Policespeak: Interrogation Methods in Crime Investigation Themed Series (A Forensic Linguistics Approach)

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INFORMASI ARTIKEL	ABSTRAK
	Investigation to reveal crime cases needs collaboration from many sources. After the evidences and witnesses are identified, the next process is inviting the suspects to an investigation stage to collect important information in an interrogation. Addressing the research gap left by the previous studies that explored this aspect too specific or too broad, this research aims at describing the interrogation methods used by the police during interrogating the suspect in crime investigation themed series and describing what factors influencing the selection of those methods by using taxonomy of interrogation proposed by Kelly et al (2013). The research employs Spradley (2016) theory in analysing the data, consisting of domain, taxonomy, componential analysis and finding cultural theme. The result of the research shows that the interrogation methods applied are categorized into two poles. Firstly, minimalization or an attempt reduce the seriousness of the offense to the suspect that based on friendliness and cooperative principle like collaboration, and rapport and relationship building. Secondly, maximalization or an attempt to emphasize the seriousness of the offense or intimidating the suspect like confrontation and competition, presentation of evidence, context manipulation and emotion provocation. The factors influencing the selection of the methods are the gender and age of the suspect and interrogator, public and government attention toward the crime case, and the characteristics of the suspects, whether he is resistant or cooperative.

1. Introduction

The procedure of legal processes for a crime case is a long and complicated process. It begins with the investigation process by the police investigation team who must be able to prove the crime that occurred and find out the motive for the crime to determine the form of the police report for the next legal process (Kelly et al, 2013). After the evidence and witnesses have been identified, the basic initial process is to present the suspect for questioning, such as whether he knew the crime, where he was when the case occurred, whether there was an alibi that could strengthen it and finally asked to confess if he was involved either directly or indirectly. The standard pattern in interrogation carried out by police investigators with suspects is to collect information that leads to a confession by the suspect (Meissner et al, 2012; Leo, 1995). In general, the harsher the interrogation method used in uncovering a crime, the more effective the information obtained will be in uncovering the crime

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(Skerker, 2010, Gordon et al, 2011; Cabell 2020).

The study of interrogation by interrogators of suspects in a crime case is discussed in the field of forensic linguistics, which is the application of linguistic knowledge, methods, and insights to the context of legal forensics, language, criminal investigation, trials, and judicial procedures (Coulthard et al, 2016; Umiyati, 2020). This is a branch of applied linguistics, discussing the relationship between language, crime, and law, where law includes law enforcement, judicial issues, legislation, legal disputes, or processes, and even disputes that only potentially involve some violations of the law or the likes that need to seek legal resolution. The study of forensic linguistics has become interesting research in the last few decades because of the number of variables that can be investigated in this field (Leonard et al, 2016). The term policespeak refers to forms of verbal expression of the police in executing their duties and responsibilities in investigating a crime case (Hall, 2008, Fox 2004). One of the characteristics of policespeak is control over the suspect such as provocation, intimidation, or massive domination as part of gathering information in investigating crime cases (Anantatur & Asfar, 2021, Leib et al, 2021).

This research employed the theory of interrogation methods developed by Kelly, Miller, Redlich and Kleinman (2013). This taxonomy divides interrogation methods into six domains, namely Rapport and Relationship Building, Context Manipulation, Emotion Provocation, Collaboration, Confrontation/Competition, and Presentation of Evidence. Interrogation methods are generally divided into two broad subdomains, minimization and maximalization. Both major pairs of methods, as stated by Horgan et al (2012), aim to reveal the suspect's confession. Minimization is based on the principle of friendliness or an effort to build a situation where the suspect can easily provide information needed by the investigator by giving sympathy, building bonding, offering compensation for leniency if the suspect can be cooperative, touching the emotional aspects of the suspect, bringing up the spiritual aspects, positioning the interrogator with the suspect as equal parties to help each other during this process etc. Meanwhile, maximalization is the opposite approach, a shortcut to obtain information such as intimidation, accusing directly, threatening the suspect with severe punishment if he does not cooperate, showing evidence or statement of an witness that cannot be denied, not giving the opportunity to speak and even providing false evidence to make the suspect admit his crime. To provide an illustration of this interrogation method, it can be seen in the following example.

> Suspect : "I'm not gonna be here much longer.
> Police : **You wait here as long as I tell you.**
> Suspect : "You can't do that, you know I'm a son of…
> Police : …a senator, and kid like you got trouble in all time. Only difference is you've

be the first to have killed someone and….

Suspect : …that's just a speculation until someone has a key piece of evidence to prove your theory but until then it's just a theory.

Police   : "**have you ever heard of street Camera Christ? You are caught driving a beautiful silver BMW, well we wouldn't add anything on you**.

Suspect : "even I don't have a driving permit.

Police   : (***showing a picture***) **look at the bottom picture, it's called a digital image enhancement, you killed a mother of two, anything else you say about joyride?**

This datum shows that the method used by the police in interrogating the suspect is presentation of evidence where he shows the picture when the suspect, with a BMW car, killed a mother with his car. By showing the evidence, the suspect could not deny it. This method usually begins with broad background questions before leading to specific questions to find the suspect's confession in a crime case. This method is generally used when the suspect tries to deny every question asked by the interrogator. The expected result of the method of presenting evidence is a confession from the suspect quickly and without being able to deny it anymore. From the initial identification carried out by field officers by collecting evidence related to the suspect's involvement in a crime, this method has a very high success rate in revealing the suspect's confession.

In several previous forensic linguistics research, which discussed interrogation and interviews in criminal cases, they tend to focus on aspects that are too broad or too specific, such as interrogation approach or interrogation tactics. The first aspect, these broad categories often fall into a generic dichotomy: minimization versus maximalization; accusation versus information gathering; friendly versus abusive; relationship-based versus control (Horgan et, 2016, Stephenson & Moston 1994). Meanwhile, the second aspect, previous studies have been carried out in a very specific perspective, such as the research conducted by Soukara et al (2018) who examined audio recordings of British interrogation. In this research, 17 tactics of interrogation were identified which were carried out by the operator/interrogator against the source/suspect. The next related research is collected and reviewed to identify the position of this research to take the next steps. Vrij et al (2017) criticized what is called as "enhanced interrogation techniques" or using of violence and torture in interrogation in the United States. They argued that harsh interrogation techniques are ineffective and potentially hostile so that the information to be collected becomes incomplete. They suggested different perspective where interrogators and suspects realize that the process they experience must be based on mutual interests. Kelly et al (2019) found several interesting findings stating that physical manipulation in

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conducting interrogation brings a big effect on interrogation results reports. Körber & Meng (2021) describe that the interrogation tactics used by officers must be based on solid knowledge and taught in comprehensive interrogation courses. Cleary & Crane (2023) argued that there are several special techniques used by the police to interview and interrogate condolence suspects because there are several rights that must be protected by the state in every legal case by this age level. To fill the research gaps left from the previous studies, this research formulates two research questions. The research questions are how the police interrogate the suspect in crime investigation themed series and what factor influencing the selection of the methods.

The series taken as the source of the data are Law & Order, Law & Order: Special Victim Unit, and Crime science Investigation series. The main reason why the researcher chose the series is those series reflect crime investigation procedure, from the early report of crime case, finding the evidence and witnesses, interrogating the suspects and judicial process in a courtroom. This research is expected to be able to provide a real contribution for researchers who are interested in linguistics forensics, especially those interested in crime investigation and interrogation, both in a specific scope or a broader scope. Furthermore, this research is also expected to be able to provide a real picture of the application of methods, techniques or strategies that can be used by officers in investigating crime cases in the field to anticipate and overcome arising problems during the interrogation process.

2. Method

This is qualitative research. The data in this research are in the form of visual data and textual data. The visual data are the scenes showing process of interrogation of the interrogator and the suspect. The textual data are in the form of utterances taken from the process of interrogation. The data sources for this study are crime investigation themed series, they are Law & Order series, Law & Order: Special Victim Unit, and Crime Science Investigation series. Those series focus on investigating and revealing general crime, victims of sexual crimes, such as rape, and domestic violence, as well other crime cases such as terrorism and cybercrime. The example of the datum investigated in this research as shown in the table 1.

Table 1

No		Example
1.	Textual	This scene took place in an interrogation room where the suspect of a crime case was surrounded by the three interrogators. The method used here was rapport and relationship building by finding common ground and shared experiences and be patient to let the suspect present himself as a persona other than being a suspect. It is intended to elicit the information smoothly.

Interrogator   : "**Tell me about your relationship with Metzger? she is not a student she's a police officer so I suggest you answer her questions before you have to answer mine**

Suspect   : "We're all the students in one relationship or another...

Interrogator   :"**The professor did he suffer? was he left in in a humiliating position? this is about power for someone like you narcissistic fantasy in which you degrade somebody until they lose their identity their soul**" (music back sound played)

Suspect   :"Abuse is more than power it is intimacy

Interrogator   : "You'd be surprised at how attached prisoners can get to their jailers their teachers so you see yourself as a teacher is that it?

Suspect   : "Teachers, parents, mentors.

Interrogator : "It is how they start to view us that's true but most of us arrive at that position through respect and not force.

Suspect   :"It is not what you do to people is what you get him to do for you.

Interrogator   : "through pain?

Suspect   : "mental skill not weapons is your most important tool.

Interrogator   : "yes and it requires an enormous amount of mental ability to slice someone up and tie them in a tree?

2. Visual

This scene depicted an interrogation process in a room conducted by several interrogators where the suspect was sitting on a chair and surrounded by the interrogators. The visual data has function to support textual data analysis to provide clear description of the interrogation.

The technique of analysing data is based on Spradley (2016) theory, consisting of domain analysis, taxonomy analysis, componential analysis, and finding cultural theme. The data analysis was initiated by collecting the data from the sources and classify them into several classifications based on Kelly et al (2013) on interrogation taxonomy. The next step is finding the connection among the interrogation methods, the crime case, the suspect, and the successfulness of interrogation process.

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3. Finding and discussion

The findings of the interrogation methods applied by interrogators in collecting information or confessions from suspects varied extensively, from cooperative methods to confrontational methods to obtain the required information quickly and validly. Gender and age also play an important role in choosing the interrogation method, for example when the suspect is female, the methods used tend to be softer such as applying friendliness or closeness in each other to elicit the information.

Confrontation and competition

This method categorized into the maximalization criteria based on the taxonomy proposed by Horgan et al (2016). In this method, the suspect is surrounded by a team of interrogators who have their respective roles, some of whom act as suspect threatening agents by showing angry and impatient expressions, destroying emotional aspects to increase stress levels and some of whom act as good police who offer rewards after the suspect provided the required information.

Picture 1

Police :(*the suspect was surrounding by some police in interrogation room*)" **Says what you did to Gene Galagher, raping her throwing it down the steps to shut her up...**
Suspect: …"that's not it//"
Police : "Well, uh then enlighten us please!
Suspect :" uh…//
Police :"**you hug and rape her! You rape and push her. Her head hit stone steps. Your semen's sample back at the lab, awaiting your blood and when they match, you're gone stand trial rape homicide...**

The datum is classified into the category of confrontation and competition, it is done by asking various direct questions that lead to the suspect's confession without giving the suspect the opportunity to answer questions. In this method, the interrogator also did not give the suspect the opportunity to deny anything accused. Furthermore, the interrogator team also consist of many police to weaken the suspect's mentality. Shouting, threats, hitting
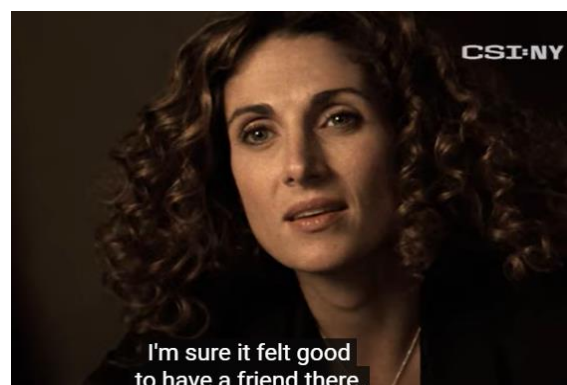
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the table or even hitting the suspect cannot be avoided in the application of this method. The purpose of implementing this method is to obtain a quick confession from the suspect. This is done if the case that occurs is a major case that is demanded by the public or the government to be immediately revealed. This method falls into the realm of maximalization, namely to obtain maximum interrogation results in a very limited time.

Collaboration

The collaboration method used in an interrogation is part of the minimization action. This means that the interrogator and suspect are equal partners in a working relationship in that each person should contribute as much as possible such as exchanging for information (Evans, Schreiber, Russano, 2009). So, in this method, both parties try to make a kind of unwritten agreement together that they have the same interest, namely sharing information needed during the interrogation process. In this approach, the interrogator also offers a reward if the suspect can be cooperative during the process of investigation (Kleinmann, 2010). Some offers made by the police include leniency or even being released if they provide valid information needed in revealing a crime case.

Picture 2

Lawyer : "you don't have to answer these questions. is this going anywhere?

Interrogator : "**hunting that's what your father loved must have been a big deal for him to take you to England**.

Suspect : "**I've been to Europe**

Interrogator : "**well not for a fox hunt not with Hannah**

Suspect : "**she'd never been out of the country I thought it would be good for her**

Interrogator : "**I'm sure it felt good to have a friend there with all those strangers first time your father ever took you on a hunt and then there was the blooding**

Suspect : "I knew about that blooding actually dates back to King James the first.

Interrogator : "do you recognize this? it's from the fox horn yeah it has blood on it it isn't human though

Suspect : "**Probably from the Fox? Haha (all smile)**

Interrogator : right did you know that your dad was going to choose Hannah for the honor must have made you so angry after all those years of waiting to go with your dad he picks Hannah and after he dies who does your brother rather take an interest in?

This datum includes collaboration where the interrogator shows her interest in what the suspect did to elicit answer where the main suspect may be found by the police. In this datum, the police ask the suspect's personal activities about hunting in the forest with her father, this is done so that the bonding between them is formed and trust in the interrogator becomes a trigger for the source of information from the suspect. This method is commonly performed by the police to the suspect who is considered as unstable condition or seems to provide the information in a minimalization way. This scene also illustrates how the exchange of information that occurs is well controlled by the interrogator, who is psychologically very calm in providing a sense of trust and comfort towards the suspect's condition. The selection of a female interrogator is also a very important choice, namely to create a sense of comfort and relaxation.

Rapport and Relationship building

This method is carried out by considering the relationship between the interrogator and the suspect as a social connection and considering the interrogation process as part of an interpersonal relationship that should be carried out smoothly without any pressure on either party (Kleinmann, 2010). This method is generally carried out by building good interactions, showing kindness, respect, or offering something to the suspect such as water or cigarettes (Horgan et al, 2016). This rapport and relationship building is based on a cooperative relationship on mutual interests to share information.

Picture 3

Police : the senior cadet is being interrogated in the other room. **I need you to talk to me, okay?**

Suspect : I don't want to get in any more trouble

Police : **Then you just have to help us out, Julie. We just want to**

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find out what happened to Dara and why did she come to you.

Suspect : she was my best friend, I told her she had to leave immediately. //
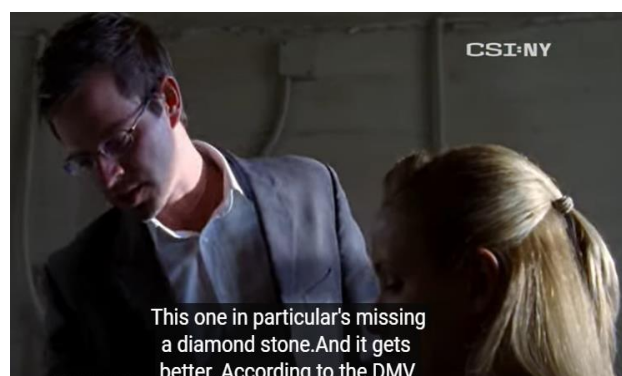
This datum shows that the interrogator tries to build a subtle relationship with the suspect to obtain information related to the discovery of a body indicated as a victim of a crime by the suspect. This method is used when the suspect is a female and the interrogator is also a female officer. Some aspects that cannot be left out are by touching or building an emotional relationship with the suspect, important information is expected to be obtained completely and quickly. The interrogation atmosphere is made more relaxed, as if it were just a casual chat, there is no apparent intimidation by the suspect. In the datum shown, the interrogator makes the suspect not psychologically burdened by turning his back several times to obtain a comfortable mood to answer the questions asked. This method is generally carried out if the suspect's attitude and condition appear stable and cooperative with the interrogator.

Presentation of evidence

This method is done simply by showing the evidence found to the suspect in a straight forward manner with the aim of making him more cooperative or admitting the crime he committed. The method of showing evidence directly means that the interrogator has known a lot of information from the suspect to lure more information out or direct confession by the suspect (Kassin, 2007).

Picture 4

Police : "if your name's Tavia Greenberg why' you sign in for Ros ley's wife I didn't

Suspect:" I'd never been there in my life

Police : "come on the signatures Don't Lie the a from the guest list matches the reference signature you just gave us we're thinking you went down there to have a talk with the woman who was moving in on your boss or your lover.

Suspect: " No, I don't

Police : " **We found these in your office drawer. Press on nails this one in particular is missing a diamond Stone and it gets better according**

to the DMV you're also the owner of a silver Lincoln Navigator 2005 same as Ross Lee's wife name on the lease happens to be Ross Lee but you didn't sign for that one.

Suspect: "All right look Ross and I were lovers and I would talk to his wife Ariana from time to time she thought we were friends I know it's scandalous anyway

In this datum, the interrogator shows evidence in the form of press on nails found in the suspect's office drawer. In addition, the police also show vehicle ownership documents in the name of the suspect caught on a highway camera as evidence of the suspect's whereabouts when the crime occurred. Based on the forensics team's investigation in the field, the vehicle hit the victim's vehicle, causing the victim to die. By

presenting the evidence, it is expected that the suspect can provide more information needed. This method belongs to straightforward to save the time to make the suspect confess all the information claimed by the interrogator. The method of presentation of evidence is also used to test the validation of the suspect's story previously.

Context of Manipulation

This method is classified into the maximalization approach, obtaining high probability of successful outcomes. Some methods that are often used in this domain include bringing the suspect into a small room or windowless room, isolating the suspect before being interrogated, disorganizing the suspect by manipulating physical space (Kelly et al, 2013).

Picture 5

make yourself at home show more that you've got a lot in common

Police 1: **"Well Flash I know that you talk to your friends in chat rooms on websites and did you ever take the next step? did you ever meet them some of those guys?**

Suspect: "They're sick if I turn them in, they'll come after me

Police 2: "As if their inmates aren't going to come after a pedophile like you in prison

Suspect: "God…

Police 3: (*Speaking to other police*) "He's still fighting a hook if he was done. He would have lawyered up I'm still in holding for a while he doesn't strike me as the reflective type

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Police 2: "**Maybe he needs a shoulder to cry on?**

Police 1: "**Make yourself at home show more that you've got a lot in common.** (leaving interrogation room and let someone in).

Suspect 2: "I want my lawyer.

Police 1: **"For what? he's gone Howard.** (expressing unfriendly face)

Suspect 2: "**Doesn't matter anyway I'm dead they already got me on the registry for something else I did. I did never get 90 here my life is over. I can't go backwards you know what they do to us in prison**.

This datum belongs to the context of manipulation where a suspect being interrogated keeps resisting to provide required information, so the interrogator lets another suspect in to the interrogation room. This method is expected to put pressure on the first suspect so that he can be more cooperative by providing information or even confessing to his crimes. Suspects involved in the same case are intended to create a prisoner's dilemma, they are fear, worry, disappointment, or despair if they are sentenced to prison. Before the second interrogation process is carried out, the suspect is also isolated in a special room so that he is psychologically pressured with the aim of making it easier to provide information needed by the investigation team.

Emotion Provocation

The next method found is how interrogators use a psychological approach rather than a physical approach to obtain information or confessions from suspects. Currently, the psychological approach is much more often used in obtaining information or confessions from suspects where this situation is very different compared to the old interrogation model which tended to use a physical approach such as light to severe torture (Kassin et al, 2007). Psychological feelings that arise from the suspect such as fear, anxiety, anger, despair, hope, sadness, guilt and so on are often used by interrogators to gather information by playing with the ups and downs of the suspect's psychological condition (Leo et al, 2008).

This approach adopts the military interrogation model, they are known with the terms "fear up" and "fear down" which are deliberately created to make an explosion of suspect emotions so that the suspect provides important information constantly (Kelly et al, 2013). On the other hand, with an approach that suddenly changes to relaxed or "fear down", it is expected that the suspect calmly provides the information needed by the interrogator. The dynamic situation like this is expected to emerge in this emotion provocation so that the interrogator obtains all the important information required. The following is an example of data that categorized into this domain.

Picture 6

Police : "**Do you know anyone who would want to hurt you or your husband?**

Sust : "We know no one in Miami, people told us don't go there you get shot we came my husband was killed I would like to go and I would like to take my husband with me

Police : **"Why don't you just relax have a sip of water maybe you can think of something that might help us you know.**

Suspe : "I am tired and I've already told you everything I know

Police :" **I think we have everything we need okay thanks for coming**

This datum shows the interrogator offering a water to the suspect to reduce her fear of being investigated in a special room. By applying this method, the suspect could feel relaxed and to be cooperative in providing complete information. This is part of one of the tactics in the emotion provocation domain, namely after the suspect is made depressed and as if there is no hope, the interrogator comes by offering something that functions as part of the element reduce fears of the suspect. The psychological condition of the suspect who is made to go up and down is expected to be able to make the next interrogation session run more smoothly, so that the suspect becomes more cooperative in providing information or even confession to the crime committed.

From the findings obtained, this study shows that several interrogation methods are chosen based on considerations such as suspect conditions, gender, age, and suspect responses in providing information required by the interrogator as well as the level of crime committed, such as how serious the violation of the law is, the condition of the victim, and public attention toward the crime case investigated etc. These results are expected to provide a comprehensive picture of how the criminal interrogation process is carried out by the police so that it can be used as a good alternative by interrogators in carrying out their responsibilities. Furthermore, the findings and discussions of this study are expected to provide a broad contribution to other researchers who are interested in criminal investigation issues, that is a clear picture of how the interrogator

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process carries out his duties to collect information and reveal a crime case in creating opportunities to take the next steps of this research with a further focus.

4. Conclusion

The method of interrogation taken by the police or interrogator teams varied from one case to the next case. It is based on the characteristics of the suspect and what crime case investigated, or on how the crime case takes attention from the public and government. The next factor influencing the interrogation method is age and gender of the suspect. It can be seen from the methods applied, they are collaboration and rapport and relationship building. The two main poles in interrogation process are minimalization and maximalization. The first one, minimalization, is an attempt to make the suspect feel relaxed and avoid serious offense during the interrogation. Several ways in this minimalization pole are showing kindness and respect, touching the suspect's emotion in friendly manner, showing concern for the suspect situation, and feeling, building bond, offering reward or reinforcement for desired information, and finding common ground or shared experiences. The second one, maximalization tends to take shortcut to make the suspect surrender and give the information needed in instant way. It tends to offer aggressiveness and violence or physical approach. Some action of this maximalization approach is conducting the interrogation in small and windowless room, threatening the suspect with consequences for

not cooperative, asking the same question again and again, do not allow denial, using impatience, showing frustration and anger expressions, confronting the suspect with the found evidences, showing the suspect photo, or any statements from witnesses that are difficult to deny.

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