happened to you or your friends or family. Please pretend as if this event took  
229 place somewhere in the previous months. Although the story should be fabricated, the  
230 statement should consist of a realistic scenario.” After the instruction, participants had  
231 the opportunity to think about a real and a fabricated story for a maximum of 5  
232 minutes. Participants were assured that their stories would be treated confidentially  
233 and anonymously. They were told that the length of the stories should be



234 approximately one written page (A4). No time limit was set for the production of the  
235 statements.

236

### 237 *Statement coding*

238 After participants finished their stories, these were analysed by four raters. One rater  
239 completed the three-day SCAN course. The other three raters received a 2-hour  
240 training about SCAN, using the SCAN manual (Sapir, 2005), given by the SCAN  
241 trained rater. Moreover, they received the appropriate pages of Vrij (2008a) about  
242 SCAN (Chapter 10; 282-287). During the training all 12 criteria were discussed  
243 separately and examples of the specific criteria were presented and discussed. Next,  
244 raters received two practice statements of 1 page each, and were asked to analyze  
245 these statements. After all raters analyzed these statements, their analyses were  
246 discussed and questions they still had about SCAN were answered. When the training  
247 was completed, raters started analyzing the statements.

248

249 Although the raters were not blind to the aim of the study, they were blind to the  
250 veracity of the statements. The first author served as one of the raters, the other raters  
251 were not otherwise involved in the study and were research assistants of the first  
252 author. The rater who completed the original SCAN training scored all 234  
253 statements, while the other three raters scored approximately 80 statements each. In  
254 order to control for potential order effects, the sequence of the statements to be scored  
255 was varied from rater to rater. Rater A scored all statements in the order of 1 to 234,  
256 while the other raters scored the statements in the reverse order (rater B started from  
257 79 to 1, rater C started from 157 to 80 and rater D from 234 to 158).

258

259 A total of 12 criteria (Vrij, 2008a) were coded within the statements. According to  
260 SCAN, seven of these criteria indicate truthfulness: (1) denial of allegations, (2)  
261 Social introductions, (3) Structure of the statement, (4) Emotions, (5) Objective and  
262 subjective time, (6) First person singular, past tense, (7) Pronouns, while the  
263 remaining five indicate deception: (8) Change in language (9) Spontaneous  
264 corrections (10) Lack of conviction or memory (11) Out of sequence and extraneous,  
265 (12) Missing information. See appendix A for a complete description of the different  
266 criteria. All criteria that are expected to indicate truthfulness were scored on a 3-point  
267 scale ranging from 0 (not present) to 2 (strongly present), while the 5 criteria that are  
268 expected to indicate deception were scored in reverse, ranging from -2 (strongly  
269 present) to 0 (not present). By using this scoring system, a higher score indicates a  
270 higher likelihood that the statement is truthful and vice versa.

271

## 272 **Results**

### 273 *Inter-rater reliability*

274 Inter-rater reliability was calculated by means of Cohen's Kappa for each of the 12  
275 separate criteria. The Kappa values for the truthful statements varied from 0.60 to 1  
276 with an average Cohen's Kappa of 0.77. The Kappa values for the fabricated  
277 statements varied from 0.65 to 1, with an average kappa of 0.78. These results  
278 indicated that there is high agreement between the raters (Landis and Koch, 1977).  
279 Because variance was low for several criteria, Cohen's Kappa could give a distorted  
280 image of the actual inter-rater reliability. Therefore, we also included inter-rater  
281 agreement calculated by means of percentage agreement and its presence in the  
282 statement. Therefore, we dichotomized the original data set with presence coded as 1  
283 and absence as 0. High agreement was achieved for all SCAN criteria ranging from

284 80.34% to 100% with an average of 90.56%. The scoring of the three raters was  
285 always compared to those of the rater that completed the SCAN training. As  
286 reliability showed to be sufficient, this also showed that our 2-hour SCAN training  
287 was sufficient to score the investigated SCAN criteria reliably.

288

#### 289 *Data analysis*

290 Because the inter-rater reliability was high, we averaged the scores of the two raters  
291 for each criterion. Due to the nature of our instructions (i.e., autobiographical  
292 statements) the first criteria could not have been coded in the statements. As such, we  
293 have left out “denial of allegations” in the following analysis. Next, we calculated the  
294 sum scores for each statement by summing up the averaged scores of the separate  
295 criteria. To investigate the discriminability of SCAN, we conducted several  
296 Generalized Estimation Equation (GEE) analyses (see for example Burton et al.,  
297 1998); one for each separate criterion. Moreover, we conducted a paired samples t-test  
298 for the sum score, and a discriminant analysis to test SCAN’s predictive power  
299 concerning the veracity of statements.

300

#### 301 *Number of words*

302 The length of the statements did not significantly differ between the true ( $M = 265.42$ ;  
303  $SD = 85.48$ ) and fabricated statements ( $M = 261.86$ ;  $SD = 88.12$ ) [ $t(116) = 0.63$ ,  $p =$   
304  $0.53$ ,  $d = 0.04$ ].

305

#### 306 *SCAN criteria scores*

307 Table 1 shows the mean differences in each of the SCAN criteria as a function of  
308 veracity. To analyze the separate criteria, we have dichotomized our data by recoding  
309 presence as 1 (regardless of whether the score was a 1 or a 2) and absence as 0. Next,  
310 we analyzed the data with GEE in order to investigate the differences between truthful  
311 and fabricated statement for each of the separate criteria. Due to very low variability  
312 of the criterion “pronouns” (i.e., it was present in almost all of the statements), this  
313 criterion was left out of the analysis. To correct for multiple testing we used an alpha  
314 level of .01. As Table 2 shows, only one criterion significantly differed between the  
315 statements, namely “Change in language”. Participants included more changes in  
316 language in their fabricated statements compared to their truthful statements. This  
317 criterion was present in 29 out of 117 fabricated statements (24.8%) and in 14 out of  
318 117 true statements (12%). In Appendix B (Table B1) we have presented the results  
319 of only the new data, and results showed again that “Change in language”  
320 significantly differed between statements.

321

#### 322 *SCAN sum scores*

323 Results indicated that there were no differences in SCAN sum scores between true ( $M$   
324  $= 5.33$ ;  $SD = 2.10$ ) and fabricated ( $M = 5.15$ ;  $SD = 2.25$ ) statements [ $t(116) = 0.77$ ,  $p$   
325  $= 0.44$ ,  $d = 0.12$ ].

326

327 Lastly, we conducted a discriminant analysis to investigate whether the SCAN criteria  
328 were able to predict veracity. As can be seen in Table 3, only one significant mean  
329 difference was observed, and this was for “Change in language” ( $p < 0.01$ ). The  
330 discriminate function revealed a low association between veracity and SCAN criteria,  
331 only accounting for 7.20 % of the variability. Closer analysis of the structure matrix  
332 revealed that three criteria that had moderate discriminant loadings (i.e., Pearson  
333 coefficients), these were – again - “Change in language” (0.664), “Structure of the

334 statement” (0.412) and “Social introduction” (-0.353). The uncorrected model resulted  
335 in correct classification of 59% of the truth tellers, and 65% of the liars. The cross-  
336 validated classification, however, showed that 49.60 % of the liars and 53 % of the  
337 truth tellers were correctly classified, thereby showing that SCAN performed around  
338 chance level. In Appendix B (Table B2), we have presented the results of only the  
339 new data, and results showed to be similar. The uncorrected model resulted in a  
340 correct classification of 63% of the truth tellers, and 58% of the liars. The cross-  
341 validated classification showed that 50 % of the liars and 55 % of the truth tellers  
342 were correctly classified, again showing that SCAN performed around chance level.  
343

### 344 **Discussion**

345 In the current study, we failed to find support for SCAN as a lie detection method.  
346 The total SCAN score did not significantly differ between true and fabricated  
347 statements, so confirming previous results (Bogaard et al., 2014; Nahari et al., 2012).  
348 Interestingly, for a subset of our data CBCA and RM sum scores were coded and did  
349 discriminate between the truthful and fabricated statements (Bogaard et al., 2014). As  
350 such, it seems that the absence of significant SCAN findings cannot be attributed to  
351 the quality of the statements used in this study. Furthermore, we investigated the  
352 separate SCAN criteria, and only one criterion “Change in language” significantly  
353 differentiated between true and fabricated statements; participants changed their  
354 language more in their fabricated statements compared to their truthful statements.  
355

356 Interestingly, the criterion “Change in language” is not described in other verbal  
357 credibility methods (e.g., CBCA, RM). Therefore, our findings concerning this  
358 criterion are noteworthy. Sapir (2005) explained in his manual that especially words  
359 describing family members (e.g., mother, father, dad, mom, etc.), people (e.g.,  
360 someone, individual, man, guy, etc.), communication (e.g., told, spoke, talked, etc.),  
361 transport (e.g., vehicle, car, truck, etc.) and weapons (e.g., gun, rifle, revolver, pistol,  
362 etc.) should be investigated carefully. The idea is that such a change indicates  
363 something has altered in the mind of the writer. When the events in the statements  
364 justify this change it does not indicate deception per se, however, in all other cases  
365 these changes indicate deceit. But what exactly is meant by a justification is not  
366 described in the manual. Consequently, due to the absence of clear guidelines on  
367 verifying whether a change is justified, the current study scored all changes in  
368 language as a cue to deceit, and might therefore differ from how SCAN is used in  
369 practice.  
370

371 Both the analyses of the SCAN sum score and the discriminant analysis showed  
372 SCAN did not perform above chance level. This chance level performance can be  
373 understood when looking at various contradicting interpretations of its criteria  
374 compared with CBCA. More precisely, both methods describe “spontaneous  
375 corrections” and “lack of conviction or memory”, but differ in their use. For CBCA  
376 both criteria are interpreted as a sign of truthfulness, while for SCAN both criteria are  
377 interpreted as a sign of deceit. Commonsensically, only one interpretation can be  
378 correct. As CBCA is far more embedded in the scientific literature and has been  
379 shown to detect deceit above chance level (Amado et al., 2015; Vrij, 2005), CBCA’s  
380 interpretations should be favored over SCAN. Also, SCAN does not consider criteria  
381 involved in judging distinctive types of details. Both CBCA and RM consist of  
382 various types of details that have to be checked. For example, with these methods it is  
383 checked whether there is information in the statement about when (i.e., temporal

384 details) and where (i.e., spatial details) the event took place, about what the writer saw  
385 during the event (i.e., visual details) and whether there were any other perceptual  
386 details (i.e., smells, tastes, sensations, sounds). Research showed that especially these  
387 types of criteria are significantly more present in truthful compared to fabricated  
388 statements (DePaulo et al., 2003; Masip et al., 2005; Vrij, 2005).

389

390 Relatedly, recent meta-analytical research reveals that passively observing cues only  
391 has a limited influence on our deception detection abilities, as most of these cues are  
392 generally weak (Hartwig and Bond, 2011). The authors argue we should actively  
393 increase the verbal and non-verbal differences between liars and truth tellers. Various  
394 techniques have already been suggested, such as focusing on unanticipated questions  
395 during the interrogation (Vrij et al., 2009), applying the Strategic Use of Evidence  
396 technique (Granhag et al., 2007) or inducing cognitive load (Vrij et al., 2006; Vrij et  
397 al., 2008; Vrij et al., 2011; Vrij et al., 2012). SCAN fails to actively influence the  
398 information that is provided by the interviewee, which potentially contributes to its  
399 chance performance.

400

401 Finally, users of SCAN may argue that the way SCAN is tested in laboratory studies  
402 such as these, is far from how it is applied in the field, and that the results therefore do  
403 not translate. However, the diagnostic value of SCAN and its criteria lies within its  
404 capabilities of discriminating between truthful and fabricated statements. SCAN  
405 makes no assumptions as to *why* or *when* these differences between truths and lies  
406 occur, only that they occur. As such, also laboratory studies – for example where  
407 participants are asked to fabricate a negative event – should be able to pick up such  
408 differences, if they exist. Moreover, it has proven to be exceptionally difficult to test  
409 the accuracy of SCAN in field studies as the reliability of SCAN has shown to be  
410 extremely low (Bogaard et al., 2014; Vanderhallen et al., 2015). The only way to  
411 control for this low reliability is to use a more standardized scoring system, as we  
412 have done so in the current study. For example, as is mentioned previously, SCAN  
413 does not consist of a fixed list of criteria, and the criteria are not scored on a scale. In  
414 field studies, SCAN analysts write a report about the presence or absence of the  
415 criteria, and on the basis of this report, they make a conclusion about the truthfulness  
416 of the statement. As such, it is unclear how many criteria are actually taken into  
417 consideration when making a judgment, and whether these criteria are weighed  
418 equally.

419

420 In sum, SCAN has no empirical support to date, and fails to include criteria  
421 investigating different types of details. Only one criterion showed potential for lie  
422 detection research, but has to be investigated more thoroughly in order to overcome  
423 the problems that are inherent to SCAN and its criteria (e.g., vague description,  
424 ambiguous interpretation). As a result, we discourage the application of SCAN in its  
425 current form.

426

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515  
516

517 **Appendix A**

518 SCAN criteria (derived from Vrij (2008a)).

- 519 (1) **Denial of allegations:** Refers to whether the examinee directly denies the  
520 allegation in the statement by stating “I did not...”. This criterion assumes  
521 that a truthful person is more likely to directly deny his or her involvement in  
522 the act.
- 523 (2) **Social introduction:** Refers to how the persons described in the statement  
524 are introduced. People that are described within a statement should be  
525 introduced in an unambiguous way, usually by mentioning their name and  
526 role (e.g., My wife, Susan). Deviations from this type of introduction indicate  
527 deception.
- 528 (3) **Structure of the statement:** Refers to the balance of the statement. In a  
529 truthful statement 20% is used to describe activities leading up to the event,  
530 the next 50% to describe the actual event, and the final 30% to discuss what  
531 happened after the event.
- 532 (4) **Emotions:** Refers to where there are emotions described in the statement.  
533 Usually emotions should be described in the epilogue of the statement. When  
534 emotions are already included within the description of the prologue (before  
535 the actual event), this indicates deception. For example, “On Saturday  
536 something strange happened to me, I was really scared” (emotions before  
537 main event) or “when he was gone, I felt disgusted with myself” (emotions  
538 after the main event). The former would indicate deception, the latter  
539 truthfulness.
- 540 (5) **Objective and subjective time:** Refers to how different time periods are  
541 covered in the statement. Objective time refers to the actual duration of  
542 events described, whereas subjective time refers to the number of words used  
543 describing these events. On average a writer is expected to need three or four  
544 lines per hour when describing one day. Large deviations from this pace  
545 suggest deception.
- 546 (6) **First person singular, past tense:** Refers to the format in which a statement  
547 is written. This is called the test of commitment, and holds that a truthful  
548 person will write the statement in first person singular, past tense. Deviations  
549 from past tense or writing in the third person could indicate a lack of  
550 commitment and hence could indicate deception.
- 551 (7) **Pronouns:** Refers to the use of pronouns in the statement. When pronouns  
552 (e.g., “he”, “mine”, “my”) are missing in the statement, or more pronouns are  
553 expected, this could suggest that the writer wants to distance him/herself  
554 from the statement. This indicates deception. For example, when a writer  
555 refers to his car as “the car” and never as “my car” this could mean he is  
556 being deceptive about what happened to the car.
- 557 (8) **Change in language:** Refers to the change of terminology or vocabulary in  
558 the statement. This is especially important for words that are related to  
559 categories such as family members, people, communication, transport or  
560 weapons. When a change of language is obvious in a statement (e.g., knife to  
561 blade) but no justification is given for such a change, this indicates  
562 deception. A change in language indicates that something has altered in the  
563 mind of the writer.\*
- 564 (9) **Spontaneous corrections:** Refers to all corrections that are made within the  
565 statements. Before the writer starts with the statement s/he is instructed not to

- 566 cross anything out, and when the writer fails to follow this instruction, this  
567 indicates deception.\*
- 568 (10) **Lack of conviction or memory:** Refers to when the writer is vague about  
569 certain elements within the statement (e.g. “I think...”, “I guess...”) or when  
570 the writer admits he or she has forgotten something (e.g., “I do not remember  
571 how we got to the house”). Lack of memory indicates deceit.\*
- 572 (11) **Out of sequence and extraneous information:** Examines whether the  
573 statement includes information that is given by the writer, but has no  
574 apparent meaning for the reader or whether there is strange or irrelevant  
575 information within the statement. Whether the information is seen as strange  
576 or irrelevant depends on the statement itself. It is thought that by including  
577 this type of information, the writer is distracting the reader to hide more  
578 important information. This is seen as a sign of deception.\*
- 579 (12) **Missing information:** Refers to phrases in the statement that indicate some  
580 information has been left out. For example, words such as “after a while”,  
581 “shortly thereafter”, or “the next thing I remember” all indicate there is  
582 information missing within the statement. This is especially relevant when  
583 the writer is discussing the main event. Missing information during the main  
584 event could indicate that the writer is deliberately hiding information, which  
585 indicates the person is deceptive.\*

In review



## Appendix B

Table B1. *Overview of parameters from the GEE analysis of new data.*

Criteria	Beta Estimate	SE	95% CI	Odds ratio
8. Change in language	-1.08	0.44	-1.94, -.23	<b>1.18</b>
2. Social introduction	-0.87	0.52	-1.37, -0.05	0.75
4. Emotions	0.73	0.43	-0.12, 1.57	0.53
3. Structure of statement	0.45	0.31	-0.16, 1.07	0.21
5. Objective and subjective time	-0.46	0.28	-1.01, 0.10	0.21
6. First pers sing. past tense	-0.31	0.54	-1.38, 0.75	0.10
10. Lack of conviction or memory	0.20	0.33	-0.46, 0.86	0.04
12. Missing information	-0.21	0.33	-0.87, 0.43	0.05
9. Spontaneous corrections	-0.21	0.29	-0.78, 0.35	0.04
11. Out of sequence and extraneous information	-0.08	0.36	-0.80, 0.63	0.01

*Note.* Significant difference between statement types,  $p = 0.01$  is in bold.

Table B2. *Detailed overview of discriminant analysis coefficients derived from the new data.*

Criteria	Mean	SD	Structure matrix	Discriminant function coefficients
8. Change in language	-0.17	0.38	0.05	1.51
3. Structure of statement	0.64	0.60	0.32	0.80
4. Emotions	1.11	0.60	-0.24	0.74
9. Spontaneous corrections	-0.71	0.63	0.36	0.34
11. Out of sequence and extraneous information	-0.16	0.41	0.14	0.48
12. Missing information	-0.80	0.50	0.12	0.23
7. Pronouns	1.69	0.51	-0.07	0.22
6. First pers sing. past tense	1.59	0.63	0.10	-0.42
10. Lack of conviction or memory	-0.20	0.39	-0.34	0.13

In review

5. Objective and subjective time	0.91	0.66	-0.19	-0.66
2. Social introduction	1.56	0.69	0.56	-0.66

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Table 1. Means, standard deviations and percentage present for each SCAN criterion as a function of veracity.

SCAN criteria	True			Fabricated		
	Mean	SD	% present	Mean	SD	% present
1. Denial of allegations	0	0	0	0	0	0
2. Social introduction	1.26	.81	76.90	1.40	.71	87.20
3. Structure of the statement	.73	.60	67.50	.59	.60	56.40
4. Emotions	1.05	.62	83.80	.95	.65	76.10
5. Objective and Subjective time	.71	.65	62.40	.79	.65	69.20
6. First pers sing, past tense	1.59	.63	92.30	1.60	.60	94.00
7. Pronouns	1.68	.49	97.40	1.69	.50	97.40
8. Change in language	-.09	.27	12.00	-.23	.43	24.80
9. Spontaneous corrections	-.61	.62	56.40	-.64	.63	58.10
10. Lack of conviction or memory	-.16	.36	18.80	-.14	.33	16.40
11. Out of sequence and extraneous info	-.18	.38	21.40	-.20	.43	22.20
12. Missing information	-.64	.55	75.00	-.67	.52	67.50

Table 2. Overview of parameters from the GEE analysis.

Criteria	Beta Estimate	SE	95% CI	Odds ratio
8. Change in language	-0.89	0.36	-1.59, -.18	<b>0.79</b>
2. Social introduction	-0.713	0.34	-1.37, -0.05	0.51
4. Emotions	0.48	0.27	-0.06, 1.03	0.23
3. Structure of statement	0.47	0.26	-0.04, 0.99	0.22
5. Objective and subjective time	-0.31	0.21	-0.73, 0.12	0.10
6. First pers sing, past tense	-0.27	0.51	-1.26, 0.72	0.07
10. Lack of conviction or memory	0.24	0.31	-0.36, 0.85	0.06
12. Missing information	-0.12	0.21	-0.53, 0.30	0.01
9. Spontaneous corrections	-0.07	0.22	-0.50, 0.36	0.00
11. Out of sequence and extraneous information	-0.05	0.28	-0.60, 0.50	0.00

Note. Significant difference between statement types,  $p = 0.01$  is in bold.

Table 3. *Detailed overview of discriminant analysis coefficients.*

Criteria	Mean	SD	Structure matrix	Discriminant function coefficients
8. Change in language	-0.16	0.37	0.66	1.82
3. Structure of statement	0.66	0.60	0.41	0.79
4. Emotions	1.00	0.63	0.29	0.67
9. Spontaneous corrections	-0.62	0.62	0.07	0.23
11. Out of sequence and extraneous information	-0.19	0.40	0.10	0.20
12. Missing information	-0.65	0.53	0.12	0.12
7. Pronouns	1.69	0.49	-0.03	-0.09
6. First pers sing. past tense	1.59	0.61	-0.04	-0.14
10. Lack of conviction or memory	-0.15	0.35	-0.11	-0.21
5. Objective and subjective time	0.75	0.65	-0.23	-0.43
2. Social introduction	1.33	0.77	-0.35	-0.53

In review