

DECIDING TO DECEIVE FOR DIFFERENT REASONS

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Abstract

16 **Purpose:** To explore how reasons to lie impact upon the Decision component of Activation-
17 Decision-Construction-Action Theory. Specifically, the study looked at how beneficiary of
18 the lie (self vs. another) and additional cost of lying (no cost vs. cost to self/other) might
19 influence decisions to lie.

20 **Method:** Ninety-one undergraduate students read four hypothetical scenarios representing
21 the four reasons to lie. They stated whether they would decide to tell the truth/lie for each
22 scenario and also estimated the probability and valence of being believed, or not, if they did
23 decide to tell the truth/lie. These estimations were inputted into the ADCAT formulae.

24 **Results:** Higher expected values of truth-telling only reduced likelihood to decide to lie
25 when the lie benefitted another. The beneficiary of the lie and additional cost did not
26 moderate any of the relationships between the ADCAT variables and hypothetical decisions
27 to lie. However, additional cost (e.g., cost to self or another) was a significant predictor of

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28 anticipated lying behaviour. The more likely there was a cost to self or other, the less likely
29 the participants were to decide to lie.

30 **Conclusions:** Weighing up the expected cost and benefits of truth-telling and lying was
31 associated with hypothetical decisions to lie or not. However, other variables, such as
32 additional cost to self or another, should be considered in the ADCAT model to extend our
33 understanding of this decision-making process. Future research is required to investigate
34 whether these relationships can be manipulated to promote honesty and deter deceit.

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36 *Keywords:* adult deception, ADCAT model, decision-making, antisocial lies, prosocial lies

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Exploring the Decision Component of Activation-Decision-Construction-Action

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Theory for Different Reasons to Deceive

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To deceive or not to deceive, that is the question. Deception is defined as “a

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successful or unsuccessful deliberate attempt, without forewarning, to create in another a

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belief which the communicator considers to be untrue” (Vrij, 2008, p. 15). Deception can

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take many different forms, from outright lies that involve complete fabrications (Vrij, 2008)

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to embedded lies that incorporate truthful information to create the lie (Vrij, Granhag &

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Porter, 2010) to deception through the omission of truthful information (Lyon, Malloy, Quas

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& Talwar, 2008). Most theories and models of deception focus on the emotional and

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cognitive processes involved in telling a successful lie itself (e.g., Interpersonal Deception

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Theory, Buller & Burgoon, 1996; Working Memory Model, Sporer, 2016; Cognitive Lie

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Detection, Vrij, Granhag, Mann & Leal, 2011), leading to new interview techniques to

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improve lie detection. However, understanding the processes behind deciding to tell the truth

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53 or a lie in the first place would perhaps enable us to design better strategies to reduce, or even
54 eliminate, deception in investigative interviews.

55 Based on the Rational Choice Theory (i.e., a general approach to understanding social
56 decision-making), Activation-Decision-Construction-Action-Theory (ADCAT, Walczyk,
57 Harris, Duck & Mulay, 2014) has adapted cost-benefit formulae put forward by Stanovich
58 (2010) to reflect quasi-rational decision-making. Providing a comprehensive framework that
59 maps deception from start to finish, ADCAT is the only cognitive model of deception to
60 isolate the Decision component and provide calculable formulae for predicting truth/lie
61 decision-making. Walczyk et al. (2014) explain that this decision-making process is only
62 quasi-rational because actual likelihoods and costs/benefits are unknown. This means that
63 only estimates of these outcomes are used to evaluate options and to come to a final decision
64 that best optimises goal attainment. In line with Truth-Default Theory (Levine, 2014),
65 ADCAT assumes that people will deceive as little as possible to achieve their goals (Walczyk
66 et al., 2014). However, this infers that, sometimes, deception will be necessary for goal
67 attainment.

68 When applied to deception, the cost-benefit calculations of the ADCAT model
69 (Walczyk et al., 2014) can be broken down into three steps. First, the expected value of truth-
70 telling is calculated by multiplying the probability and valence of truth-telling and being
71 believed, multiplying the probability of truth-telling and not being believed, and then adding
72 these values together. Second, the expected value of lying is calculated using the same
73 formula, except that ratings relate to telling a lie and being believed, or not. For calculating
74 both expected values (EV), the formula is: $EV_{\text{truth/lie}} = (p_{\text{believed}} \times v_{\text{believed}}) + (p_{\text{not_believed}} \times$
75 $v_{\text{not_believed}})$. Third, motivation to lie is calculated by subtracting the expected value of truth-
76 telling from the expected value of lying: $M = EV_{\text{lie}} - EV_{\text{truth}}$ (see Supplementary Materials for
77 an example of these calculations). Based on these formulae, Walczyk et al. (2014) predicted

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78 that (1) expected value of truth-telling would negatively correlate with decision to lie, and (2)
79 motivation to lie would positively correlate with the decision to lie. This theory, therefore, is
80 designed to predict truth/lie behaviours.

81 Due to the novelty of ADCAT, there are very few published studies that have
82 employed this model. In fact, only two studies (Masip, Blandón-Gitlin, de la Riva & Herrero,
83 2016; Walczyk, Tcholakian, Newman & Duck, 2016) to date have tested the Decision
84 component and its formulae. First, Masip et al. (2016) used hypothetical scenarios typical for
85 an undergraduate population (e.g., a friend cheating on a test or witnessing a theft). They
86 found that the expected value of truth-telling was negatively correlated with deciding to lie
87 and that motivation to lie was positively correlated with deciding to lie. Thus, both of
88 Walczyk et al.'s (2014) predictions were supported. However, their findings showed no
89 relationship between the expected value of lying and deciding to lie. Second, Walczyk et al.
90 (2016) investigated impromptu decisions to lie when asked embarrassing questions during a
91 mock job interview. They also found that the expected value of truth-telling was negatively
92 correlated with deciding and actually telling a lie in the interview. Contrary to Masip et al.
93 (2016), they did find a positive relationship between the expected value of lying and actual
94 lying behaviour. Together the studies present mixed findings, with more testing required to
95 understand whether the expected value of lying, in particular, is related to a decision to lie or
96 not.

97 Building on this previous research, we explored whether reasons to lie might
98 influence decisions to lie or tell the truth. As proposed by ADCAT, reasons for lying can
99 largely depend on the perceived benefits and costs of that lie (Walczyk et al., 2014; Walczyk
100 et al., 2016). The beneficiary of the lie (self or other) and the protection from harm (i.e., cost)
101 that the lie affords the beneficiary are important motives (Vrij, 2007; 2008). Self-oriented
102 lies, also known as 'antisocial' or 'self-serving' lies, are largely discouraged because they

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103 primarily serve to protect the liar (Hsieh, 2004). For example, an antisocial lie might include
104 falsely telling your lecturer that your grandparent has passed away to be able to re-sit an
105 exam. Other-oriented lies, also referred to as ‘prosocial’ or ‘polite’ lies, are perceived to be
106 more socially tolerable than self-oriented lies because they aim to benefit others (Backbier,
107 Hoogstraten & Terwogt-Kouwenhoven, 1997; DePaulo, Kashy, Kirkendol, Wyer & Epstein,
108 1996; Dunbar et al., 2016). This preference for prosocial lies has also been found cross-
109 culturally (Seiter, Brusckke & Bai, 2002). An example of an other-oriented lie is receiving an
110 undesirable gift (e.g., an unattractive shirt) from a dear relative and feigning delight at
111 receiving such a gift so as not to offend the gift-giver. When deciding on the acceptability of
112 lying and truth-telling in a given situation, adults appear to use a model of practical
113 reasoning, whereby they adapt their reasoning to suit the needs of that situation (Lavoie,
114 Leduc, Crossman & Talwar, 2016, O’Neill, 2007). If there is a need to protect a dear relative
115 from becoming upset, then an other-oriented lie might be acceptable. This could explain why
116 the most frequent form of lies are other-oriented, aimed at protecting someone else from
117 harm (Serota & Levine, 2015). A preference for other-oriented lying could, therefore, be due
118 to weighing up the benefits of resolving the need against the costs of not protecting another
119 from harm.

120 Truth-telling and lying could also involve an additional cost to the self or another.
121 Self-oriented lies could involve placing the blame on someone else (e.g., saying that a
122 younger sibling broke the family heirloom, when, in fact, it was oneself). Additionally, other-
123 oriented lies could involve placing the blame on oneself (e.g., the deceiver falsely admitting
124 guilt for breaking the family heirloom when, in fact, it was his/her younger sibling). The
125 perception of potential harm is a strong predictor of moral judgments, with immoral acts
126 being linked to suffering (Gray & Schein, 2016; Gray, Young & Waytz, 2012). A primary
127 function of these judgments is to guide practical reasoning (Cushman & Young, 2009) so that

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128 in the case of self-oriented lies, with a cost to another, the need of the older sibling must
129 significantly outweigh the suffering of the younger sibling to warrant deception. Other-
130 oriented lies, with a cost to self, present a different situation. Here, the self-sacrifice of the
131 older sibling to protect the younger sibling would constitute altruism. Evolutionary
132 psychologists theorise that altruism is a key motivator for prosocial behaviour that has
133 evolved through natural selection, resulting in generations with more empathic concern
134 (Berk, 2013). This could explain why the more the deception becomes altruistically-
135 motivated, the more the deception is rated as acceptable (Seiter et al., 2002). Metaphorically,
136 falling on one's sword would, therefore, be preferable to stabbing someone else.

137 Our aims were, therefore, not only to further test the predicted relationships within the
138 Decision component of the ADCAT model but also to add to this literature by exploring how
139 these relationships might be influenced by different reasons to lie. We firstly hypothesised
140 that expected value of truth-telling would negatively correlate with the decision to lie. Our
141 second hypothesis was that the expected value of lying would positively correlate with the
142 decision to lie. Thirdly, we predicted that motivation to lie would also negatively correlate
143 with the decision to lie. Finally, being the first study to look at the Decision component of
144 ADCAT for different reasons to lie, we proposed some explorative tests. We expected three-
145 way interactions in that beneficiary of the lie and an additional cost would moderate the
146 relationships between the expected value of truth-telling and decision to lie and the expected
147 value of lying and decision to lie. In particular, we predicted that when the beneficiary of the
148 lie was oneself, an additional cost to an 'innocent' other was at stake, and, thus, the expected
149 value of truth-telling was high, then the participant would be most likely to decide not to lie.
150 We also predicted that when the beneficiary of the lie was another, an additional cost to
151 oneself demonstrating one's altruism was at stake, and, thus, the expected value of lying was
152 expected to be higher, then the participant would be most likely to decide to lie.

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153 In addition to the expected theoretical implications of analysing the Decision
154 component of ADCAT, there are also potential practical implications as well. In investigative
155 interviews, where the veracity of interviewees' accounts can strongly influence the outcome
156 of the case (Berman, Narby, & Cutler, 1995), researchers have been keen to investigate
157 strategies to promote honest disclosure and to deter deceit (see Rosenbaum, Billinger, &
158 Stieglitz, 2014 for a review). However, depending on interviewees' motivations for lying
159 (i.e., if the lie will protect another from harm), they might still be inclined to provide a false
160 report. For instance, in cases of maltreatment, victims often report that a barrier to disclosure
161 is that they do not want to get the abuser into trouble (Beaulaurier, Seff, Newman, & Dunlop,
162 2006; Lemaigre, Taylor & Gittoes, 2017). In these situations, it is important to know how
163 different reasons to lie will influence cost-benefit calculations and, ultimately, final decisions
164 to be honest or not.

165 Method

166 Design

167 A within-subjects design was used, with reason to lie as the independent variable.
168 Reason to lie was split by the beneficiary of the lie (self vs. another), and the presence of
169 additional cost of lying (no cost (i.e., neutral) vs. cost to self/other). This resulted in four
170 'reasons to lie' conditions: (1) Self-oriented with no cost to another (Self-Neutral), (2) Self-
171 oriented with a cost to another (Self-Cost), (3) Other-oriented with no cost to self (Other-
172 Neutral), and (4) Other-oriented with a cost to self (Other-Cost). The dependent measures
173 were dichotomous decisions to lie or tell the truth and Likert scale ratings of the probability
174 and valence of outcomes for truth-telling and lying for each reason to lie.

175 Participants

176 Ninety-one first year undergraduate students (18 males), with an average age of 18.56
177 years ($SD = 1.47$ years), were recruited to participate in this study. They took part in a lab

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178 induction exercise and did not receive credit for their participation. In terms of ethnicity, 61
179 identified as White/Caucasian (67%), 12 as Asian (13.2%), 8 as Multiple/Mixed ethnic group
180 (8.8%), 7 as Black/African/Caribbean (7.7%), 1 as ‘Other ethnic group’ (1.1%), and 2 did not
181 specify their ethnicity (2.2%).

182 **Materials**

183 **Hypothetical scenarios.** The four hypothetical scenarios were all set in an academic
184 context and included situations in which undergraduate students might find themselves
185 (similar to Masip et al., 2016). There were two scenarios where self-oriented lies could be
186 told, and two where other-oriented lies could be told. These scenarios were then further split
187 to manipulate the presence of an additional cost (i.e., harm) as introduced by Talwar,
188 Williams, Renaud, Arruda, and Saykaly (2016). See the Supplementary Materials for the full
189 scenarios. Prior to testing, the scenarios were piloted. The pilot exercise (with 14
190 participants) was undertaken to avoid issues of significantly uneven frequencies between
191 decisions to lie and tell the truth, which resulted in Masip and colleagues (2016) having to
192 withdraw numerous scenarios from their study. As a result of the pilot study, certain changes
193 were made. Namely, the presentation of the probability rating scale was changed from
194 decimal points (e.g., .5, .8), as used in Masip et al. (2016), to percentages (e.g., 50%, 80%) to
195 aid responder comprehension. Furthermore, the self-oriented lie with no cost to self was
196 considered to be too implausible, and so this was changed from a USB stick falling through a
197 hole in a pocket and being kicked down a drain to a student misremembering a deadline and
198 forgetting to put their phone on to charge, so the alarm did not go off.

199 **Post-scenario questionnaire.** The post-scenario questionnaire (see Appendix) firstly
200 asked participants to make an initial decision to tell the truth or lie in the recently presented
201 hypothetical scenario. The order of the truth/lie option was counterbalanced. Participants
202 were then required to evaluate the anticipated outcomes of being believed/not believed and

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203 the probability of being believed/not believed, using a scale from 0% (will not happen) to
204 100% (will certainly happen), and the desirability (i.e., valence) of the anticipated outcomes,
205 using a scale from -5 (extremely undesirable) to +5 (extremely desirable) for both truth-
206 telling and lying for that particular scenario. This mirrored the rating scales used by Masip et
207 al. (2016). From these ratings, the expected value of truth-telling, the expected value of lying,
208 and motivation to lie could be calculated using the ADCAT formulae noted above and
209 included in the Supplementary Materials. The order of appraisal for telling the truth and
210 telling a lie was counterbalanced – that is, half of the sample evaluated the outcomes of
211 telling the truth first, and the other half evaluated the outcomes of telling a lie first. Finally,
212 participants were asked to make a final decision to tell the truth or lie based on their
213 evaluations. The order of the truth/lie option mirrored the order of the truth/lie option for
214 their initial decision. Changes from the initial decision to the final decision were coded.

215 **Procedure**

216 The study lasted approximately 30 minutes. In groups of eight to fifteen students,
217 participants watched the four hypothetical scenarios via a Microsoft PowerPoint slideshow on
218 a screen projection. Text and images were presented on the slides, with the text also being
219 read aloud. The order of the scenarios was counterbalanced so that each vignette was never
220 preceded nor followed by the same scenario more than once. Immediately after watching
221 each scenario, participants completed the post-scenario questionnaire (one questionnaire per
222 scenario). To encourage impromptu decision-making, participants were encouraged to
223 respond quickly and instinctively. Participants were also instructed not to confer with their
224 fellow participants; the research assistant was always present in the room to ensure that there
225 was no conferring. Following the fourth vignette, participants were invited to complete a
226 questionnaire that asked for age, gender and ethnicity.

227

Results

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228 Chi-squared testing was used to investigate differences in frequency between truth-
229 telling and lying across the four scenarios, point-biserial correlations were used to investigate
230 relationships between ADCAT variables and expected decisions to lie or tell the truth, and
231 multiple regression analyses were used to explore the moderating effects of the beneficiary of
232 the lie and additional cost of lying. Preliminary analyses revealed no effects for any of the
233 demographic variables, group session or order of presentation of scenarios on the statistical
234 testing. Post-hoc power tests were performed using G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang &
235 Buchner, 2007) to analyse sensitivity based on a sample of 91 participants, an alpha level of
236 .05 and satisfactory power level of 80%. Results showed that, for the point-biserial
237 correlations, the sample size was sufficient to find effect sizes of .25 and above, and for
238 multiple regressions, the sample size was sufficient to find effect sizes of .07 and above. This
239 suggests that there is a minor risk of Type II error for small effect sizes ($< .25$) for the point-
240 biserial correlations.

241 **Frequency of lying**

242 Table 1 displays the percentage of participants that made an initial and final decision
243 to tell the truth or lie across the four scenarios. Participants indicated that they would lie
244 significantly more than tell the truth for the self-oriented lie with no cost to another;
245 conversely, they expected to tell the truth significantly more than lie for the self-oriented lie
246 that incurred a cost to someone else. For other-oriented lies, the only difference in
247 expectations for truth-telling and lying was when the lie had no cost to self. In this scenario,
248 participants initially expected to lie significantly more than tell the truth; however, this
249 difference became non-significant for final decisions for this scenario. This is most likely due
250 to more participants changing their response from lie to truth than from truth to lie once they
251 had evaluated truth/lying for that scenario, $X^2(1) = 4.46, p = .04$. For the other three
252 scenarios, changes in expected truth-telling/lying were equally distributed (p -values $> .05$).

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253 Based on the recommendations of Masip et al. (2016), we analysed the frequency of
254 truth/lie response and the absolute difference in percentage between truth/lie decisions
255 because the split of binomial variables can affect point-biserial correlations. Masip et al.
256 (2016) explained that small frequencies can often lack representativeness of the population
257 due to outliers potentially distorting the results. Furthermore, they cite that Kemery, Dunlap,
258 and Griffeth (1988) reported that variance could be restricted by uneven proportions in
259 dichotomous variables, which can, in turn, underestimate correlations. Using the inclusion
260 criteria suggested by Masip et al. (2016), we kept all scenarios where the frequency of truth-
261 telling/lying was above 10, and the absolute difference in percentage between truth/lie
262 decisions was smaller than 75%. All four scenarios complied with both of these inclusion
263 criteria.

264 **ADCAT variables**

265 Point-biserial correlations (r_{pb}) were used to examine the relationships between the
266 ADCAT variables (expected value of truth-telling, the expected value of lying, and
267 motivation to lie) and participants' expected decision to lie (1) or tell the truth (0) across the
268 four reasons to lie. This is in line with previous studies that have tested the *Decision*
269 component of the ADCAT model (Masip et al., 2016; Walczyk et al., 2016). The descriptive
270 statistics (means and standard deviations) for each of the ADCAT variables, as well as the
271 point-biserial correlations between the ADCAT variables and the initial and final decision to
272 tell a lie, are displayed in Table 2. All significant relationships between the ADCAT variables
273 and expected decision to lie were in the predicted direction. Contrary to our predictions, the
274 expected value of truth-telling was not related to a decision to lie for either of the self-
275 oriented lies (p -values $>.05$).

276 **Explorative testing**

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277 We performed hierarchical multiple regression analyses to determine the effect of
278 expected values of truth-telling and lying, the beneficiary of the lie, additional cost and the
279 interaction between these variables on the initial and final hypothetical decisions to lie (i.e.,
280 the outcome variables). Accordingly, the expected value of truth-telling and the expected
281 value of lying were entered as predictors at step 1, beneficiary of the lie (self-oriented = 0, vs.
282 other-oriented = 1) and the additional cost of lying (no cost (i.e., neutral) = 0, vs. cost to
283 self/other = 1) were dummy-coded and entered as moderators at step 2, and the interactions
284 between each expected value and each moderator separately, and then each expected value
285 and both moderators, were entered at step 3.

286 As can be seen in Table 3, at step 1, both expected value of truth-telling and expected
287 value of lying contributed to the prediction of participants' hypothetical decisions to lie, both
288 initially, $F(2, 361) = 27.94, p < .001, R^2 = .13$, and finally, $F(2, 361) = 19.26, p < .001, R^2 = .10$.
289 Entering beneficiary of the lie and presence of additional cost did result in significant models
290 for predicting both initial, $F(4, 359) = 19.30, p < .001, R^2 = .18$, and final, $F(4, 359) = 13.90,$
291 $p < .001, R^2 = .13$, hypothetical decisions to lie. The inclusion of these variables significantly
292 increased the amount of variance explained by both models (initial = $\Delta F(2, 359) = 9.37,$
293 $p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .04$. final = $\Delta F(2, 359) = 7.81, p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .04$). However, as Table 3 shows,
294 only additional cost was a significant predictor of both initial ($\beta = -.20, p < .001$) and final ($\beta =$
295 $-.20, p < .001$) hypothetical decisions to lie. The negative correlations suggesting that the
296 presence of an additional cost to self/other decreased the likelihood of a hypothetical decision
297 to lie in the given scenario. The interaction variables entered at step 3 did result in significant
298 models for predicting both initial, $F(10, 353) = 8.28, p < .001, R^2 = .19$, and final, $F(10, 353) =$
299 $7.48, p < .001, R^2 = .18$, hypothetical decisions to lie. The inclusion of these variables
300 significantly increased the amount of variance explained for final decision to lie, $\Delta F(6, 353)$
301 $= 2.91, p = .009, \Delta R^2 = .04$, but not for initial decision to lie, $\Delta F(6, 353) = .95, p = .46, \Delta R^2 =$

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302 .01. At step 3, however, the only significant predictors for final decision to lie were the
303 expected value of lying ($\beta = .09, p < .001$) and presence of additional cost ($\beta = -.21, p = .002$).
304 When the expected value of lying was higher, then there was a greater likelihood that the
305 participant would decide to lie in the given scenario. Again, when there was an additional
306 cost to self/other present, then there was a smaller likelihood that the participant would
307 decide to lie in that hypothetical scenario.

308 **Discussion**

309 Using the Decision formulae of the ADCAT model, the current study replicated
310 previous research on whether deciding to tell the truth or a lie in a hypothetical scenario is
311 related to the expected costs and benefits of truth-telling and lying. It was also the first study
312 to look at how reason to lie can affect this decision-making process. In support of Walczyk et
313 al. (2016) and Masip et al. (2016), positive associations were found between calculated
314 motivation to lie and expecting to decide to lie. Additionally, we found a positive relationship
315 between the expected value of lying and deciding to lie, in line with Walczyk et al. (2016),
316 but contrary to Masip et al. (2016). We also found that a negative relationship between the
317 expected value of truth-telling and expecting to decide to lie only occurred when the lie was
318 other-oriented. This is contrary to both of the previous studies that found this relationship in
319 scenarios where the lies were predominantly self-oriented.

320 A significant correlation for both prosocial lies suggests that Walczyk et al.'s (2014)
321 overarching hypothesis of a negative relationship between the expected value of truth-telling
322 and deciding to lie depends on who the lie benefits. In the context of prosocial lies where
323 there is the intention to act for the benefit of another (Dunbar et al., 2016; Lavoie et al.,
324 2016), it can be concluded that if a person decides to tell the truth, then another will primarily
325 suffer the consequences. The cost to another, therefore, forms the basis for calculating the
326 expected value of truth-telling for prosocial lies and would explain why it is particularly

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327 important to consider in the decision-making process. On the other hand, no significant
328 relationship for self-oriented lies could be due to a Type II error, or that the primary victim of
329 deciding to tell the truth when presented with an opportunity to tell an antisocial lie is
330 oneself. The findings of the current study suggest that the primary cost to another is
331 considered more important than the primary cost to self when evaluating the cost and benefits
332 of truth-telling.

333 Our exploration of the effects of reason to lie on the truth-telling/lying decision-
334 making process revealed neither beneficiary of the lie nor the additional cost of lying
335 moderated the relationships between the expected values of truth-telling and lying and
336 hypothetical decisions to tell a lie both initially and finally. That said, the additional cost was
337 found to be a significant predictor in the second and third models for both initial and final
338 decisions to lie. When the additional cost of lying was present (i.e., lying by blaming their
339 fellow student, or lying and taking the blame for their fellow student), participants were less
340 likely to decide to lie. In terms of frequency, this resulted in a significant preference for
341 telling the truth for self-oriented lies, with a cost to another, but no preference for truth-telling
342 or lying for other-oriented lies, with a cost to self. Our initial prediction of a differential
343 response to additional cost, based on whether it was to another at the benefit of the self or if it
344 was to oneself at the benefit of another, was not supported. Indeed, our participants did not
345 show a preference for expecting to act altruistically. Even though altruistic lies are considered
346 to be more acceptable (Seiter et al., 2002), it could be that the need to protect someone else
347 did not outweigh the suffering that the self would incur through the deception. That said, one
348 could argue that a certain level of altruism is shown in the clear preference for telling the
349 truth when the lie would protect the self to the detriment of another person. In this scenario,
350 the participant is incurring a cost to themselves in order to protect another from potential
351 harm.

352 **Theoretical implications**

353 Our findings provide further support for the formulae in the Decision component of
354 Activation-Decision-Construction-Action theory (ADCAT, Walczyk et al., 2014). The results
355 also showed that additional cost to self or another should be considered as an external
356 variable that can predict the expected value of lying and motivation to lie. However, more
357 qualitative research is required to provide a more in-depth understanding of how outcomes of
358 truth-telling and lying are perceived as benefits and costs, and whether these benefits and
359 costs are psychological or materialistic (Vrij, 2008). This might further highlight the quasi-
360 rational decision-making process that underpins ADCAT (Walczyk et al., 2014). There are
361 many other rational, or perhaps irrational, factors that might influence expected values of
362 truth-telling/lying and, ultimately, decisions to lie. Indeed, individual factors, such as
363 confidence in lying ability (Vrij, 2008), propensity to lie (Serota & Levine, 2015), and
364 fantasy proneness (Merckelbach, 2004) could affect these calculations, as well as contextual
365 factors, such as who the lie is told to (Buller & Burgoon, 1996). Furthermore, participants'
366 strategies for telling a convincing lie may have differed affecting their confidence in telling a
367 lie and being believed.

368 **Practical applications**

369 The current findings demonstrated the complex thought process involved in truth/lie
370 decision-making. In particular, the perceived benefits and costs of a decision to oneself and
371 others were associated with participants' truth/lie decision-making. For other-oriented lies,
372 the suggestion would be that increasing the expected value of truth-telling and decreasing the
373 expected value of lying could result in less motivation to tell a lie. For self-oriented lies, the
374 suggestion would be to only focus on decreasing the value of lying to deter motivation to
375 deceive. Whether these suggestions actually promote honesty and deter deception requires
376 further testing. Developmental research on child deception has found that methods for

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377 increasing the value of telling the truth significantly increase children's willingness to
378 truthfully disclose transgressions. These methods include: (1) having the eyewitness promise
379 to tell the truth (e.g., Evans & Lee, 2010; Talwar, Lee, Bala & Lindsay, 2002); (2) reducing
380 any of the perceived negative consequences of truth-telling (Talwar, Arruda, & Yachison,
381 2015); and (3) information or stories that highlight the benefits of honesty (e.g., Lee et al.,
382 2014; Talwar, Yachison & Leduc, 2016). To date, research into the Decision component of
383 ADCAT has shown cost-benefits calculations are related to adults' decision-making for (1)
384 minor transgressions (Masip et al., 2016), (2) mock job interviews (Walczyk et al., 2016),
385 and (3) academic transgressions (the current study) using predominantly undergraduate
386 samples. Before these techniques can be used by police investigators to promote true and
387 deter false eyewitness accounts, more research is required to understand whether these
388 relationships can be manipulated to change truth-telling/lying behaviour in adults, whether
389 this applies to a more general population, and whether the ADCAT variables relate to
390 decisions regarding more serious and high-stakes lies.

391 **Methodological considerations**

392 Akin to previous studies that have investigated the frequency of deceptive behaviour
393 (Argo, White & Dahl, 2006), the current study used hypothetical scenarios. The limitation of
394 this method is that there is no certainty that participants will respond truthfully about their
395 willingness to deceive. It could also be that a decision to deceive might not translate into
396 actual lying if they found themselves in the situation. Walczyk et al. (2016) resolved this
397 issue by asking participants in their study to actually lie on the spot during mock job
398 interviews. This study showed that the relationship between ADCAT variables and actual
399 truth-telling/lying behaviour did exist. Other studies have demonstrated how hypothetical
400 scenarios of dishonesty can be translated into real tasks (e.g., cheating in Shu, Gino &
401 Bazerman's, 2011 study). However, these scenarios are still a far cry from police

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402 investigations where telling a lie can have serious and long-term legal implications. Future
403 research should try to create more forensically relevant scenarios in which the Decision
404 component of ADCAT can be tested, without encountering ethical issues.

405 In the post-scenario questionnaire, the questions were focussed on collecting the
406 relevant data that could be inputted into the ADCAT formulae. This meant that other
407 questions regarding participants' understanding of the study and the scenarios was
408 overlooked. This information would further expand the current findings and provide insights
409 into the relationship between the decision to lie and construction of lies.

410 **Conclusion**

411 Cost-benefit calculations of lying were associated with decisions to lie; however, the
412 cost-benefits calculation of truth-telling were only associated with other-oriented lies.
413 Additional cost significantly predicted the expected value of lying and motivation to lie. The
414 presence of a cost to another significantly reversed participants' preference for telling a self-
415 oriented lie. For other-oriented lies, an additional cost to oneself resulted in no preference for
416 deciding to lie or tell the truth. The current study builds upon previous research on the
417 Decision component of ADCAT and presents the first explorative testing of predictions
418 regarding the influence of reason to lie on the formulae within this component. Further
419 confirmative research is required to replicate our findings (Wigboldus & Dotsch, 2016).
420 Future studies should also look to use larger and more diverse samples and investigate
421 ADCAT in more forensically relevant scenarios where participants actually lie or tell the
422 truth.

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Appendix

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Vignette questionnaire to assess ADCAT variables of the Decision component

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SCENARIO 1

450

All of the questions below refer to the scenario that you have just watched and that scenario only.

451

1. If you were in this situation, what would you decide to do? Circle one response below.

452

453

TELL A LIE

TELL THE TRUTH

454

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456

457

Regardless of how you answered Question 1, please answer the following questions:

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460

2. If you were to tell a lie in this situation and were believed, what do you think would happen?

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.....

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3. What is the probability that your lie would be believed and your answer to Question 2 would happen?

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0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
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Will not happen

Will certainly happen

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4. Overall, how desirable is the outcome for your response to Question 2?

470

471

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Scale from -5 to 5 with labels: Extremely undesirable, Neutral, Extremely desirable

472
473 5. If you were to tell a lie in this situation and were not believed, what do you think would
474 happen?
475

476
477
478 6. Overall, how desirable is the outcome for your response to Question 5?
479

Scale from -5 to 5 with labels: Extremely undesirable, Neutral, Extremely desirable

480
481 7. If you were to tell the truth in this situation and were believed, what do you think would
482 happen?
483

484
485
486 8. What is the probability that your truth would be believed and your answer to Question 7
487 would happen?
488

Scale from 0% to 100%

Will not happen Will certainly happen
489
490 9. Overall, how desirable is the outcome for your response to Question 7?
491

Scale from -5 to 5 with labels: Extremely undesirable, Neutral, Extremely desirable

492
493
494 10. If you were to tell the truth in this situation and were not believed, what do you think
495 would happen?
496

497
498
499 11. Overall, how desirable is the outcome for your response to Question 11?
500

Scale from -5 to 5 with labels: Extremely undesirable, Neutral, Extremely desirable

501
502 12. Regardless of how you answered Question 1, after considering your responses for
503 Question 2 to 11, what would you decide to do if you were in this situation?
504 Circle one response below.

505
506 TELL A LIE TELL THE TRUTH
507

508 13. If you have changed your decision from Question 1, why?
509 If you would act the same as you responded to Question 1, please write N/A below.
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Table 1

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Percentage of Initial and Final Truth/Lie Decisions as a function of Reason to Lie

Reason to lie	Initial decision			Final decision		
	Truth (%)	Lie (%)	X^2	Truth (%)	Lie (%)	X^2
Self-Neutral	33	67	10.56**	37	63	5.81*
Self-Cost	70	30	15.04***	69	31	13.46***
Other-Neutral	35	65	8.01**	42	58	2.46
Other-Cost	52	48	.10	59	41	3.18

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

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Table 2

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Descriptive Statistics and Point-Biserial Correlations (r_{pb}) for ADCAT Variables and Decisions to Lie as a function of Reason to Lie

Reason to lie	ADCAT Variables	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Decision to lie	
			Initial (r_{pb})	Final (r_{pb})
Self-Neutral	Expected value of truth-telling	-2.61 (2.71)	-.05	-.05
	Expected value of lying	-.19 (1.93)	.32**	.35***
	Motivation to lie	2.42 (3.35)	.22*	.24*
Self-Cost	Expected value of truth-telling	-2.38 (2.63)	-.14	-.15
	Expected value of lying	-1.75 (2.62)	.27**	.28**
	Motivation to lie	.63 (3.67)	.29**	.31**
Other-Neutral	Expected value of truth-telling	-2.34 (2.06)	-.15	-.27**
	Expected value of lying	-.48 (2.67)	.21*	.33**
	Motivation to lie	1.86 (3.34)	.26*	.43***
Other-Cost	Expected value of truth-telling	-1.75 (2.64)	-.24*	-.35**
	Expected value of lying	-1.03 (2.26)	.33**	.32**
	Motivation to lie	.73 (3.39)	.40***	.49***

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

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Table 3

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Decisions to Lie

Variables entered	Decision to lie					
	Initial			Final		
	β Step 1	β Step 2	β Step 3	β Step 1	β Step 2	β Step 3
Expected value of truth-telling (EVtruth)	-.03**	-.03**	-.02	-.03**	-.03**	-.02
Expected value of lying (EVlie)	.07***	.06***	.08**	.06***	.05***	.09***
Beneficiary of the lie		.08	.04		.02	-.09
Presence of additional cost		-.20***	-.22**		-.20***	-.21**
EVtruth X Beneficiary of the lie			-.002			-.04
EVlie X Beneficiary of the lie			-.004			-.03
EVtruth X Presence of additional cost			.003			-.006
EVlie X Presence of additional cost			-.03			-.04
EVtruth X Beneficiary of the lie X Additional cost			-.04			.03
EVlie X Beneficiary of the lie X Additional cost			.06			-.05
R ²	.13	.18	.19	.10	.13	.18

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<i>Model F</i>	27.94***	19.30***	8.28***	19.26***	13.90***	7.48***
ΔR^2		.04	.01		.04	.04
ΔF		9.37***	.95		7.81***	2.91**

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

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