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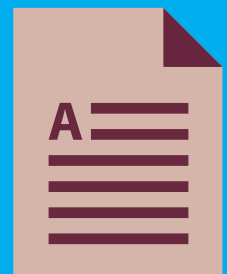
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From police interrogation to police record



Tessa C. van Charldorp

From police interrogation to police record

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VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

From police interrogation to police record

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad Doctor aan
de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
prof.dr. L.M. Bouter,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie
van de faculteit der Letteren
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De Boelelaan 1105

door

Tessa Cyrina van Charldorp

geboren te Leidschendam

promotor: prof.dr. W.P.M.S. Spooren
copromotor: dr. M.L. Komter

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Four years ago, my friend Hannah introduced me to running. When she ran the Dam tot Damloop in 2007, two months after I started this PhD project, I thought: I want to be able to do that. So, I started running. A year later I ran the Dam tot Damloop and a year after that I took part in the Amsterdam half marathon. I then discovered that running is a little like writing a thesis. It takes a lot of time, practice, energy, and self-determination. You need to be disciplined and determined.

The actual experience of running a race is also somewhat equivalent to the experience of writing a thesis. When you're about to run a half marathon, all you think about is how you're going to get from A to B and how long it will take. You hope to reach your destination in the set amount of time that you have given yourself. You secretly hope you will be faster than others. But above all, you want to accomplish the finish so that you can be proud of yourself, proud of the journey you have covered to get there. I certainly am proud of my own accomplishment, but without the help of others, this thesis would not have been completed.

This thesis could not have been written without funding from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) Programmatic Research Program in the Humanities (dossier number PR-05-01). Their grant for the research project 'Intertextuality in judicial settings: the interrelations between talk and written documents in police interrogations and criminal trials' allowed this PhD project to take place. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to the *College van procureurs-generaal* for granting permission for this research. I would also like to thank the police department where I conducted my fieldwork and where I was able to gather these materials. Without their help, there would have been no data. Of course there would be no data without suspects. However, I promised the Ministry of Justice that I would not contact suspects after collecting the interrogations. Therefore, I hope this thank you somehow reaches them one day.

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My four-year learning track as a PhD student was mainly supervised by Martha Komter. Your sociological insights as well as your expertise on the judicial system and police interaction opened up many new worlds for me. You taught me

that as conversation analysts and as sociologists we must always respect the data; our data is our jewel. You taught me to let the data speak and I hope I will be able to nurture this skill in all my future work. Thank you for the many, many hours you spent on me, my work, and our data.

I would also like to thank the ‘Intertextuality’ project team, Fleur and Petra, for sharing ideas, encouraging each other to collect data and start writing, for doing data sessions and for getting this project off the ground. The advisory committee, Tom Koole, Marijke Malsch, and Hedwig te Molder also provided extremely helpful feedback on not only my project, but the bigger project as well. You kept us focused, provided new perspectives and constantly reminded us about the uniqueness of our materials.

I would like to express a special thank you to Geoff Raymond and his team of colleagues and Graduate Students at the University of California at Santa Barbara where I was a visiting scholar for three months. The data sessions, classes, meetings, talks and even just walks around campus, were incredibly inspiring. Not to mention the beautiful dinners and conversations with Elena, the movie and wine nights with Eva and the lunches with the international crew. One special person became a true CA buddy: Jeff Aguinaldo. We were doing CA, we breathed CA, we were CA!

The past four years would not have been the same without all my PhD buddies, colleagues, friends, and family. There are a few people I would like to mention specifically. Keun, you are the best PhD buddy, roommate, conference partner and co-author anyone could wish for. Your optimism, laughter and intelligent spirit made the last four years feel like a little party. I hope we can continue our party for many years to come. Kim, your patience, pragmatic approach and your *gezelligheid*, made the writing process so much easier. What a great team we were at the OBA, Borneo Eiland, the VU, in Sassenheim, the Vondelstraat, and in the Eerste Jan van der Heijdenstraat. I am very proud to have you both by my side during the defense.

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I would also like to thank all other family members, friends and colleagues whom I didn’t explicitly mention here. Everyone contributed to this thesis in some way or another. Whether it was through reading summaries or draft chapters,

through listening to me complain or try out a new idea or theory, by offering your house while you were away on vacation, by providing distraction through running, biking, traveling, volunteering, drinking or eating – every little bit helped and made this journey manageable and often even enjoyable.

Running is not only a metaphor for this thesis writing adventure. Throughout my PhD years, I actually physically ran everywhere I could. Running provided both distraction and inspiration: it kept me healthy. My running shoes came with me on an ‘how to be an effective PhD student’ course in Bergen, to the Stevens family in Bromley, to a conversation analysis conference in Mannheim. My running shoes felt the sand in Santa Barbara and the grassy parks in Amsterdam. As I struggled with certain chapters I struggled with little running injuries. Thank you to all my running buddies for keeping me sane throughout these last four years.

Mum, Dad, Fenna, Danita: thank you for being my family whom I can always, always count on. Thank you for raising me, believing in me, encouraging me and for putting up with me. A final thank you for the one special person whom I am so proud to share my life with. Dirk, you are the best. And the funniest. Thank you!

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TRANSCRIPTION KEY

Part I of these transcription conventions is based on Mazeland (2003) and Jefferson (2004). Part II below consists of my own additions in order to transcribe the typing sounds:

PART I

(1,5)	a silence indicated in seconds
(.)	a silence shorter than 0,2 seconds
dealers= =because	there is no noticeable silence between two sequentially following speaker's turns or between two intonation units produced by the same speaker
[overlap [of talk	two conversational partners are speaking in overlap with each other this can occur at the beginning of two new turns, or during a turn
.	falling intonation contour at the end of an intonation unit
,	slightly rising intonation contour at the end of an intonation unit
?	strongly rising intonation unit at the end of an intonation contour (this does not have to be a question)
↑	rising tone
↓	falling tone
—	the underlined syllable or sound is stressed
e::h	the colon indicates that the previous vowel or consonant is noticeably longer than normal for this particular speaker
LOUD	the word or letters in capitals are spoken relatively loud
°soft°	the words or letters within the degree signs are spoken relatively soft
brea-	the speaker holds back and breaks off the production of a word or part thereof abruptly
>	the text that follows is spoken relatively fast (closing symbol: <).
<	the text that follows is spoken relatively slow (closing symbol: >)
.hh	hearable inbreath
((coughs))	characterisation of a non-verbal activity or any other significant happening ((coughs, cries, types))
()	speaker says something that the transcriber cannot understand
(something)	the transcriber is not certain if the words produced within the parentheses is an accurate representation of what was said

PART II

x	individual keystroke
X	loud keystroke
°x°	soft keystroke
xxx	continuous typing
x x x	keystrokes with brief pauses between each keystroke (can indicate that a backspace key is used to edit the text)
Text.	text in the police record

KEY TO SPEAKERS AND EXAMPLES

SPEAKERS

P= police officer

S= suspect

When there are two officers present, they are differentiated with a 1 or 2:

P1= police officer 1

P2= police officer 2

EXAMPLES

Examples from the police interrogations are titled as follows:

EXAMPLE 1 (TCint06min44)

This indicates that this is the first example in the particular chapter that it occurs within. *TC* refers to the collection of interrogations that I recorded in 2007 and 2008. Some examples are marked *MK* which refers to the collection of interrogations that were recorded by Martha Komter in 1997 and 1999. The code after the initials, *int06*, refers to the number of the interrogation. These numbers are also used in the Appendix (I) where an overview table is provided for all interrogations. *min44* refers to the minute within the recording where this example occurs. When this is written as *min01:15* this means that the example occurred one hour and fifteen minutes into the recording.

Examples from the police records are titled as follows:

EXAMPLE 2 (PR-int06)

This indicates that this is the second example in the particular chapter that it occurs within. *PR* refers to police record and *int06* refers to the sixth interrogation. A summary of each numbered interrogation is given in the Appendix (II).

Chapter 1 |

Introduction

1.1 From police interrogation to police record: an introduction to this thesis

This thesis is about the construction of a suspect's police record. This record is constructed by one or two police officers in an interrogation room and is based on the interaction that takes place between the police officer(s) and the suspect. Therefore, the construction of a police record is accomplished through interaction. The officer generally asks questions and the suspect generally answers the questions. While interrogating, the officer types up the record on his or her computer. This is the general way in which police records are constructed in the Netherlands.

The aim of this thesis is to make the interactional origin of the written police record visible. In other words, *I will investigate the interactional construction of the written police record*. How this record is constructed cannot be seen from the written version of the document. Questions are often left out and negotiations have no trace in the written document. Most police records are presented as first-person narratives but they are not always written in the words of the suspect. The similarities between the talk and the text, but also the alterations, additions and deletions and how they came about will be investigated thoroughly in this thesis.

1.2 From police interrogation to trial: an explanation of the bigger project

After the officer has constructed the police record during the police interrogation, it becomes part of the suspect's case file. This case file is discussed and quoted from in court. In fact, a police record can be used as one of two pieces of evidence required to convict somebody of a crime.

Judges are very much dependent on the case-file that includes all sorts of written records such as police records of suspects and witnesses, but also reports from psychologists and medical doctors. During the trial, judges rely on the written versions of the stories that have been told earlier on in the judicial process (Komter, 2002; 2002/2003). This also means that the judges rely on a police record being a representative version of the suspect's words, which should be the case according to the Dutch law (Code of Criminal Procedure, section 29.3), where it states that the statements made by the suspect must be written down in the police record as much as possible in the suspect's own words. How such documents are used, summarized or referred to in court has been relatively unexplored. What our NWO-funded research project titled 'Intertextuality in judicial settings: the interrelations between talk and written documents in police interrogations and criminal trials' aimed to do was to "acquire insight into the interrelations between

spoken interaction and written documents in the criminal law process” (Komter, 2006a).

In my project I studied the police interrogation phase of the judicial process where I investigated the construction of a police record. The second and third project, conducted by Petra Sneijder and Fleur van der Houwen, looked at how this police record influenced the activities in the courtroom. Petra Sneijder focused on how prosecutors and defense lawyers bring up and refer to the written documents in court and what actions are performed by using and referring to the police record. Fleur van der Houwen looked at how judges refer to, summarize or read from the written records and by what linguistic devices these activities are accomplished. Martha Komter, the supervisor of all the projects, shows how all projects are connected by looking at “the process by which the interactive talk in the police interrogation is “decontextualised” and transformed into written statements, which are later “recontextualised” in the courtroom by the references to them by judges, prosecutors and defence lawyers” (Komter, 2006a).

In order to carry out this research I gathered materials myself, since police interrogations are generally not recorded in the Netherlands. Our research group¹ obtained permission to audio record interrogations at a police station, to analyze the written records and to video record the court hearings that followed up on those interrogations. I have a collection of fifteen police interrogations and police records that are used as the main material for this thesis. These fifteen interrogations led to five court cases which have been recorded and analyzed by Petra Sneijder and Fleur van der Houwen. Furthermore, I have access to twenty police interrogations and its records recorded by Martha Komter in 1997 and 1999 to support my analyses.

1.3 From ethnographic research to conversation analysis: the theory

In order to carry out my research project I made use of ethnographic methods, conversation analysis and discourse analysis. In order to understand the participants’ actions in this institutional context, I combined these methods throughout this thesis.

1.3.1 Ethnography

During my material gathering phase (see chapter 2 for an elaborate account), I used ethnographic methods to learn more about the police and the police world.

1 Dr. M.L. Komter, dr. F. van der Houwen, dr. P.W.J. Sneijder and T.C. van Charldorp

My fieldwork period helped me gain knowledge about the way the police work and the Dutch judicial process. Additional material that I gathered, such as fieldwork notes, play an important role in my research. This material helps to describe the different stages within the Dutch judicial system in which the police record plays a role.

Neville (2004:21-2) talks about gaining 'disciplinary competence' during his research about language use in the cockpit. During my fieldwork I gained 'disciplinary competence' so that I could better understand the interrogation process as well as the jargon that the police use during their work. During my visits to the police station and the police cell complex I learned a lot about the rules and laws that the officers are obliged to obey. I also learned about how various parts of the judicial system work together and I learned about the daily tasks the officers are busy with. I tasted the atmosphere that is common to police settings: arrests, chases, and findings are often followed by jokes and sincere collegiality. Police work is dynamic, highly demanding, varied and sometimes dangerous. My opinion about this is not based on the literature, but on my own experience.

Furthermore, I experienced the vulnerability of the suspects in the interrogation rooms. Suspects, without shoe laces, jewellery or an ID card, whose freedom to eat, sleep or smoke whenever they want has been restricted, told their stories in my presence. Some suspects were reluctant while others were relieved to tell their version of the events. Some suspects simply resisted or were unwilling or unable. Suspects who experienced heavy drug withdrawal symptoms as well as sincere emotions during the interrogations left a strong impression on me as a researcher.

My fieldwork descriptions will be used as a source to support certain analyses or to understand certain topics (just like Heath did in his analysis on medical consultations in 1986 and the way Whalen did in his analysis of 911-emergency calls in 1995). Arminen (2005:24) even states that "a lack of ethnographic understanding may turn into a hindrance" if, for example, the analyst studies "institutionally distinct settings." As long as I make explicit on what my analyses are based, these fieldwork observations can provide a starting point for my interaction analysis (for a further discussion on this topic see Koole, 1997 and Arminen, 2005).

1.3.2 Conversation analysis

The main form of analysis that I will use in this thesis to analyze how the police records are interactionally constructed is conversation analysis (CA). It is this method that provides an understanding of the everyday life worlds of social communities. CA is a method that was established in the sixties and seventies

and is based on the work of the sociologist Harvey Sacks and colleagues who were inspired by ethnomethodology (for example, see Heritage, 2001; ten Have, 2007).

Sacks started out analyzing phone calls to the Suicide Prevention Centre in the early 1960's. In analyzing these calls, he found that callers and call takers are constantly performing activities. In his analyses he shows how participants accomplish these social actions, such as greeting, complaining, telling a story, agreeing, and disagreeing. Participants produce and orient to such actions through *sequences* (Sacks, 1987). By studying such sequences we notice that many actions in talk are paired: a greeting generally receives a greeting, a storyteller receives an acknowledgement or surprise token. How participants design these actions and how the local context creates contingencies upon which these actions take shape, is what conversation analysts aim to describe. Sacks writes that "it is possible that detailed study of small phenomena may give an enormous understanding of the way humans do things and the kinds of objects they use to construct and order their affairs" (1984a: 25).

Central to CA is how the participants interpret each other and how they give meaning to each other's utterances. Participants demonstrate in their next turn how they have understood the previous utterance (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). Through this mechanism, also known as the 'next-turn proof procedure' (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) researchers study the organization of talk and they aim to describe how social actions are produced and understood by the participants themselves.

Heritage (1984:241) describes three fundamental assumptions within CA:

1. interaction is structurally organized
2. contributions to interaction are contextually oriented
3. these two properties inhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail can be dismissed, *a priori*, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant.

In order to be able to see how the orderliness of interaction is constructed on a moment-to-moment basis, conversation analysts use naturally occurring data. Only such data shows how participants construct meaning and accomplish social actions and how this is "treated as the basis for subsequent action" (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). Although analysis is based on the audio or video recordings, in order to make the data manageable and workable, transcripts are made (for transcription conventions used in this thesis, see the Transcription Key). The transcript helps visualize the talk that is produced and allows for detailed analysis of talk in interaction.

1.3.3 Conversation analysis in institutional settings

Although in its early years CA focused mainly on mundane conversations, conversation analytical insights can also be used for conversations in institutional settings. By comparing mundane conversations to talk in institutional settings, we can discover ‘special features’ of talk in institutional settings (see Heritage, 1984). These ‘special features’ make a particular institutional setting unique, or in Heritage & Greatbatch’s (1991:95-96) terms, they create a unique “fingerprint.” For example, in Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson’s turn-taking paper (1974) the authors suggest that the turn-taking “rules” are different in mundane talk than in formal institutional settings such as a ceremony or a therapy session. A pre-allocated turn-taking system for example allows turns to be longer, shorter or at least partially planned (also see Arminen, 2005). Studying phenomena in institutional settings allows us to see how “the context is consequential to the parties’ actions and conduct in a given context” (Arminen, 2005:17). Furthermore, studies in institutional settings lets us find out “how institutional realities are obtained and continuously updated” (Arminen, 2005:17), or in other words, how institutional tasks and goals are accomplished through talk in an institutional setting. What we are trying to find out then when we use CA in institutional settings is how the participants are managing their interaction as an interaction of that particular setting. For example, how do the police officer and the suspect co-construct their interaction as a police interrogation (also see Heritage, 1997).

When conversation analysis is used to for example improve people’s conversational skills or to teach doctors or patients about their conversations with each other, this is sometimes referred to as ‘applied CA.’ Conversation analysis can be applied to all sorts of fields like healthcare (Stivers, 2005; Pilnick, Hindmarsh and Teas Gill, 2010), news interviews (Clayman & Heritage, 2002), emergency call services (Zimmerman, 1992; Whalen, 1995) and others. Today CA is playing an increasingly important role in commercial undertakings (Antaki, 2011).

1.3.4 Conversation analysis and police interrogations

In this thesis, conversation analysis contributes to our understanding of how it is that actions are produced and interpreted within the police interrogation setting. Actions such as controlling the agenda of the talk, summarizing the suspect’s talk, being defensive or demonstrating selective interest in a suspect’s answer are achieved through interaction. Furthermore, through conversation analysis we see how the participants themselves manage and coordinate these actions and we see how technology (such as a computer) plays a role in the coordination of actions. Typing on the computer is a big and important part of the police interrogation

and will be explored in chapter 5 in this thesis. Creating a written document - the police record - is not only one of the goals of the police interrogation, but the production of the document is also oriented to as an interactional resource. The text on the screen forms the basis for further questioning, written text is read out loud, shared and negotiated and at the end of a police interrogation the text is read, sometimes discussed and signed.

Technology and performing multiple activities

Throughout recent years, technology has become an important resource in our everyday lives. Also in interaction, technology plays a role, specifically in institutional settings. Early studies on interaction and technology date back to the late eighties and early nineties where Heath (1986) looked at computers in doctor-patient interaction and Whalen (1995) and Zimmerman (1992) looked at interaction between a caller and call taker at emergency dispatch centers where the call takers managed talking and operating the dispatch centre simultaneously. Today we see how new technologies are manifested in talk all around us.

Not only new and advanced technologies play a role in today's work place; nurses need to fill in their patients' charts while talking (Jones, 2009), anthropologists are moving around color cards while asking questions (Goodwin, 2000) and beauty parlor employees are plucking eyebrows while telling stories to customers (Toerien & Kitzinger, 2007). How human beings seem to be capable of performing multiple activities simultaneously, but also how participants orient to physical objects such as a computer that plays a major role in any number of workplace settings, are questions that will keep conversation analysts at work. In a world where technological tools and applications are ever increasing, it is necessary to understand how speakers interact with or use technology in talk to accomplish social action. In the particular setting of the police interrogation it is important to understand how the computer and typing on the computer play a role in the interaction in the interrogation room.

Text

The documents that I studied, police records, are products based on interaction (also see chapter 3 for a more elaborate introduction to the material). The written police records are based on spoken interaction and their construction plays a major role in the interaction of the police interrogation. In this thesis the documents are not only used as an interactional resource (by both suspect and police officer) during the interrogation but they are also reflections of the meanings that participants attribute to their experiences (both suspect and police officer) (cf. Drew, 2006).

How police records play a role in the police interaction can be analyzed using insights from conversation analysis. However, in order to understand the structure

and content of the written product, I drew on insights from discourse analysis. I treat discourse analysis the way Barbara Johnstone describes the field in the introduction of her book ‘Discourse Analysis’ (2008). I see discourse analysis as a research method with which you pay systematic attention to “to every possible element of the potential meaning of a stretch of talk or writing” (2008: xiv). Johnstone (2008: 9) remarks that the basic questions a discourse analyst asks are: “Why is this stretch of discourse the way it is? Why is it no other way? Why these particular words in this particular order?” It is precisely these types of questions that I will ask when looking at the written police records. By combining these insights with the conversation analytic analyses I will explore the relations between talk and text in this research.

*Intertextuality*²

For years we have known that there are large differences between spoken talk and written text (see Chafe & Tannen, 1987 for an overview; also see Chafe, 1982; Biber, 1986 and Ong, 2002). When one linguistic form (spoken language) forms the basis for another linguistic form (written language) we see what kinds of differences there are or come about when moving from one genre to another.

When talk is transformed into text, which is what we see within specific institutional talk such as the survey interview, we see how the spoken answers from the respondents must “fit” in the standardized forms on paper or on the computer (Maynard & Schaeffer, 2006). Jones (2009) shows a similar negotiation process when nurses adapt the patients’ answers to the fields that are given on the form. Clayman (1990) describes the transformation that takes place from spoken to written language within the news interview setting. In this transformation the original questions asked by the reporter are often left out of the written version. In all of these studies we see that spoken and written language differ from each other and we also see that the medium and the institutional context (cf. Drew, 2006) play a role in these transformations.

In this thesis one type of discourse (talk in the interrogation) forms the basis for another type of discourse (text in the police record). This process of intertextuality (see Johnstone, 2008 for a discussion) that takes place within the police interrogation room through talk and through the typing up of the record will be the main focus of this thesis (see chapters 4 and 5). In the larger project, intertextuality also forms one of the focal points. The entire judicial process, like many other bureaucratic settings (cf. Cicourel, 1967), consists of texts based on talk and talk based on texts. The interrelations between the spoken and written

2 This section is based on a passage in Sliedrecht & van Charldorp (2011), and has been translated into English.

discourse is what will be explored in the bigger intertextuality project (Komter, forthcoming).

1.4 From original recording to text: transcription, translation and anonymity issues

My collection of fifteen interrogations and police records demonstrates how the various officers interrogate suspects and what the officers have written down in police record format. This material, which has been carefully prepared through extensive transcription and anonymizing practices, allows me to study the interrogations and their records from a conversation as well as discourse analytic perspective. Making and presenting transcripts is not only helpful when representing your material, but is also required in order to show fellow researchers what kind of interaction your analysis is based on (see Silverman, 2005). Researchers and readers should be aware that transcribing is not a neutral undertaking but requires that we “practice a reflexive discourse analysis in which we as researchers state our relationship to our transcripts” (Bucholtz, 2000:1463) (also see chapter 3).

Although my Dutch transcripts would be helpful for Dutch speakers, this would not be sufficient for the international readers’ understanding of my material. In the academic world, transcripts are (typically) translated into English. Translating spoken text however can be quite problematic (see Bucholtz, 2007; Nikander 2008 and also ten Have 2007 for a discussion). The translations in this thesis are loose translations, in which I have attempted to maintain the conversational style and tone of the original talk.

At the same time, when translating your materials freely, there may be problems with indicating intonation units, intonation contours, overlap, and details such as loudness, accents, etc. Such issues were sometimes discussed during data sessions, which helped to improve not only transcripts, but also the translations thereof. I chose not to include literal translations or grammatical translations in this thesis in order to keep the text as reader-friendly as possible. In short, translating transcriptions is an extremely difficult and sometimes subjective task with possible analytical implications. In this thesis the analysis is always done with the original material. The translations are used to share the material with an international audience. When the translations interfere with the analysis, this will be explained in the text and sometimes literal translations may be given to support a point.

The transcriptions have also been anonymized. When seeking permission for this research project, the research group had to adhere to a set of rules drawn up by the Ministry of Justice. One of the rules in the permission document states that all names of the participants should be changed and no facts should lead to the

participants involved. In the transcripts and police records I changed all names, dates, locations, and other personal information. Therefore, in this thesis and all other publications, all names and other information have been changed. In my police records I immediately blacked out all personal information that would lead to the participants involved. This also included information about the specific police station where I recorded the interrogations. Before I publicize anything in relation to this material, it must be approved by the Ministry of Justice to see if I adequately removed all information that can lead to the participants involved. Only the members of the intertextuality project have access to these interrogations in a protected folder on the university server.

1.5 From preliminary social talk to signing the record: the outline of a police interrogation

Since not all readers may be familiar with the police interrogation procedure, I want to introduce what happens during a police interrogation. In this thesis I will talk about six global phases of the police interrogation: 1) preliminary actions and social talk; 2) form-filling; 3) the police caution; 4) the social interrogation; 5) the case-related interrogation; and 6) exit activities. These phases will be elaborated on in chapter 3 in this thesis. Here, I will shortly introduce these phases.

When a suspect has been arrested the officer or the team need to decide when and where to interrogate a suspect. When this is decided, the officer arranges an interrogation room either at the station or at the police cell complex (depending on whether the suspect is held in custody at the police station or at a cell in the cell complex). Once a time and room have been reserved, the officer makes his/her way to the cell. Generally, the officers are well prepared. They have read through the police case file, have discussed the case with colleagues and/or the unit leader and they have a general idea what they want to get out of the interrogation. For example, some suspects are interrogated mainly to find out whether the suspect is guilty or not, whereas others are interrogated about their friends or about another (main) suspect in the offence for which they have been arrested. When officers know that the interrogation will be difficult, they make an interrogation plan in advance. This consists of a number of questions they want to ask the suspect in a particular order that they think will help to get the suspect talking about the offence.

When the suspect is brought from his temporary or police cell to the interrogation room, this is always done by uniformed police officers. Some suspects meet their interrogator(s) for the first time at this moment. Other suspects may have also been arrested by the same officer, may have been interrogated before by the same officer, or may know the officer from the streets or from previous

offences. Officers first sought permission to record the interrogation for research purposes, and then the interrogation would begin. During this first phase, the officer logs into the computer system and fills in certain codes. Officers may open other documents such as the suspect's list of offences or victim and witness reports. I call this phase the *preliminary actions phase*. Here, officers also conduct *social talk* with the suspect while setting up the computer. Officer and suspect talk about things like what they just had for dinner or, for example, police cell conditions.

When the officer starts up the computer program in which he/she will write up the record, fields appear that need to be filled in such as the suspect's full name, date of birth, postal address, etc. This is the *form-filling* phase. Minors are asked additional questions such as the name of their school, schooling level, etc..

Generally, after the form has been (partially) filled in, officers give the legally required police *caution*. Officers tell the suspects that they are not obliged to answer. On the form-filling screen there is one question that asks whether the officer has given the caution. A 'Y' for 'yes' needs to be filled in before the officer can print the document. On the police record the following statement automatically appears: "After I told the suspect that he was not obliged to answer and about what I wished to interrogate him, he declared".

After the document has been prepared, the form has been filled in, the social talk is completed and the caution is given, the officers move on to the *social phase* of the interrogation. During this phase officers ask about the social background of the suspect such as the suspect's family, previous or current education, housing situation, financial situation and past experiences with the police. This information is then typed up. Not all interrogations include a social phase. When suspects have been interrogated before, either for the same offence or for another offence, there often is no orientation talk or social interrogation.

The social part of the interrogation is followed by the *case-related phase* of the interrogation. During this phase the facts of the case are discussed and written down. Officers are asking questions, listening and typing while suspects are listening, answering questions and waiting for the typing to end. It is during this phase that officer are truly interrogating.

The interrogation ends with a number of *exit activities*. Here, the officer prepares the record for printing by editing and cleaning up the lay-out. The officer prints the document, collects it at the printer and brings it back to the interrogation room. The suspect reads through the entire police record. When the suspect is a non-Dutch speaker the document is read out loud by a translator or when the suspect is (functionally) illiterate it is read out loud by the officer. Generally, while the suspect is reading, the police officer also edits the police record on the screen.

When the suspect has read through the document, he/she³ can ask for changes to be made. Both the suspect and the officer sign the document and the suspect initials every page. The suspect can also choose not to sign the document.

There are other phases such as greetings, giving advice or interruptions that are not included here. The phases I just described appear in both the police record (with the exception of phase 1) as well as in the interrogation itself. However, not all police officers work in the same way. The order of the phases may change and the social interrogation phase does not, for example, occur during every interrogation. The phases may not be universal across all police interrogations worldwide and may also be labelled differently. For example, in the Australian police interrogation, Georgina Heydon (2005) has defined three phases: opening, information gathering and closing. Although these phases also apply to the Dutch police interrogations, I have chosen to use the six above defined phases because the participants themselves make these phases relevant during the police interrogation (also see chapter 3).

Asymmetries in the police interrogation setting

One of the goals of the police interrogation is to produce a record that reflects what was talked about during the interrogation, as much as possible in the words of the suspect (Code of Criminal Procedure, section 29.3). At the same time, the institution allows for the suspect not to participate in reaching this goal (his rights not to answer the questions; Code of Criminal Procedure, section 29.1). Therefore, the police interrogation setting is not only potentially contradictory for the suspect (I have the right not to answer questions, but I am asked lots of questions), but also for the police officer (I need to write up a police record, but I am telling the suspect he does not have to answer any questions).

Within this contradictory setting of the interrogation, the police officer and suspect have different projects to fulfill. Kidwell & Martínez González describe this as the officer and suspect working at “cross-purposes” (2010:70). What they mean by this is that the main goal of the police interrogation is to find the truth (van den Adel, 1997), whereas the suspect may also have their own personal projects. Some suspects may want to be cooperative, whereas others may not. Some may want to tell the truth, others may not want to say anything⁴ or lie.

3 All the suspects that I recorded interrogations off are male. From here on, in this thesis, I will refer to all suspects as ‘he’ in order to increase readability.

4 During my fieldwork time at the police station I encountered very few uncooperative suspects. I did talk to the officers about uncooperative suspects. Officers prefer to talk to the suspect before they have spoken to their lawyer, as the lawyers often advise the suspects not to answer any questions during the interrogation. Comments about such situations were given in the form of jokes and informal statements (see chapter 2 in this thesis).

On top of the different projects that the participants may be pursuing, this setting is asymmetrical for various other reasons. Firstly, the police officer is the professional, which carries with it a responsibility towards the professionals in the further criminal law process (the written version of the interrogation is a reflection of the officer's job skills which will be read by the judges, prosecutors and lawyers), whereas the suspect is the lay person in this setting, only having a responsibility to himself.

Secondly, the officer has access to knowledge about the suspect (e.g. through the case information in the computer system) whereas the suspect has no access to knowledge about the police officer. The officer may have done some research on the suspect's background and possible previous offences. When the officer enters the interrogation room this information is already known. The suspect on the other hand knows little about the officer and will not get to know this information either.

Thirdly, the setting of the interrogation room displays an asymmetry as the officer sits on a proper desk chair behind the computer whereas the suspect sits on a normal chair without a computer in front of him. The police officer is the only one who has access to the computer, the keyboard, the screen and the police record "so far" as he or she is typing it up.

Fourthly, the police interrogation setting, like many other institutional settings, is organized by reference to a modified turn-taking system in which the police officer asks the questions, the suspect answers the questions and the police officer writes up the written report of the spoken interrogation. The suspect is expected to answer questions and the police officer is expected to type up the record. By being the questioner, the police officer can take control of introducing new topics and managing the agenda of the talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992: 49 and Heritage, 2010: 44). Although the projects differ amongst the participants - as well as their access to rights, knowledge, physical objects and conversational tools - the interactional project between them is designed to mutually create the police record (also see chapter 5 in this thesis).

Lastly, and possibly most importantly, the suspect is under arrest and may be in custody⁵. He is no longer a free person and basic rights have been taken away (i.e. to make as many phone calls as you wish, to wear shoelaces, to go outside, etc.). The officer is only restricted by the demands of his job. The officer has the power to use force, to lock him up or to tell him he cannot smoke a cigarette. This is the biggest asymmetry of all (also see Haworth, 2006). At the same time, the suspect does have some rights. The suspect has the right to remain silent, to make a certain number of phone calls, to decline cooperation with the police, and he may also lie during an interrogation. The Code of Criminal Procedure does not state

5 Some suspects are already in custody for another offence and they are now being interrogated about an additional offence.

anywhere that lying is unlawful for a suspect. It is within this complicated setting that the police interrogation takes place.

1.6 From police interrogation to police record: an example

In order to illustrate what kind of material I will be examining in this thesis I would like to provide an example from one of the interrogations I recorded. During this interrogation there are two police officers who question a suspect about a purse he robbed from another man while he was drunk. One of the police officers sits behind the computer – he also types up the record, while the second officer is seated next to him. Generally, when there are two officers, one officer will do most of the typing and the other the questioning. In this interrogation, however, P1 does most of the questioning *and* typing. At this point in the interrogation the suspect has confessed that he took the purse but the officers want to know exactly *how* the suspect took the purse from the man and where he ran to afterwards. An explanation of the transcription symbols can be found in the Transcription Key.

EXAMPLE 1 (TCint13min13:15)

- 1 S: (want) ik [was.
(because) I [was.
- 2 P1: [maargoed,
[but okay,
- 3 S: ja=
yes=
- 4 P1: =je hebt dat tasje van die meneer,
=that purse of that man you,
- 5 had ie dat vast of↑zo?
was he holding that or ↑something?
- 6 P2: zn hand?
his hand?
- 7 S: nee: hij had em gewoon in zn ↓hand.
no: he just had it in his ↓hand.
- 8 P2: >[in zn hand vast zo.<
>[holding it in his hand like this.<
- 9 P1: [()
- 10 S: ja:.
ye:s.

- 11 P1: *niet met een bandje ofzo?*
not with a strap or something?
- 12 *om zn pols?=
around his wrist?=
=nee ik kan niet zo merken of ie bandje had of niet.
=no I didn't notice if it had a strap or not.*
- 13 S: *(0.3)
ik kan nie- ik zat niet op te letten.
I can't- I wasn't paying attention.*
- 14 *(0.4) maar waarom ik die tas heb gepakt weet ik (.) tot nu toe niet,
(0.4) but why I took that purse I don't know (.) until now,*
- 15 *van waarom w ja ww-
like why w yeah ww-*
- 16 *eigenlijk,
actually,*
- 17 *(0.2) .hh is wel ↑raar,
(0.2) .hh is a bit ↑strange,*
- 18 *maar ging meer eigenlijk om om te kijken of ik die meneer zo zou zien,
but actually went more to to look if I could see that man,*
- 19 *om om ja wee-
to to yeah agai-*
- 20 *die tas zal ie sowieso terug krijgen maar,
that purse he's gonna get back in any case but,*
- 21 *kijk eh m ik zat,
look eh m I was,*
- 22 *die man eh die echt een boef is,
that man eh who is really a crook,*
- 23 *gaat niet wat doen,
is not gonna do something,*
- 24 *en dan ga je weer dat (lopen).
and then you're gonna (walk) that again.*
- 25 *is is eh eh in dezelfde omgeving.
is is eh eh in the same area.*
- 26 *↑en ik had ↑huis [sluitels].
↑and I had ↑house[keys].*
- 27 P1: *[m- wacht even,
[m- wait a minute,*

- 30 *dat TASje heb je uit zn hand gehad (.)*
 you had that PURSe out of his hand (.) ((literal translation: that PURSE
 have you out of his hand had))
- 31 S: °ja°
 °yes°
- 32 P1: eh ge- gepakt,
 eh t- took,
- 33 S: *ja.*
 yes.
- 34 P1: *en toen ben je weggerend toch?*
 and then you ran away right?
- 35 S: *ja*
 yes
- 36 P1: *gelijk?*
 immediately?
- 37 (0.4)
- 38 *rechtdoor of terug?*
 straight ahead or back?
- 39 S: *niet terug.*
 not back.
- 40 *eh recht [door,*
 eh straight [ahead,
- 41 P1: *[rechtdoor,*
 [straight ahead,
- 42 *re - richting mercatorplein,⁶*
 str- in the direction mercatorplein,
- 43 S: *nee richting e:h,*
 no in the direction of e:h,
- 44 *n- nieuwoort.*
 n- nieuwoort.
- 45 (2)
- 46 *richting nieuwoort waar mn zus woont.*
 direction nieuwoort where my sister lives.

Following this segment, P1, P2 and S negotiate which direction the suspect ran in. Although the suspect claims he ran into the direction of Nieuwoort (an apartment

6 As mentioned in section 1.4, all references to people and places have been changed.

building complex), according to the officers, he first ran into the physical direction of Mercatorplein and then made a left turn and only then did he run into the direction of Nieuwpoort. This officer does not type right away; rather, he writes some things down on a piece of paper and only later writes it up in the record. This is how the suspect's words are later recorded:

"Ik weet niet waarom ik het had gedaan maar ik heb het tasje uit zijn hand gerukt en ben weggerend richting Mercatorplein."

"I don't know why I had done it but I snatched the purse out of his hand and ran away in the direction of Mercatorplein."

When we compare the spoken interaction with the written statement we see that the written text is an approximate version of the suspect's words. The suspect did utter that he didn't know why he did it (line 16), he does confess that he took the purse (earlier in the interrogation and also in line 16 and line 31 and 33) and he does confess to running away (line 35).

We also notice some other things right away. First of all, we see that the police record has been written up in a monologue, first-person perspective style even though we know that it is the officer who writes up the police record. Furthermore, within this particular writing style, the questions asked by both interrogators have been left out. According to the written record it seems as if the suspect volunteered this information. The questions in lines 4-5, 6, 8, 11-12, 30, 32, 34, 36-38, and 41-42 are not included as questions in the written record.

Secondly, we note that the entire monologue concerning the suspect's disbelief towards himself and his explanation of why he is not a real thief (lines 16-28) has been reduced to '*ik weet niet waarom ik het had gedaan.*' ('I don't know why I had done it.') The emotional, elaborate response in which the suspect is 'doing innocent' (also see chapter 4) has been reduced to eight words.

Thirdly, if we take a look at the interaction, we see that the suspect nor the officer ever uttered the words 'snatched away' and that 'ran away' also comes from the officer's question and not from the suspect's own words. What we see here then are two types of transformations. First of all, the officer's question 'and then you ran away' in line 34 becomes part of the first-person answer in the police record. Secondly, the suspect's words 'took' in line 16 is later summarized by the officer in line 30 and 32 who again uses the word 'took' but is later recorded as 'snatched away'. Snatching implies a physical and possibly violent action whereas 'took' does not.

Fourthly, we see that in the interaction the direction into which the suspect ran is of importance. This is not unique to this interrogation, but is often a point of discussion during the interrogations. Officers attempt to visualize the suspect's

actions by asking about street names, apartment buildings, train stations and other locations. Officers often reconstruct suspect's stories by asking with great level of detail about whether the suspect took a left or right turn and into which direction they were going or coming from. In this extract we see that the suspect uses his final destination when talking about which direction he ran into. The officers, on the other hand, describe the direction he ran into step by step. Although his final destination may have been the apartment building Nieuwpoort, the suspect first ran into the direction of Mercatorplein. Only then did he take a turn and ran into the direction of Nieuwpoort. It is the officer's version of the reconstruction of events that is recorded in the police record.

Fifthly, a general comment can be made about the pre-allocation of turns in this excerpt. Not only does the officer, P1, have control of the computer and the keyboard and therefore decides what is written down in the record (like the direction the suspect ran into), but the officer also controls the turn-taking system in the interrogation. When the suspect elaborates on why he is not a real thief (lines 23-28), the officer interrupts and returns to "doing interrogating" (from line 29 onwards). P therefore, whether there are one or two officers, is in control of the agenda.

These first observations lead to many questions. We have seen differences in perspective, emotional language, detail regarding location and direction. We have seen how different words and constructions have different implications and we have seen how P controls the interrogation agenda and therefore the text. Are the differences we observed between the interrogation and the record common throughout all the interrogations and police records? In this extract, neither of the two police officers is typing. When does this officer start typing? How do the officer and suspect coordinate and orient to the typing? In chapter 3 I will make some more initial observations that will lead to the two main research questions that I explore in this thesis. The research questions are formulated as follows:

1. *How are the suspects' stories elicited, told and written down during the police interrogation?*
2. *How are talk and typing coordinated in the various phases of the police interrogations?*

1.7 From beginning to end: thesis outline

In chapter 2, I provide a report on how I collected my materials at a Dutch police station. This ethnographic account attempts to show the difficulties I encountered when collecting this material and therefore not only demonstrates the uniqueness of the materials, but also hopes to provide insights that other researchers can use

to go out and collect other unique material. Furthermore, this chapter provides a first insight into the suspects' backgrounds and crimes. I will focus on common themes that are discussed during the police interrogations that allow a first look into the suspects' lives. In chapter 3, I present my initial observations based on the material while transcribing. In this chapter I focus on the product, the police record, and the various styles that can be found in the police records. I will then focus on the process, or rather, on how the police record has been interactionally constructed. Specifically I will look at the two main activities that take place in the police interrogation throughout the different phases: talking and typing. This chapter leads to the main research questions that will be explored in this thesis. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the product and the process respectively. In chapter 4, I discuss some of the main differences between the stories told in the interrogation and the stories written up in the police record. I will show how the changes between talk and text have come about by looking at the details of the process of the story elicitation and storytelling. Chapter 5 continues with this analysis and also focuses on how these differences come about through the coordination of and orientation to talk and typing. Typing is an integral part of the Dutch police interrogation (also see Komter, 2006b). A detailed account of how typing is an interactional factor in this institutional setting highlights the differences between the professional (the police officer) and the lay person (the suspect). I conclude this thesis in chapter 6 in which I revisit the research questions and where I discuss implications of my research and possibilities for future research.

Chapter 2 |

Collecting police interrogations and records

Section 2.1 in this chapter is based on the article: van Charldorp, T.C. (2010). Veldwerkverslag: onderzoeksmateriaal verzamelen bij de Amsterdamse politie. *Tijdschrift voor Taalbeheersing*, 32(2), 95-113.

INTRODUCTION

Gathering the research material for this thesis took a considerable amount of time. Although the desirability of recording interrogations has been discussed among the police, scientists and politicians over the last few years (Buruma, 2007), most of the interrogations in the Netherlands up until 2011 are not recorded. Two-way screen interrogation rooms are also not a common feature at police stations. Therefore, in order to collect interrogations and their records I sat in on the interrogations in the interrogation rooms and took notes while recording the conversations with my audio recorder¹.

The aim of this chapter is twofold: I want to describe how I collected my materials for this thesis, and secondly, I want to give a first introduction to the types of interrogations that I recorded and the types of suspects that are involved in these interrogations. When starting this thesis I had twenty Dutch police interrogations and police records gathered by Komter in the late 1990's to work with. However, since I am part of a larger research project in which we follow the suspect from the police interrogation to the court room, it was necessary to collect more interrogations. The aim was to collect five full 'cases' – from interrogation to court trial. In order to reach this goal, I set out to collect at least fifteen interrogations and their records. I was able to collect fifteen interrogations in a period of six months, during which I was also able to do a short ethnographic study of the police.

By ethnographic study I mean a study in which social worlds or groups are described through fieldwork studies. Agar describes ethnography as “how social action in one world makes sense from the point of view of another” (1986:12). Examples of traditional ethnographic studies can mostly be found within the field of anthropology and sometimes sociology (for examples see de Jong 2007; Castellano 2007; Chagnon 1968).

During my time at the police station I was able to take a look at what the public generally does not get to see: the so-called 'backstage behavior' (Goffman, 1959) that occurs at the police station. I observed what went on before, during and after the interrogations. However, what I will describe in this chapter is not an ethnographic account of my fieldwork period at the police station. Rather, these ethnographic lessons and my insights into the 'backstage behavior' (Goffman, 1959) of the police interrogation will be used throughout this thesis to explain police related jargon, situations or processes and are also used to support certain analyses.

1 For this research project an audio recorder was chosen instead of a video recorder so that the researcher would draw as little attention to herself as possible in the little interrogation room. We also thought that the permission to record data would be easier to achieve when using an audio recorder only.

In this chapter I will specifically describe how I went about collecting police interrogations and police records as my research material for this thesis. In section 2.1 topics such as entering the field, maintaining relationships and various fieldwork problems will be elaborated on. In section 2.2 I will provide a first insight into the stories that are told in the interrogation room. This will show what types of crimes these cases are about, where the suspects come from and what they care about. For an overview of all the fifteen newly collected interrogations, summaries are provided for each interrogation in the Appendix (II).

2.1 Gathering materials

In a lot of interaction analysis research the materials are retrieved from a corpus. How and under what circumstances the material was gathered, is often not elaborated on. Here, I want to explicate this part of the material-gathering phase. Specifically, I will describe how I went about gathering police interrogations and police records at an organization that is usually described as closed and secretive: the police. Since there is so little police material available for conversation analysts, I hope to provide a clear account as to how I went about collecting this sensitive material myself. By describing how I dealt with and solved the problems I came across, I hope to show what is important when doing fieldwork and when gathering materials. Since I am the central person during this fieldwork period, this chapter will be a rather personal account. I will reflect on these personal experiences and draw conclusions in relation to relevant literature. Sometimes I will use examples from my fieldwork diary in which I took notes while I was at the police station.

This section consists of three aspects of doing fieldwork and gathering materials. First I will start with the entry negotiations in section 2.1.1. I will then describe the importance of having good relationships in the field and how I was able to manage this in section 2.1.2. Section 2.1.3 is about the fieldwork problems that developed because of my physical presence as well as that of the audio recorder.

2.1.1 Entry into the field

Gaining entry into the research field is one of the first and key steps in ethnographic research. However, access to organizations closed to the public can be very difficult (Bryman 2004:294). This first section on gaining entry discusses the various stages I had to pass through in order to start collecting materials at the Amsterdam police. The stages are described in chronological order: preparing for the first meeting, entry negotiations and the first observation and recording.

Preparations

Whether or not you should conduct preparations before entering the field is a question that is frequently debated in fieldwork textbooks and accounts (see, for example, Vanderstaay, 2005; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Ten Have, 1977). Without preparing, you are perhaps able to enter the field openly without prejudice. However, by preparing you become aware of what is happening in your field of research and you become familiar with the problems and solutions that other ethnographers in your field have experienced and found. The balance between, on the one hand, preparing for the field, and on the other hand, finding out as you go along is difficult to foresee when starting a fieldwork project.

I wanted to be prepared for the world of the police before collecting my police interrogations and their records. In my case I wanted to be aware of the organizational structure of the police force in the Netherlands and in Amsterdam. I wanted to be aware of certain slang words so that I could converse with police officers and so that I would not be seen as a complete outsider. I also wanted to be aware of how difficult (or easy) it would be to sit in on the interrogations and I wanted to create a network in order to increase the chances of gaining access to the field. Lastly, I wanted to conduct these preparations so that I could be successful during the entry negotiations.

Komter, who recorded twenty police interrogations in Amsterdam in the late nineties, proved to be the first point of reference. Besides her published work on these police interrogations (for example 2002, 2002/3, 2006b) it were her lively personal accounts of her fieldwork experiences that prepared me for my first entry into the police world. I also studied various police websites, flyers, promotional DVDs, and police force newsletters. I visited police stations in Amsterdam and talked to officers. I read books and articles about doing fieldwork at the police station (Punch, 1983; Van Maanen, 1981, Manning, 1977; Sanders, 1977) and about police language (van Heijningen, 1990).

Through these kinds of preparations, an ethnographer can feel more comfortable in the field. During your first encounters this kind of learned knowledge can demonstrate that you are interested in the group you are observing. At the same time, not everything can be learned during the preparation phase. It is up to every researcher to choose how much he or she wants to be prepared before entering the field. I chose to prepare myself adequately through relevant literature and stories from experts. However, as soon as I entered the police station for my first meeting I realized that most things can only be learned when you actually experience them.

Entry negotiations

Punch (1983:42-43) begins his ethnography of the Amsterdam police by stating that police forces are known for their isolation and secrecy. He furthermore claims that police forces put their guard up against outsiders looking on (1983:42). Not only is the police an organization that is closed to the public, it is also an organization that receives a considerable amount of criticism from the press, citizens (for examples see de Jong, 2007; Manning, 1977) and researchers (for example see Skolnick 1993). However, in the last few years, the Dutch police has paid considerable attention to improving the relationships between citizens and police (BZK & Justitie, 2007). Citizens are asked to play a more active role and police officers are encouraged to seek direct contact with citizens. At the same time, my research has shown that there still is some 'closedness' about the police as an organization, which was shown by the Ministry of Justice when obtaining permission. This process took two years to complete, also partially due to a pause in correspondence from our side.

Obtaining official permission from the Ministry of Justice started two years prior to when I recorded my first police interrogation. This process was started by writing a letter to the *College van procureurs-generaal* – the highest body responsible for the policy-making and supervision of the public prosecution in the Netherlands. After corresponding back and forth about the specificities of recording the interrogations, and a pause in the correspondence from our side, a letter arrived at the university in July 2007 stating that permission would be given to record the interrogations and to use the written police records for research purposes. The permission would only be given as long as the Amsterdam police force also agreed and as long as the work done by the police officers would not be hindered by the research. By signing a permission document I agreed to nine 'rules' about the material gathering and usage. One of these rules is that all participants will remain anonymous and another rule states that I will present a draft of all publications to the *College van procureurs-generaal* so that they can verify, for example, that there are no traces that can lead to the participants involved. The *College van procureurs-generaal* was the first gatekeeper in this permission seeking process. Hammersley & Atkinson (1995:34) define gatekeepers as "actors with control over key sources and avenues of opportunity."

A copy of the letter was sent to the head of the Amsterdam police force. This letter became my means of entrance to the police force. By attempting various channels, I found my way "into" the Amsterdam police through the communication and information department. The spokesperson for the Amsterdam police, my second gate-keeper, provided me with permission from the Amsterdam police force and a contact in a specific team in Amsterdam. This is what I wrote in my research diary:

“September 2007. Today one of the representatives of the communication and information department of the Amsterdam police finally called me back. He arranged for me to work with a specific team in a specific district in Amsterdam². He gave me the name and telephone number of the project leader. I called the project leader right away and after a quick introduction he told me I could start any time I like. I thought to myself: Yes, I’m in!”

This connection proved to be the start of my actual fieldwork. The contact, Nick³, had taken on ‘interns’ before and ‘didn’t mind having me on board.’ His team was specialized in youth crime and street robberies. Nick had one of the highest numbers of arrests per week and therefore interrogations often took place. Furthermore, his team mainly dealt with middle-sized cases, which, according to the communication and information department, was in my interest.⁴ Nick introduced me to his team of officers whose interrogations I would be sitting in on. He turned out to be a key informant who could provide contacts at the most local level.

Although I had spent considerable attention to preparing before entering the field, I felt like an immediate outsider when I was introduced to Nick’s team. I only then realized that I knew nothing about the daily activities of the officers; the jargon, atmosphere and sense of humor were unknown to me. But at the same time, the entry negotiations with the individual officers took very little time.

All officers personally gave me permission to record their interrogations. They had also received instructions from Nick “to take me along.” The entry negotiations with the officers were therefore limited. I only needed to assure them that all names would be deleted and all information would be treated confidentially. Frequently officers replied: “Well, if Nick says it’s ok, it must be ok.” The idea that I was a ‘student’ at the university, that I didn’t work for the police and that I was not there to criticize the police really helped me during my talks with the officers on the way from the police station to the police cell complex where the interrogations took place. At the beginning of my fieldwork period, the police station was right next

2 For anonymity reasons I will not specify the location or the team any further.

3 All the names of the participants have been changed in this thesis.

4 Middle-sized cases refer to medium offences such as abuse, robbery with violence, gang crimes, etc. Small-sized cases refer to pick pocketing, shoplifting, etc. Big-sized cases refer to rape, murder, attempted murder, etc. I was not interested in small cases since the aim of the bigger research project was to record the court cases that followed the interrogations. Small crimes often do not result in court cases. Big-sized cases occur the least often. Although these would probably be very interesting interrogations and court cases, the risk was too high to focus on these types of crimes. These high-profile cases are not only scarce but there is also a lot at stake for both the police and the suspect. With high-crime cases the police officers do not always approve of a researcher or tape recorder being present (as I noticed after my first police interrogation) and the suspect could also likely have denied my presence.

to the police cell complex. Later, the station moved to a new, temporary location, a little further away. I used the moments when traveling in between the buildings with the officers to get to know them. It was during these moments that I build up trust with certain police officers. I showed a great interest in their work and constantly asked them about their past and current work and their future plans. These conversations can be seen as ongoing entry negotiations as I befriended my subjects and let them get used to me as a researcher and as a person. As time went on, everyone in the team was aware of my presence and status as a student who needed to observe and record interrogations.

The suspects, on the other hand, were not asked to “take me along.” At the beginning of every interrogation either the officer or I explained to the suspect why I was there and I told them that I do not work for the police. Considering Komter’s experiences, I thought the chance would be highest for the suspects to give me permission if I would ask them this at the beginning of the interrogation, rather than in advance. The officers agreed. I told the suspects that I was interested in how the officer writes the story up in his or her computer. This generally took away the idea that I was there to focus on the suspect’s story. In addition, the suspects were told that the recording would only be used for research purposes and that everyone would remain anonymous. The suspects were then asked for their permission for me to be present and record the interrogation.

Three out of eighteen times, the suspect refused and the officer tried to explain the same story again adding additional details in order to convince the suspect to participate. The suspects did not give specific reasons for this. None of the refusals eventually led to an acceptance. The other fifteen suspects agreed. Some suspects asked a few questions about what I was trying to find out. Two suspects asked me to verify that they would remain anonymous. One suspect agreed because he wanted to help me: “You need to get your degree, right? So, I’ll help you get your degree.”

The entry negotiations with the communication and information department of the police as well as the contact with Nick the team leader showed me that my preparations did make me feel more secure throughout the entry phase of the fieldwork. Afterwards it showed that successful entry negotiations are essential for the next step: good contact with Nick led to relatively easy access to his team. The cooperation of all of these people was required for me to reach my research goal. Even though successful entry negotiations are crucially important, the entry negotiations also continue throughout your fieldwork period as they are an ongoing aspect of fieldwork.

The first time

No matter how prepared I was before entering my research field, the first time I observed and recorded a police interrogation I was incredibly nervous and I still could not believe that I had finally managed to work my way into this interrogation room at an Amsterdam police station. I was sitting in the same room as a man who was accused of several violent robberies and who had already served prison time in the past. In the interrogation room of about 2x3 metres, the suspect was sitting opposite two officers. I was sitting in the corner, up against the door, diagonally across from the suspect on the same side as the officers.

What if I would see the suspect again on the streets of Amsterdam in the future? Would he recognize me? What if he tries to do something in the interrogation room? Am I capable of protecting myself? These questions were running through my head. When I told one of the police officers afterwards that I had been quite nervous he laughed and said it did not show. I described my 'first time' as follows in my research diary:

“Wes (police officer) is the first to speak. “We first have a question: This lady is from the university and she is looking at how we are conducting this interrogation and how we write this down on the computer. Is it all right if she sits in and records this conversation?” The suspect is leaning back in his chair and nods yes. “Yes?” Wes asks. The suspect nods his head again and I say “thank you” to the suspect. He doesn’t seem interested. I press the record button and put the recording device on the table. It sits between Wes and the suspect. I hope that no-one realizes that my hands are shaking. I sit down in my chair in the corner and I have my notebook and my pen ready. I feel my heart beating and I hold on tight to my pen. Wes begins the interrogation.”

I took as many notes as I could write throughout the interrogation. I tried to pay attention to as many non-verbal details as possible. I observed the eye contact between police and suspect and between the two police officers. I recorded the typing behavior and the movements across the screen while typing. I observed the movements made by the suspect in his chair and wrote down as many details about gestures and gaze as I could. At the same time I did not know what I was looking for and what I needed to write down. When I was writing I could not look up and I wondered how much information I was missing. When I looked up I couldn't write. After one hour the interrogation ended and I could barely move my hand from the non-stop writing.

During this interrogation the suspect was only interrogated about his background, living habits and friends, also known as the social interrogation. The next day the police team wanted to confront the suspect with evidence in a more case-focused interrogation. On this day I received a phone call and was told that

the officers did not want me to sit in on the interrogation. The team I was working with had been searching for this suspect for months. He was accused of several violent robberies and was thought to be one of the key figures. They did not want any interference during the interrogation. Moreover, they did not want to take the chance that a “clever lawyer could say that the interrogation was recorded and could therefore not be used in court.”

I quickly learned that the success of my fieldwork did not so much depend on my preparations, but on the cooperation I would receive from the police team. The officers thought that my presence could have an influence on the functioning of the officers and the amount of information the suspect would be willing to give during the interrogation. After this incident I discussed the permission papers again with Nick who discussed this with his boss. From now on they would no longer worry about “clever lawyers”, but the idea that I could have an influence on the interrogation remained. I was therefore never asked to sit in on the bigger cases such as shootings and multiple violent robberies with weapons. The fourteen interrogations I sat in on and recorded from here on are cases of single violent robberies, street robberies, extortion, selling stolen items and threatening others with or without a weapon. In order for me to be present at these interrogations, I had to retain the relationships I had built up with the officers.

2.1.2 Maintaining relations

Every fieldwork textbook or account emphasizes the importance of maintaining relations in the field (for examples see Bryman, 2004; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Swanborn, 1987; ten Have, 1977). Without good relationships you can create resistance to your presence in the field. Your time in the field could not only become a struggle, but you may be resisted to participate further. As a fieldworker you are dependent on the people you are observing (ten Have, 1977:24). When you do build up a good relationship you can gain access to what Goffman calls the ‘backstage behavior’ of your subjects (1959:114). This backstage behavior can be compared to the secrets of a show which are only visible backstage, where “performers behave out of character while there” and which is usually closed to members of the audience (Goffman, 1959:116).

This section describes the importance of maintaining good relationships in the field and the ways I managed to maintain relations in my fieldwork setting. Although my observants consist of two groups, the police officers and the suspects, I could only maintain relations with the former. I gained access to my fieldwork setting through the police and it was the police unit who kept me informed about when interrogations were taking place. Before recording the interrogations I was always waiting around at the police station with police officers. I had very limited

access to the suspects. I did not visit them in their cells or wait with them until they were interrogated. I met almost all suspects solely in the interrogation room and did not see them again afterwards⁵. Therefore, this section focuses on the reasons and methods for maintaining relations with the eleven police officers that I observed. This section ends with the fieldwork exit, which is not always a straightforward matter in fieldwork studies (Bryman, 2004:309).

How do you build up a good relationship?

Above, I shortly explained the reasons for having a good relationship with those you are observing. But how do you build up such a relationship? I came across several problems that made it difficult for me to build up good relationships. For these problems I found several solutions, which will be discussed below.

First of all, as an ethnographer you can easily create *suspicion* and *distrust* among your subjects. I noticed these suspicions through the various labels I was given by the police officers. Jokingly, I was referred to as “spy”, “sent from above”, “sent by Nick to observe the team”, and an officer referred to me as a “citizen.” The use of the term citizen demonstrates that the police officers do not see themselves as citizens when they are working. It illustrates the “us versus them” perspective. I was one of these citizens, for whom there are different rules and for whom certain information remains inaccessible.

Distrust was stronger at the beginning of my fieldwork period when my subjects knew little about me. Although I had introduced myself at one of the briefing sessions, nobody knew exactly where I came from. I would usually arrive at the police station when the team was having a briefing session. This way I could be informed about the status of what had been going on that day and I would be informed on the suspects whom they would interrogate that day. During these moments I would hear a lot of names of possible suspects and techniques they were using to try and find the suspects. All this information was of course confidential and it was implicitly assumed that I would not talk about the information I heard inside the police station. I would usually sit at the back of the open office space, reading, listening and sometimes taking notes. At one point when I was reading a book and occasionally taking notes on something I read in the book or on what I had heard in the office, all the officers were making jokes about each other. I did not hear exactly what was going on but all of a sudden I heard one of the officers

5 One suspect was interrogated twice for different offenses. I sat in on both interrogations and therefore saw him twice. Another suspect was going to be interrogated for stealing a purse. He had told one of the officers that he had hidden the purse in a playground nearby. Two officers and I took the suspect on a ride through the neighborhood so that he could show us where he had hidden the purse. This was the only suspect whom I talked to outside of the interrogation room setting.

say: “You better be careful about what you say, she’s writing everything down”, referring to me. This made me very aware of my status as a researcher and an outsider. In order to gain the trust of the officers, I stopped taking notes during briefing sessions or meetings and tried to make myself as invisible as possible while occupying myself with other work. Sometimes I would offer the officers if I could help them with mundane tasks such as photocopying or filing paperwork. Although they appreciated this, they never took me up on it.

Another way to take away distrust is to try and create “comfortable grounds” (Van Maanen, 1981:478) by having conversations with the police officers without interfering with their daily tasks. Van Maanen suggests that people like to talk about themselves and notes that “the fieldworkers’ presence then offers to those in the setting a rare and perhaps gratifying opportunity to speak with some authority on subjects they know best. These are comfortable grounds, and creating situations in which such talk can occur is the essence of competent fieldwork” (1981:478). These talks usually took place during the walks from the police office to the police cell complex next door (at the beginning of my fieldwork period), in the short car rides from the police office to the police cell complex (towards the end of my fieldwork period after the police office had moved), or while we waited until the suspect was brought down to the interrogation room from his cell. During these conversations I would tell the officers information about myself, share my insecurities with them, compliment them on their job, and specifically I would ask them a lot of questions. I asked questions about the suspects, their work as a police officer, their past positions, their future plans and their general ideas about the justice system. I let them know that I was intrigued by police work.

During these conversations I noticed that police officers complain a lot to each other about the Ministry of Justice and lawyers. Officers are often dependent on the working hours of other institutions, like the Ministry of Justice, or for example on youth services or other related departments. The frustrations particularly came about when a suspect could no longer be held under arrest and the Ministry of Justice had not yet been able to look at a case during their office hours. Lawyers were often seen as obstacles for the interrogation. Suspects who had spoken to their lawyer before the interrogation took place were generally less willing to tell their story. Officers tried to prevent this as much as possible by hearing the suspects as soon as possible. Lawyers and the Ministry of Justice proved to be good topics to talk about. It is these conversations that researchers can use to offer a ‘return’, or reciprocate by being interested in their subjects, paying them attention, showing understanding and acceptance (ten Have, 1977:42). By showing sincere interest in their work and their criticisms of the system I felt like I could give something in return, I took away suspicion and distrust, and I was able to build up relationships with the officers.

Another way I dealt with their suspicions and distrust was by being as approachable and accessible as possible. Everyone in the police unit had my email address and phone number. I left copies of my research project proposal with them and I always answered any questions they had about me. I even paid attention to “fitting in” (Van Maanen, 1981:479) as much as I possibly could. This included wearing clothes that did not stand out from them (all police officers in my observed unit did not wear uniforms) and keeping to their schedule (which resulted in recording interrogations late in the evenings and being available in the weekends).

I chose to explain my research in the simplest terms possible so that I wouldn't sound like a scientist. The reason for this was because during one of the first conversations I had with Nick I asked him if they worked together with the police academy, the scientific research branch of the Dutch police. Nick made a face of disgust and said there is a big gap between us (the field) and them (the researchers). I quickly realized that I belong to “them”, but tried to minimize this as much as possible by not talking about the details of my research. I quickly learned to translate my research project into an applied research question. I told the police officers that I am looking at all the different things that the police officer has to do while interrogating a suspect: breaking the ice, listening, thinking about which question to ask, asking the questions, listening to the answers, seeking the truth and writing everything down. I told the suspects that I am studying how the police officers write their story in the computer and that I want to describe this difficult task. More detail was not required and would not have helped me build up relationships.

Another way to maintain a good relation with my subjects was assuring them of their anonymity. When dealing with such a secretive organization as well as such delicate subject matter, anonymity is essential. I always assured everybody that everyone would remain anonymous. I would assure the police officers during our talks about this and I would mention this again when telling the suspect my reason for being in the interrogation room. Outside of the police office I handled my material with extreme carefulness. Recordings were put on the computer on a secured network and deleted from the audio recorder. Police records were locked up in a cabinet. Names were immediately deleted or changed.

Besides suspicion and distrust, I also experienced a second problem when trying to maintain a positive relationship. This was the problem of *marginality* (ten Have, 1977:23): you are only there (at the police station) *temporarily*, in an environment where your subjects have worked for years and/or will work for years to come. You usually have a limited amount of time allocated for fieldwork observations and you would like to get as much information as possible about your research group in this time. After you have collected your data you go back to the university where you analyze all your data. The police officers knew that

I would leave. Although they invested some time in getting to know me, they did not befriend me. Although the officers answered my questions, they did not elaborately tell me about their work practices or certain work procedures. I would be leaving anyway. It is essential to have a good relationship with the people in the field as you want to be able to ask questions and have talks with your subjects. They will generally not voluntarily come to you.

Lastly, in order to build up a good relationship you must be aware that you are *dependent* on your subjects: you need them, but they do not need you. Ten Have describes this as the problem of *reciprocity* (ten Have, 1977:24). Besides providing a listening ear, you have little to offer as a researcher. You show up and gather information and you disappear again, generally without giving much back (Swanborn, 1987:323).

I noticed that my relationships with the officers improved throughout the months at the police station. I noticed this through the various labels I was assigned. I went from being a “citizen” to a “spy”, “a researcher”, “Tessa from the VU” and finally “Tess.” This gradation from being someone ‘different’ to an ‘intruder’ to a ‘professional’ to being a ‘person with a (shortened) name’ demonstrates that I gained trust in our relationships. Through this trust I was able to minimize the problems of marginality and reciprocity.

Exit

The moment I was going to stop my fieldwork was dependent on the court cases that followed the interrogations. As I mentioned before, the goal of our bigger research project was to collect five cases from interrogation to trial. After four months I had recorded seven interrogations and we had recorded one hearing in court with two more hearings taking place within the next two weeks. After recording these seven interrogations I wanted a clear end date for my fieldwork time. I decided to record only eight more, until we had reached fifteen, assuming that our chances of being able to record two more court cases were quite high. This defined goal of recording eight more interrogations was important for me because my fieldwork period was unpredictable – which makes doing other work difficult. The unpredictability was due to the fact that I would call Nick a couple of times a week to see if he had arrested any new suspects. If this was the case, I could come to the station, if not, I didn’t. My daily schedule was therefore largely dependent on the schedule of the police.

The goal of recording fifteen interrogations was not only a good target for me, but also for the police officers. This way, all participants knew when I would leave the field. Although we always joked about Nick trying to get rid of me, I did sometimes feel like I was a burden to the police team. I set the clear goal of fifteen interrogations in order to make the fieldwork period clear for me as well as Nick

and his team. Towards the end of my fieldwork period most officers knew about my set goal and they would ask me how far along I was or they would jokingly say: “Still don’t have fifteen; you’re taking a long time to get to fifteen!”

Leaving the research field is not easy. You spend months trying to gain entry to the field, and then months trying to maintain the relationship. You build up these relationships and get to know your subjects along the way. Furthermore, you spend considerable amounts of time with your subjects and they have given you a lot of material. In return, you have given them very little. An appropriate and thankful exit makes future entry into the field easier, not only for yourself, but also for other researchers.

My final goodbye at the police station was a little different than planned, which is not surprising since police work is extremely unpredictable. Every day is based around what crimes have happened the night before, what information has come through the telephone taps or what video or photo material they have been able to obtain. The entire day police officers walk in and out of the office as they work in shifts: morning, day and evening shifts, week and weekend shifts. Computers are shared by all officers; only two administrative workers have a set desk in the office space. Sometimes I would arrive at the police station and find ten people from the team working, typing, discussing. Sometimes I would show up and find nobody. After my last interrogation there were only two police officers in the office. It was not exactly how I had planned to say thank you and goodbye. Knowing this would be my last interrogation I had brought cookies and sweets for the sweets jar in the office. It was a small gesture, but I felt like it was an additional gesture to solely saying “thank you.” Afterwards I called Nick to thank him again and to ask him to give my regards to the rest of the team. When he picked up the phone and heard my voice the first thing he jokingly said was: “What do you want from me now, I thought you were done!”

2.1.3 Fieldwork problems

Collecting material from the police, an organization to which ‘outsiders’ generally do not have access, may seem complicated. It is up to the researcher to deal with the various situations that may arise and to make sure that the fieldwork becomes successful. When you, as a researcher, are present at the police station during the interrogation, you immediately create two problems: your physical presence and the presence of the audio recording device. After a short explanation of the observer’s paradox, I will elaborate on the problems and solutions surrounding the presence of the audio recorder and the researcher, as well as the more abstract situations that can occur, such as the roles that the researcher takes on while doing her fieldwork.

Observer's paradox

Since I, the researcher, am present in the interrogation room along with an audio recorder, the “normal” situation of the police interrogation is already changed. But it is this “normal” police interrogation situation that I am interested in for the analyses in this thesis. It is this paradox that Labov (1972:209) described as the observer's paradox: we want to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet this can only be done by systematic observation.

The observer's paradox can often not be avoided in fieldwork research or when gathering conversation analytic materials. Recording the interrogations without asking the police officer and/or the suspect for permission (for example by taking on a covert role and hiding the audio recorder) would be unethical, especially considering the vulnerability of the suspects. By observing rather than participating in the interrogation, and by being as unobtrusive as possible I aimed to have as little influence as possible on the interrogation. I am, however, aware of the possible influence that I or the audio recorder may have had on the interrogation. One of the officers told me that it sometimes felt like I was looking over his shoulder. Another young female officer who had just joined the team told me that she felt like she had to be on her best behavior because I was observing her. Fortunately, these two cases are exceptions. The second time I recorded an interrogation with the same young woman, she said she did not mind my presence anymore.

The audio recorder

Ten Have and Komter (1982) wrote about ‘the fear of the tape recorder.’ They state that in a lot of settings, for example the job interview setting, participants have such important things to discuss that they do not have time to worry about the tape recorder. I always let the officer and the suspect know that if at any time they felt uncomfortable, they could say so and I would turn off the recorder and leave the interrogation room. None of the participants asked me to do so. When I asked the officers afterwards if they minded the tape, most officers told me that after five minutes they completely forgot that the tape recorder was on.

Unfortunately, I never had the chance to ask the suspects if they minded the presence of the audio recorder. The suspects often left the interrogation room immediately after the interrogation. One suspect refused permission to record his trial in court. He told his lawyer that he was nervous for his trial and he in fact didn't want his police interrogation to have been recorded either, but he realized he had given permission himself.

The position of the audio recorder can play an important role in the comfort level of the participants. During the first eight interrogations I placed the recorder on the table between the suspect and the officer. I placed the recorder at the edge

of the table so that it would not sit directly in between the officer and suspect. However, to me it was quite obviously present and could hardly be forgotten during the interrogation. From the ninth interrogation on I kept the recorder on my own chair or in my lap. The sound quality proved to be almost just as good and I felt that the recorder was less obtrusive for both police officer and suspect. Not only did I feel that this would be more comfortable for suspect and police officer, but *I* also felt more comfortable with the recording device in this position.

Seating arrangement

Seating arrangements in interaction have been studied for years within disciplines such as sociology and interaction analysis (see for example Hare & Bales 1963; or see LeBaron and Streeck 1997 for seating positions during a police interrogation). Huisman (2000) shows in her research about decision-making in business meetings that seating positions can be an indication of the social relations that exist between participants. For this reason it was not only important to observe and describe the seating positions of the officers and suspects, but it was also important for me as an observer to choose an appropriate position within the room so that I would influence the interrogation as little as possible.

Although some interrogation rooms were bigger than others, all were shaped in a rectangle, approximately three by two meters. In every interrogation room there was a desk with a computer and keyboard, and at least three chairs. Police officer(s) and suspect always sat opposite each other. Lawyers were never present⁶. When there were two police officers conducting the interrogation they would sit next to each other, both facing the suspect.

During my third recording I found that sitting opposite the suspect, on the side of the police, was not a good strategy. Rather, the best place to sit in the interrogation room was at the head of the table, which I did from the fourth interrogation onwards. This way the police officer and suspect could sit opposite each other and have eye contact without me being in their direct line of vision. I felt I could observe more objectively sitting at the head of the table, an equal distance away from suspect and police officer. I sat as far back as possible, often with my chair up against the wall. This was the most invisible I could be physically in the small rooms no bigger than six square meters (see figure 1).

My positioning also proved to work well with the power outlet which I required for my recording device. The power outlet in almost all interrogation rooms was in the wall behind me when sitting at the head of the table.

During my sixth interrogation I learned that I needed to know my position within the seating arrangement right from the beginning. During this interrogation the police officer asked the suspect for permission. When he gave permission I was

6 Lawyers are allowed to be present, but in all the interrogations I recorded they were not present.

still standing, about to plug in my recording equipment. The officer already started the interrogation.

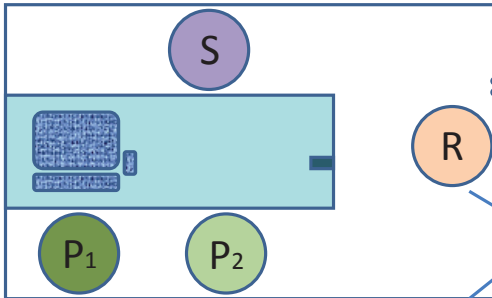


Figure 1: Seating position in the interrogation room (P= police officer, S=suspect, R=researcher).

“I sat down in my chair. I already placed the chair next to the officer, but at an angle, a bit further to the back and to the door. I was still sitting opposite the suspect, but not directly opposite him. It was quiet in the small room. I wanted to push my chair back even further but I realized that this would make a lot of noise and attract a lot of attention. In the future I need to place my chair correctly right away and I need to do this before the suspect enters the interrogation room.”

This fragment demonstrates that I wanted to be as invisible as possible. I never felt ‘at home’ in the interrogation room and especially at the beginning of my fieldwork period I was very aware of my presence. When I recorded a few more interrogations and when I got to know the officers and the judicial process a little better, I was less aware of every chair movement. Getting to know the field and being able to freely move around the field is something that takes time.

Taking notes

Writing field notes is one of the central research activities in ethnographic work (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:175). Taking notes requires as much care and self-conscious awareness as possible (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:175). However, little advice is given about how to go about writing notes. Bryman (2004:306) states that field notes consist of “fairly detailed summaries of events and behavior and the researcher’s initial reflections on them”. However, details about how one should go about writing such summaries and reflections are left aside.

When you do not have video recordings you can choose to write down as much as possible while observing the interrogations. At the beginning of my fieldwork period I wrote down as much as I possibly could. My notes were fairly

unstructured and contained every detail on every feeling and reflection I had on every event that occurred in the field. Later on I learned to focus my note taking; I used abbreviations and there was a lesser need to write down every observation and feeling at every moment. Observations and feelings were also recurring which led to shorter notes. I would write out my notes in full sentences as soon as I got back to the university, which was always within twenty-four hours.

Taking notes in public proved to be problematic at times. As mentioned earlier, the officers were always aware of my notebook and pencil. I quickly learned not to take notes when officers were discussing sensitive issues or mentioning names of suspects they were looking for or had arrested. I did not want to take notes at these times in order to gain trust with the police unit. I also was not interested in this kind of information.

Note taking also helped me overcome certain difficult situations. I discovered this when there were awkward moments during the interrogation and I wanted to be invisible. During these moments I kept my head down and wrote continuously. Ten Have advised me to continuously take notes, even if you do not need to take notes - just write whatever comes up in your head in order to keep your eyes focused on something other than your subjects (Ten Have, personal communication during AWIA symposium 2007). This method worked well during awkward moments in the interrogation room (for example when the suspect would cry, when the suspect would keep making eye contact with me or when the officer had just accused the suspect of lying or committing a crime). I also tried this method throughout an entire interrogation and although it did make me feel more comfortable, it also kept me from witnessing certain events. Finding a balance between observing and taking notes was something I had to discover myself through trial and error.

Role taking

Finding the appropriate role and status as a researcher in the field is also a process that takes time (for examples see other ethnographic accounts Castellano, 2007; de Jong, 2007; Chagnon, 1968). For ethical and practical reasons it was decided beforehand that I would take on an overt role as an observer. Nevertheless, there were a number of moments when I wanted to be invisible and where I wasn't sure what role I was supposed to fulfill. In this section I will describe three different roles I assigned to myself or that others assigned to me during my fieldwork period.

1. Role as a researcher: When you have an open role as researcher in the field (as opposed to a covert role), this is really the main role that you need to perform. I found it important to stress my role as a *researcher* every time I went into the interrogation room. With the police officers I had to make sure they did not see me as a critic of their work. With the suspects I had to be careful of not being seen

as someone who was on the same side as the police. By stressing my role as an independent researcher I was able to take on an objective position in which I did not need to criticize anyone nor be on anyone's side.

At the same time I sometimes experienced the role as a researcher as a difficult task. Sometimes I just didn't want to be the researcher anymore. I wanted to either be a police officer so that I could have a legitimate reason for being present in the interrogation room or I wanted to be of use. This problem can be illustrated by the following extract. The sixteen year old suspect finally told the truth after having lied for two hours. The suspect is crying.

"I find it difficult not to smile at the suspect, or to give him a signal saying "It'll be all right"...but I don't allow myself to do so and I don't do anything. That's why I am constantly looking at my notebook and I look at the officer and I look at the ground. Especially when the suspect cries I don't want to look him in the eyes, because then he will notice that I feel sorry for him. The officer keeps looking at the suspect; his face is almost without emotion..."

I wanted to offer the suspect a tissue but felt like that would be an interruption to the interrogation. If the officer had wanted to give him a tissue he would have offered him a tissue and so I did not move. The officer let the suspect cry for several minutes while watching him. After having spent two hours with this boy in the interrogation room I had gotten to know some things about his difficult life as a teenager in Amsterdam. He seemed to me like he was willing to finish his school. But the things he had just confessed would probably lead him to trial and possibly youth detention. I could not help but feel sorry for him and guilty that I could not do anything for him. If only he would have had a better home situation, I thought. At the same time I had to realize that I was not there to help these youngsters. I was merely there to observe and record the interrogation. This led to some internal emotional clashes which I spoke about with the police officer who conducted the interrogation. We talked about how difficult it is to be harsh with these kids. His line of reasoning was that "if you don't start now, they will become worse criminals." I understood his line of reasoning, especially since he dealt with these types of youngsters on a daily basis. For me, it was the first time and it took me a little longer to take a more objective look at the suspects.

2. *Role as student:* I told Nick, the team leader, that I was working on a PhD project many times. I also corrected him many times when he would refer to me as a student working on my master thesis. Despite my corrections, Nick and most other police officers saw me as a student and remained to see me as a student throughout the entire fieldwork period. Some officers also introduced me to the suspects as a student. I would generally correct the officers saying I was working as a researcher

at the university. One suspect however preferred to believe I was a student and he replied: "So you're studying language. So you're gonna be a language expert then. Cool." Later I thought that being seen as a student may have helped me obtain permission with the suspects and it may have felt less official for the participating officers. At the same time I did not want to give out the wrong information. I always remained aware of this misunderstanding and tried to correct officers and suspects whenever I could. Towards the end of my research, two officers fully understood that I was writing a "book" and therefore realized that I was not a "normal" student. These two officers even asked me if they could be on the front cover of my "book", and asked me to keep them informed about when I would be done.

3. *Role as police officer or accomplice:* This last role I want to describe here concerns a role that I avoided. When you enter a field where two parties are on different 'sides' (for example a job interview committee and the applicant or the police officer(s) and the suspect), you can be seen as either one of these parties. One of the roles I did not want to take up was that of police officer or accomplice of the police. The following incident demonstrates that I experienced this as a problem. Two officers (Nigel and Rob) are taking a suspect on a trip so that he can identify where he has hidden a stolen purse. I am riding along in the police car.

Nigel was driving. Rob was sitting in the back with the handcuffed suspect. I sat in front of the suspect in the passenger seat. I pulled my chair forward a bit because I realized that the suspect didn't have a lot of space for his feet and it must be uncomfortable. I thought that Nigel probably thought I was being too nice. He already sentenced this suspect because the suspect already admitted guilt. I was being treated respectfully by Nigel - he made sure I was comfortable. The suspect received a different treatment. He was handcuffed and was wearing a green, plastic suit over his clothes. I thought that Nigel probably wouldn't do what I wanted to do. But why shouldn't I pull my chair forward, even for a suspect? How should I behave? The way I think the police officers would behave? Or the way I would behave according to my own moral values? I chose the latter, that's what felt right. I pulled my chair forward.

The choice I made here demonstrates that I was aware that the police treated people differently and that they conformed to other norms and values than I was used to. Reflections like these allow me to understand the way officers deal with others and allow me to understand their behavioral codes (for an example of how norms and values can clash between participants and the fieldworker, see De Jong 2007: chapter 5). Although I wanted to be as invisible as possible and definitely not 'different', it is still extremely important to maintain your own norms and values when doing fieldwork.

When norms and values in the field vary greatly from those of your own, it can become very problematic. In his ethnography of Moroccan youngsters in Amsterdam, De Jong describes that it takes time to build up confidence to go against this kind of behavior (2007:96). Van Maanen (1981), who conducted ethnographic fieldwork on the police for many years, notes that credibility among police officers partially depends on how you react to difficult situations and events. Castellano (2007) suggests using various kinds of strategies in order to manage fieldwork dilemmas in the criminal justice system. She describes two kinds of strategies, anchoring and distancing, which can “help the ethnographer manage ethical problems in fieldwork” (2007:706). Anchoring refers to deepening involvement whereas distancing refers to withdrawing from activities. In the car seat situation I described above I unconsciously used a distancing strategy during which I stuck to my own values and thereby possibly strengthened my position as a neutral researcher, and took distance from the role as police or police accomplice.

2.2 A first listen: The suspects’ cases

Now that I have shown how I collected my material, I want to elaborate on the content of the police interrogations. Here, I will take into consideration that just over half (8) of my materials consist of interrogations with minors and the rest (6) with adults⁷. All suspects are male. Although I am aware that each suspect has an individual story to tell, I extracted global themes from my materials to provide the reader with an insight into the suspect’s reasons for arrest, their backgrounds and what matters to them. I labelled all the interaction in the transcripts. Labels were redefined in order to group major themes together (for example, talk about a daughter and talk about someone’s parents were grouped together under the label ‘family’). The most frequent labels were chosen as themes to elaborate on in this section. I will first discuss the themes that are salient in the interrogations with minors (section 2.3.1) and then elaborate on the topics that are brought up with the adults (section 2.3.2). A general overview of each interrogation can be found in table 1 in the Appendix (I) and summaries of each interrogation can also be found in the Appendix (II).

7 I was asked not to include the first interrogation in my analysis. As explained earlier, the police had been looking for this suspect for quite some time and they did not want anything to interfere with the interrogation or the trial process. This suspect was sought for several heavy crimes and they were afraid that the suspect’s lawyer would find some “clever” way of getting his client out of trouble if he would hear that the interrogation had been recorded. Although I have fifteen recordings, I will only be discussing fourteen in this thesis.

2.2.1 Minors

Seven out of the fifteen suspects in the interrogations I recorded are minors aged between 14 and 18. One suspect is aged 19, but is still considered a minor by the police since he has the status ‘Harde Kern Jongere (HKJ)’, which is literally translated as ‘Hard Core Youth’⁸. Below, I will discuss the types of crimes the suspects were arrested for, and their background and family relationships. Furthermore, I will illustrate what the suspects say about friendships and betrayal, gangs they consider themselves to be part of, street life and the codes of the street, material objects such as mobile phones, iPods, a digital video camera and mopeds, parental and other forms of control such as family members or neighbours, and their future.

The descriptions are based on the talk in the interrogations. Although the suspects sometimes voluntarily add information, we must remember that the main part of the interrogation consists of a question-answer structure where the officer asks the questions. The questions are specifically elicited to find out “what happened” (Cicourel, 1967). The topics that are discussed here are therefore often elicited by the police officer. However, the stories are the suspect’s verbatim versions before they have undergone the transformation onto paper and therefore do offer an insight into their version of their background, lifestyle and criminal activities. Specifically during the social interrogation the officers get an elaborate insight into the suspect’s home situation and lifestyle. Some of the topics that are discussed are quite common. A lot of the young suspects have been arrested before and are part of what the police refer to as “HKJers” or ‘Hard Core Youth’. These suspects either do not do well at school or they don’t feel like going to school. Suspects live in the centre of or in the suburbs around Amsterdam, the largest city in the Netherlands⁹. The reason they have been arrested by this police unit is because the offence occurred in the area that is covered by this specific police unit.

Types of crimes

The suspects have been arrested for various crimes and the interrogations take place during various stages of the suspects’ arrests. The crimes include robbery, robbery with violence, kidnapping, extortion and threatening. Six of the eight

8 This definition refers to a group of youngsters aged between 12 and 25 who have committed two serious crimes in one reference year and who have had at least three “priors” in the years before, or youth who have committed three serious crimes in one reference year (source: regionaal veiligheidsplan Amsterdam-Amstelland 2007-2010/11, published in 2008). Jeugdzorg, the Dutch Child and Adolescent Welfare agency, uses the translation ‘Hard Core Youngsters’ (<http://www.bjz gelderland.nl/sf.mcgi?3294>).

9 By ‘largest’ I mean largest based on population measured by the Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS). According to the CBS, Amsterdam counted 747,093 inhabitants in 2008, which makes it the largest, or most populated city in the Netherlands (source: www.cbs.nl).

suspects operated in groups (more than one person) whereas two of the crimes are, according to the police, individual actions.

Three suspects, Manilo, Byron and Stanley are friends. Together they recently formed a group called Greenside, whose aim is to take care of each other financially and support each other if any of them get into trouble. The three of them are suspected of stealing an iPod from another youngster in a garage. They allegedly used force to push the victim into the garage and one of the suspects, Stanley, supposedly threatened the victim with a knife. Two of these friends, Manilo and Stanley are also interrogated for another crime, namely, threatening a victim and walking alongside him to his house (this is considered kidnapping as they took away the victim's freedom and forced him to walk to his house) where they extorted him (the suspects wanted two iPod's and twenty euros in return for a camera that was apparently stolen from Manilo by the victim's older brother).

Two other suspects, Marvin and Sunny, are also friends of each other. They have been arrested for five violent crimes where they supposedly operate in groups. They are accused of hitting men with baseball bats in order to steal their wallets, as well as hitting and kicking their victims. While they are in custody, the police receive a victim's report which states that both suspects also stole €5,- from a victim's pocket after they stood around him with a group of about seven young guys. Marvin says he has nothing to do with the crime, but Sunny admits that he took the €5,- from the victim but he also says that the victim's father came by his house to get the €5,- back. He therefore does not understand why the victim has pressed charges.

The two individual actions are concerned with stealing a motorbike and stealing a mobile phone. Although both suspects were found to be in possession of the stolen items, both suspects claim they are innocent. Basil, who was arrested for stealing the motorbike, claims that he was only riding on what he thought was a moped, which he borrowed from a friend he met on the street. Mark, arrested for various violent crimes such as beating up several men at subway stations and stealing their wallets, was also found to be in possession of a stolen phone. However, he claims that he bought the phone himself, and later also states that the phone number that belongs to the phone is not his phone number after all.

Background & family relationships

A lot of the suspects are considered 'Hard Core Youth' and therefore have a history of criminal activities. All suspects have been in contact with the police before, either for minor crimes such as destroying public property, or for major crimes such as stealing cars. Whereas one suspect has so far only received community service as punishment, another suspect has already spent over a year in a detention centre.

Currently, all suspects live with their family. They live with either their own parents or for example with an uncle. One suspect's mother passed away and he now lives with his father. The home situation varies for the different suspects. Two suspects claim to be relatively happy at home and live in a nice house where they have their own room, but others do not like their home situation. One suspect claims that he is not allowed to do anything at home and would rather spend time with his friends or on the street. Another suspect has a lot of arguments at his house and therefore lives at his friend's house for months at a time.

All suspects, except Mark who was born in Suriname, were born in the Netherlands. At least three are known to have parents from elsewhere, like Curacao or Suriname. Even though their roots may be from elsewhere, this is not commonly addressed during the interrogations. Only one suspect with Surinam roots has a chat about Surinam alcohol, Borgoe, with a Surinam officer. All suspects speak native Dutch and language is therefore not a problem during any of the interrogations. Occasionally suspects refer to each other with reference to their nationality or skin colour such as: "the Dutch guy", and "but Michel is light, right?"

Some suspects claim they have a "tough life". Although the details about this difficult life are not made explicit during any of the interrogations, for one of the suspects his difficult life is used as a reason for doing the things they did. This suspect, Mark, says: "tough life I have" and when the officer says that everyone has a hard life, he replies: "if you had known my background you would've said pff you've had a real tough life." Another suspect is currently having a tough time coping with everything that is happening to him. His grandfather's funeral, losing his job and being arrested for "this little incident" cause him to feel that it "it's just becoming a little bit too much." Although this suspect does not himself claim to have a tough life, he mentions that his sister previously passed away, his brother is handicapped and his parents are divorced.

What is interesting to note is that two suspects explicitly ask for their mother during the interrogation. One suspect asks the officer if his mother knows where he's at. The other suspect wants to call his mother and ask her for advice. Stanley asks: "can I still call my mother tonight or (do I have to do that) tomorrow." When the officer tells him he can call her later, he adds: "then I'll ask her about this or tha-." Mothers also play other roles throughout the suspects' stories. One of the victims tells the suspects not to walk near his house because his mother would then see them and they would all get into trouble. Manilo uses his mother as part of the story about how the events unfolded. He says that his mother saw some of the things that were happening (and if that was the case, it couldn't have been so bad what they were doing). Byron mentions his father, but in a negative way, claiming that he cannot talk with his father and that his father does not allow him to do what he wants.

Friendships and betrayal

Friendships are very important in the suspect's lives and are a frequently discussed topic during the interrogations. Police officers are also curious about the suspects' friends and try to elicit names, descriptions and level of involvement in group crimes. In six cases the crimes are committed *with* their friends and sometimes the crimes are even committed *against* their friends (interrogation 2 and 5) or in one case against a classmate (interrogation 9).

Friends are considered people you can really talk to and people who are always together. Manilo used to be very good friends with the victim who now pressed charges against him: "and I was also really good friends with him, at that time, when I wasn't really hanging out with them, I was really with him the most..." Currently, Manilo is best friends with Stanley and Byron whom he describes as follows: "so Stanley and Byron are two who I'm really with every day." At the same time, the suspects often do not know the last names of their friends or where they live exactly ("I only know that he always hangs out there"). They *do* know where they hang out on the street, on what corner or in which vestibule. One suspect claims that there is a difference between "real friends" and people you know - "just a friend" or "just those people we know who are our age." Real friends are people you can trust, people you are loyal to - "I'm not leaving you know because they are friends" - and who share everything. Three suspects even share their money and make promises to each other that when someone provokes them or dares them to fight, they will help each other. These suspects mark their friendship by starting a group, or as the police call it, a gang. Members of this group wear specific clothing, in this case green.

Talking about friends, naming names, or even telling the officer who else was at the scene is considered betrayal. This is the most common theme in the interrogations - you do not betray your friends and if you do, it is considered problematic. Some suspects are very surprised that the victims told on them: "I cannot believe that he mentioned my name." Suspects who do tell on their friends feel guilty: "I feel guilty now that I betrayed him." These suspects are scared of revenge from their "friends" or from "the street." Others are scared to say anything: "they're gonna talk." Stanley does not want to mention any names because he is scared that "the guys" whom he also calls his "enemies" would come after him. One of the suspects, Manilo, does tell on his friends during the interrogation. When the officer tells him that he should just say everything that happened in order to prove his own innocence, Manilo starts to cry:

EXAMPLE 1 (TCint02min02:02)¹⁰

S: t ((sigh)) (8) yeah ((shaky voice)) ((moves chair))
 (5) heh (4) yeah okay but I am gonna get more problems with (well)
 (7)

P: kyeah and if they are real friends (2)
 then you're not gonna get problems be left with
 look if they're gonna do something (3) then (1) i'm gonna assume that
 they also calculate that they can get caught because they're doing
 something that's not allowed

S: yeah okay but I do think it's bad that I [have to betray them

P: [you
 yes, it's your own life (3)

S: ((sigh)) (7) ((loud sigh)) ggg ((in and out breath))
 ((crying:)) but it's been said so many times that I'm a traitor and
 shit that's why you know .hhhh that's why I don't want to betray like
 this but .hhh I don't want to get into 1 trouble either because
 [I can't keep that to myself you know

P: [hmm
 (2) yeah

S: ((sigh and deep breath)) ((sob))
 and I'm hanging out with this guys for a year and now I'm telling
 what's right (am good) and I do betray him you know (1)
 [I do find it really bad in a way

P: [hmm
 I can eh really eh

S: because it's been [said before like

P: [really imagine

S: ((crying:)) yes mani you're a traitor
 I was already once when my mother wasn't home someone climbed into my
 window and hit me all the way with a pan on my head when I was just
 getting some ice [and stuff

P: [hmnn mn

S: .hh .hh and I don't want that for a second time because then I had
 solved everything and now it's happening again and I don't want that

This suspect previously told the officer that within their group they made the promise to each other that they would “never betray each other.”

10 Since I am only using this example to illustrate how suspects talk about friendship and betrayal, I have only roughly transcribed this excerpt. In later chapters, when I will be using conversation analysis to analyze the recordings, transcripts include much more detail. In chapters 4 and 5 I will provide the original Dutch talk as well as an English translation.

Street life and gangs

While one of the younger suspects likes to play soccer, others have no hobbies at all. One young suspect talks about how he likes to write rap music lyrics about 'what happens here in Amsterdam and shit.' Instead of having hobbies or playing sports, the suspects frequently hang out on the street, in groups.

All crimes are committed on the street except for the threat and theft of an iPod in the garage. This is not surprising since the police team that I worked with specifically focused on street robberies. Six out of the eight suspects are arrested for committing a crime in a group (of at least two people). The street is where the crimes happen and where groups form. Suspects meet their friends on the street ("I just know them from the street just you know like") and some of them prefer being on the street over being at home. On the street suspects know people whom they get along with and with whom they sporadically form groups, such as is the case in interrogation 10 when the officer asks who else stood around the victim: "they were just people who were walking by just those people we know who are our age." But, there are also people on the street you may not get along with, as Basil explains when the officer asks him if he knew the other guys who stood around the motorbike: "I don't know them no I don't hang out with those guys from there from rijswijk and stuff (always actin cool and stuff)." When the officer asks how they act cool, Basil replies: "just them guys who (2) who are like popular in the neighborhood you know (1) wearing fat chains and stuff."

The suspects also refer to others according to what neighbourhood they come from, for example when an officer asks where someone lives, Manilo replies: "I just know the neighbourhood." Manilo refers to his neighbourhood as "our neighbourhood" and the reason why one of his friends does not hang out anymore is because "he doesn't like that neighbourhood." Stanley has gotten himself into so much trouble that he cannot even walk alone in his neighbourhood anymore, "always I cannot walk on the street."

The police are very interested in gang formation and frequently ask the suspects if they are part of a gang. As this is a growing problem among the youth in some of the Amsterdam areas the police gather as much information as they can about who is part of the group and whether they belong to existing criminal gangs such as the Crips or Bloods¹¹. In two interrogations, the police ask suspects to identify people on photographs that were taken with video cameras at subway stations or supermarkets, as is the case in interrogations 9 and 10 (Marvin and Sunny). The police is specifically worried about Manilo, Byron and Stanley being

11 The Crips (Community Revolution in Progress) and the Bloods are gangs that were formed in the US during the late 60's and early 70's. Their members wear blue and red respectively. In the Netherlands there are also Crips and Bloods divisions in the major cities (see documentaries by Van der Valk & Gavan, 2009 and Vliegenthart & Bigi, 2000).

part of a gang. Manilo apparently knows quite a lot about the Crips and the Bloods, but specifically states that their group that they formed is different; they formed their “own group”, which is “an honest group”. Within their group they would all work and share their money: “for example he wants a packet of cigarettes, it’s fine, you take a packet of cigarettes, so we were just going to share everything.” Manilo explicitly states that they weren’t “really doing it for the criminal shit or anything.” He claims that their group is supposed to be “against” the Bloods and the Crips.

Material objects (mobile phones, iPods, digital camera, mopeds)

Modern, material objects - mostly electronic ‘goodies’ - play a big role in all of the interrogations. Mobile phones and iPods are common objects that not only are stolen from others (interrogation 2, 3, 7), but they are also stolen from the suspects themselves (interrogation 2, 4 and 5), or they are used as bargaining material (interrogation 4 and 5). Manilo explains that Stanley started the bargaining with the victim: “he [Stanley] said yeah and if he doesn’t get his digital camera back what do you have to give to him and this and that (.) then he said like yeah I have two iPods this and that and two two ten euro or something.”

Motorized mopeds, also called ‘scooters’ in the Netherlands, are also popular amongst the Dutch youth. One of the suspects, Manilo, asked his friends to come over to the garage in order to show off his scooter (even though he is only 15 and the legal age to drive a scooter is 16). Another suspect, Basil, asked to borrow the scooter from his friend to pick up his girlfriend. These electronic and motorized popular objects cost a lot of money in shops. Mobile phones with cameras range between €75,- and €400,- and iPods range from €49,- to €229,-. Scooters can cost up to thousands of euros. At the same time, the suspects talk about how little pocket money they receive from their parents (between €5,- and €10,- per week). Manilo is the only minor who talks about work after school or in the weekend. He works at the market, clearing up the market stalls. The oldest minor (19), Basil, who has already finished school, had an administrative job since he was released from youth detention and is about to start a job at a demolition firm.

Parental or other forms of control

Suspects are generally asked about their home situation during the social interrogation. Two suspects have a good relationship with their parents or other family members, as appears to be the case for Manilo and Basil. Manilo even feels a certain responsibility to not only his mother, but also his grandparents. He was doing so well recently and he tells the officer that everyone told him he was doing well: “and everyone also said it, my grandpa well my other grandpa and uh my grandma and my mother, they were all so happy, and now I’m locked up again.”

Neighbours also play a role in showing concerns or keeping an eye out on these suspects. Manilo tells his friends to keep quiet when they are making a lot of noise outside of his garage. His neighbours have apparently complained a number of times before and Manilo does not want to get into trouble again. Basil is more worried about his girlfriend, whom he specifically mentions to the officer. He became close to her when he was in the detention center for his previous offence and since then he says that she has had a very positive influence on his life and keeps him out of trouble. Sunny talks about the victim's father who came by his house to demand the € 5,- back from Sunny. This type of adult control is experienced by Sunny as a threat. He says: "he also threatened me so..." When the officer asks him what the victim's father said, Sunny replies: "that uh if I were to do it again that he would take my hand off or something."

The other suspects do not make any reference to any forms of control from adults. Mark, who claims he has a "hard life" is reminded by the officer that his uncle, whom he lives with, has the best intentions for Mark. The officer reminds him that his uncle offers him a place to stay, keeps him in school, takes care of him and even tries to arrange work for him.

Suspects' future

The suspects' futures are explicitly talked about at the end of the interrogations when officers ask how they are doing at school or what their plans for the future are. Manilo tells the officers that he is scared that "this little incident" will now mess up his plans for the future. He is scared that he will be taken away from his mother and placed somewhere else. He does not want to have a "criminal" life, as the police calls it, but says: "I just rather want to have a happy life than only that bullshit." He wants to wear normal clothes, stop his criminal activities and does not want "problems" anymore. His friend Stanley mentions throughout the interrogation that he is scared about his future as he claims he cannot even walk on the streets in his neighbourhood because people are out to get him (and he claims it will get worse if he tells on his friends). Sunny, who is currently in a detention centre but is now interrogated for additional offences, hopes to change his status so that he can sleep at the detention centre but go to his own school during the day. Mark wants to join the army, but he has heard that he will get an electronic ankle bracelet soon. With the ankle bracelet he will be limited to a certain area in which he must remain, for example, the area between his home address and school. Basil, who claims he is innocent, believes he is "on the right path." Since his last major offence he has not been in contact with the police anymore. He was saving his money for driving lessons and speaks very positively about his current girlfriend who motivates him to work. Byron, who does not like his home situation, wants to be "free", meaning he does not want to go to school anymore.

2.2.2 Adults

Seven out of fifteen suspects that I recorded are adults. One of these interrogations (interrogation 1; see footnote 13 in this chapter) will not be used in the analysis. The stories taken from the interrogations with adults are therefore drawn from six interrogations. These suspects are classified as adults because they are older than 18 and/or they are not classified as 'Hard Core Youth' (see section 2.2.1). The suspects are between 21 and 42 years old. Below I will discuss the types of crimes the adults were arrested for, background and family relationships, friends, money, alcohol & drugs, (electronic) objects that play a role in the interrogations and in the crimes, being "innocent" and future plans.

Types of crimes

The six adult, male suspects have been arrested for crimes such as domestic abuse, street robbery and robbery of mobile phones and cash. Furthermore, one suspect is considered an unwanted alien and one suspect is suspected of handling stolen electronic goods such as mobile phones, video cameras, GPS systems and MP3 players. According to the police, all suspects operated independently. All suspects with the exception of Peter claim they are innocent.

For two suspects, it is the first time they have been arrested. Ahmet, arrested for stealing a mobile phone and handling electronic goods, claims he is innocent. He claims to have bought the mobile phones, MP3 players, the video camera and the GPS system on second hand markets. He fixes them if they are broken and sells them for a profit. The only new mobile phone he owns is from a shop for which he has the receipts. The other first-offender, Peter, is arrested for stealing a purse at night from a lady on the street. Although he claims he is innocent during his first interrogation, he later admits that he stole the purse when he was drunk. He claims: "I've never done this sort of thing robbing people or stealing" and he says he does not understand what got into him when he took the purse.

Three adult suspects have been arrested before for various crimes. Doug is a frequent visitor at the police station. His girlfriend has pressed charges four times before for domestic abuse. This time he has been arrested for stealing her mobile phone and using violence. Since his girlfriend claims that her phone was taken from her on the street in front of her house, it is technically considered a street robbery. Two other adults, Aras and Hernin are also well known to the police. Both have served prison time before. Aras has just served six years and has a status as unwanted alien in the Netherlands. This means that even being present in the Netherlands is considered an offence (article 197, Criminal Code). He is currently arrested for robbery of a mobile phone. Hernin used to be a drug addict and during his addiction years he frequently robbed people to get money to pay for

drugs. Although he has been 'clean' for a couple of years, he is currently arrested for another crime (shoplifting) and is now interrogated for robbing cash from a young boy.

The sixth adult, Ben, is arrested for stealing two mobile phones. Since I only have the recording of the second interrogation during which specific questions are asked about the case, I have little 'social' information about this suspect and I do not know whether or not he had been arrested before. The officer however, knows the suspect "from the street." Although Ben claimed he was innocent and he was let go shortly after the interrogation, the interrogating officer later told me that Ben had been arrested again for several majorly violent crimes in the area.

Background and family relationships

None of the adult suspects were born in the Netherlands. Three suspects were born on Curacao and the remainder in Suriname, Sudan and Morocco. All suspects have been in the Netherlands for quite some time. All suspects, with the exception of Ahmet from Morocco, speak Dutch. Ahmet speaks a little bit of Dutch but uses an Arabic-speaking translator during the interrogation.

All adult suspects currently live in the outskirts or suburbs of Amsterdam. Two suspects, Aras and Hernin, do not have a permanent address; they may move from friend to friend, room to room or they stay with friends, relatives or in prison. Aras speaks of a girlfriend but does not want to mention her name or address and Hernin does not speak of a girlfriend at all. One suspect, Ahmet, is married and lives with his wife and three children between 10 and 16 years old. Peter has a girlfriend and together they have three children. He owns his house, although currently he lives with his sister during the week because of tension at home. During his 'drunken night out' he also tried to look for the "pretty girl" he met but who apparently gave him a false address. Doug lives on his own. His three children live with their mother. His current 22-year old girlfriend has accused him of stealing her phone and using violence. He tells the officer that he wants to break up with her. Lastly, Ben lives with his aunt because his mother lives on Curacao.

Whereas Aras does not want to speak about his family at all, for Ahmet, Peter, Hernin and Ben, family relationships play an important role. Ahmet tells the officer that he buys second hand goods and sells them with a profit in order to sustain his family. He says his children can be "difficult" and his wife, who takes care of the children, is sometimes sick. With the little income that they have to live off, he needs to buy, fix and sell mobile phones in order to make more money for his family. He recently sold a rather new mobile phone in order to pay for his daughter's school trip.

Peter, also a first-time offender, is very worried about his children. He is "very sorry" about what he has done and says: "my children you know, I have three eh

little ones at home and they constantly ask for daddy daddy.” Peter is furthermore worried that if he goes to prison for a long time, that he will “lose everything” and that his children will be “on the street.” Peter currently lives with his sister, and he talks about visiting other family members in the area, like a cousin.

Hernin constantly talks about his two brothers who live in the Netherlands. For him, his brother plays an important role in his accusation of robbing cash from a young boy. Apparently he told the boy that he could be trusted because he was the brother of Kwaku and the brother of Mandino. This is what the victim also stated in his victim report. Hernin claims that all Antillean people in the area know each other and so if he tells the victim that Kwaku’s brother has the money, it would be seen as a sign of trust.

Ben lives with his aunt who, according to the officer, takes good care of Ben. His own mother lives on Curacao and he has a lot of problems with his mother’s boyfriend. The interrogating officer apparently knows (about) Ben’s aunt and specifically tells him that he has a lot to explain to his aunt.

Friends

Whereas friends and friendships (and betrayal amongst friends) played a significant role in the interrogations with the minors, they play a much less prominent role in the interrogations with the adults. A major difference is that amongst the interrogations with minors, two “groups” of friends had been arrested together. Their friendships, promises to each other and the names of others were specifically sought after by the police officers. Furthermore, the minors often committed the crimes together, whereas the adults seem to have mainly operated on their own. Friends, therefore, do not come up in relation to the crimes they are accused of, but are only discussed if they happen to play a role in the suspect’s story.

All suspects do mention some form of “friends” but they sometimes do not know their (last) names: “I think he’s called martino man but I’m really not sure man” or their exact address: “I know where they live but that building I don’t remember the name exactly right now.” Friends hang out on the street with each other where they “talk” and hang out in doorways. Some suspects go over to their friends’ houses where they “chill out” with each other or have barbecues. Mobile phones are sold to and from friends or friends introduce them to phone sellers or junkies from whom they can buy new phones. A criterion for friends, according to Ben is that friends are “ALWAYS together.” Aras, an illegal alien, served three years prison time with someone and they became good friends. Currently he stays with his friend’s mother and sister because he has no housing. Doug’s friends are also addicted to drugs and he claims that all of his friends lie. Only two suspects, Aras and Hernin, do not want to talk about their friends. Hernin says: “I don’t feel like calling people’s names.”

Money & drugs

All suspects, with the exception of Peter, have money troubles. Peter has a steady income, his girlfriend has a job, and they are able to pay their mortgage. The other suspects, however, do not work. Ahmet, Doug and Hernin receive social benefits. Whereas Hernin and Doug only have themselves to sustain, Ahmet sustains himself, his wife and three children with € 960,- a month, and some additional help from social services who pay for gas, electricity, health benefits and half of his rent. Both Doug and Ahmet have debt that they are not able to pay off with the income they receive from social services. Aras receives no money from social services since he is illegally in the Netherlands and Ben's financial situation is not discussed during this interrogation.

Most of Doug's money is spent on heroine and cocaine. At the beginning of the interrogation he claims that he is sick and needs heroine. During the interrogation his withdrawal symptoms become apparent as he shakes, yawns and even falls asleep at one point. When he talks about the argument with his girlfriend -that led to his arrest- she was smoking cocaine with a male friend of hers. Later he adds that before this they already used cocaine and heroine at his house. When the officer then tells him that he was "under influence" of drugs during the fight, he laughs: "no I didn't have I don't have that much". When the officer says that that doesn't mean that you know what you're doing, Doug says: "I know what I do."

Hernin is a past-addict. He used to be addicted to marijuana and cocaine but was able to quit about two years ago. About this time he says: "A long time ago when I was addicted, I did a whole lot of things to smoke so you know." He claims he is now "calm." He only drinks alcohol and smokes marijuana.

Aras does not use drugs himself but his friend traded five little packets of drugs (worth about €10,- per packet) for a new mobile phone from a junkie at central station. Peter claims that he does not smoke but that he does drink alcohol. On the night on which he stole the purse he was excessively intoxicated. Apparently he drank whisky and beer at his cousin's barbecue as well as in a café. He cannot remember some parts of the night. Ahmet used to smoke but quit and Ben does not talk about drugs or alcohol during this interrogation.

Material objects (mobile phones, video camera, GPS system, etc.)

Material objects seem to play an important role just like they do in the interrogations with minors. Five out of the six crimes involve one or more mobile phones. Whereas Ben is arrested for stealing two mobile phones, Ahmet is found with a plastic bag full of mobile phones and other electronic goods. And, when Peter stole a purse, this also included a phone, which he later dropped on the ground while the police was arresting him. It is not surprising that mobile phones play such a large role since a lot of the phones that belong to the suspects are tapped by the

police. Through tap report information, officers are able to ground their reason for arrest.

At the same time, phones are important objects to own. Aras needed a new phone when he was just released from prison. During his six years in prison the camera phone had been brought onto the market and he had never seen this phone in real life: “and when I came out I pho- never had seen a phone with a camera.” He is very keen on getting a phone with a camera even though he does not have any money: “I JUST WANT a phone with camera.” When he sees the mobile phone he says: “I just fall in love with that phone” and he sees it as a “little present.” The officer then jokes around with him saying that he shouldn’t fall in love with a phone but rather with a woman.

In Doug’s case it was the mobile phone that caused the trouble between him and his girlfriend. Doug claims that he should have been the only one who should have known her phone number since it was his SIM card. When she then receives calls from someone else, he does not trust her anymore. When Doug tries to get the phone back from his girlfriend, they struggle, she falls, and he ends up taking the phone from her.

Ahmet demonstrates what kinds of electronic goods are wanted at second hand markets. He has a garage box full of mobile phones, MP3 players, video cameras and GPS systems that he buys on flea markets. He then fixes them and sells them to friends and on other flea markets with a profit. It is apparently such electronic goods that play an important role in today’s society.

I’m innocent

Contrary to the stories told by the minors, the adults all claim they are innocent. Peter is the only suspect who, during a second interrogation, claims that he is guilty of stealing a purse. Claims such as “but I- I- I- don’t do bad things”, “ROBBERY robbery I don’t rob anymore n- nobody for a long time” and “I do sell it but I eh don’t steal them and I don’t buy stolen goods” are made by different suspects during the interrogations.

Hernin, who is currently in jail for shoplifting is now interrogated for stealing cash from a young boy. Hernin, however, claims that he had nothing to do with the shoplifting (he ran into his friend who was walking from a shop with bags full of stolen goods and they were shortly thereafter arrested together) and that he did not steal cash from the young boy. Hernin claims that the young boy gave him the cash to exchange it for forged money and therefore he does not agree with his arrest for ‘street robbery’: “street robbery, who who? I didn’t rob anyone (man).” Furthermore, he states that he does not steal from “these types of people anymore”. “Little boys o- old people are two things that I rob not do like that” he admits (compare to Edwards’ analysis of the suspects’ use of the modal verb ‘would’ in for

example “I wouldn’t hurt an old lady” where the suspect denies an accusation and simultaneously provides a form of moral self-assessment, 2006).

Ben, who is arrested for stealing two mobile phones not only claims he is innocent in these cases, he also states that he is “totally not violent.” At the end of the interrogation when he is asked what he thinks about the fact that he is suspected of committing two robberies, he answers that he finds that “very strange.” He specifically thinks it is strange that his arrest is based on “the description.” He says: “then I can pick at least ten guys from the street w- if you look at the description? Who match a br- a negro my length with rasta so many guys.”

Ahmet also does not understand why he has been arrested. He does not own the phone that is apparently a stolen phone and he only buys second hand phones at flea markets or in the shop with a receipt. Although he states that he has learned his lesson at the end of the interrogation and that he will only buy phones with a receipt in the future, he also claims that he does not steal and that he does not buy or sell stolen goods.

Aras, who tells the officers that he did not steal the phone but that he bought the phone from a junkie at central station claims that he is “too smart” to steal a phone. “I have I have experience” he claims. He knows that he cannot walk around with a stolen phone everyday. He is also confronted by the police for being in the Netherlands because he has an ‘undesirable alien’ status. He claims that he only arrived in the Netherlands the day before and has a bus card to prove it. When the officer tells him that he is lying and that he has been in the Netherlands for longer, he denies this.

Doug also does not see his incident with his girlfriend as a street robbery. He says that he owned the SIM card and that he just wanted the SIM card back. Now that he has his SIM card back, he does not mind if the police return the phone to his girlfriend. He claims that he never hit or threatened his girlfriend: “I do nothing.” He says he has never hit her in the past either and the only way he has ever threatened her is to leave her.

Future

At the end of the interrogation there is generally some evaluative talk related to what the suspect thinks about his arrest and what he has to say about his future. This kind of talk during the interrogations with minors often resulted in police officers taking on an advice-giving role. Minors told the officers that they wanted to change their lives to stop “this criminal shit”, join the army or work and stay on the right path. The adults, however, have different answers since five out of six suspects claim they are innocent. Whereas Peter – the only one who confessed to committing the crime – is very scared about his future, his girlfriend and his children, the other suspects did not confess to committing any crimes. Ahmet is the

only suspect who can go home immediately after the interrogation. He promises to bring the receipt of the phone that he sold to his friend and the police officer offers to take him home. Although he can then return to “normal” life, he does tell the officer that he has learned his lesson and that he will not buy any phones without receipts in the future. Doug, who has tried several times to quit his drug addiction, puts his future in God’s hands: “nobody can help me but god so.”

CONCLUSION

I gathered fifteen police interrogations and their corresponding records at a police station in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. In this chapter I described how I went about collecting this unique material. Receiving permission to record the interrogations from the Ministry of Justice took considerably longer than gaining access to the police in Amsterdam. Once I was ‘in’ with the police it was extremely important to maintain this positive relationship in order to bring my fieldwork to a successful ending. It was important to gain trust, to make sure my research project wasn’t negatively influenced and to be aware of my temporary presence in the field as well as my dependence on the police and suspects.

As my relationship with the police strongly improved throughout time, I was also confronted with many problems during my fieldwork period. As a researcher you have various choices as to how you want to deal with these problems. The observer’s paradox (Labov, 1972) always plays a role in these kinds of situations. I tried to minimize my physical presence and the presence of the audio recorder as much as possible by seating myself and the recorder in optimal positions and by finding the correct balance between taking notes and observing the participants. My presence also caused other sorts of problems, such as the participants assigning different roles to me in the field. The participants saw me as expert, researcher and student. I sometimes saw myself as a police accomplice or researcher without a function, which made me feel uncomfortable in the interrogation room. Sometimes I even worried about my own anonymity.

In the end, my fieldwork period was brought to a successful ending. I collected my fifteen interrogations and their records and my colleagues were able to record five consecutive court hearings with the same suspects. The cases we collected concern medium sized crimes such as (violent) street robberies, extortion and threatening with or without a weapon. In this chapter, through listening to the interrogations, I have been able to provide a first glimpse into the suspect’s cases: where they come from, what crimes they are accused of, what is important to them, and what their future plans are.

The minors in the interrogations come from problematic backgrounds. Although not all suspects identify their own lives as such, their family situations

are often disturbed through divorce or death. Their social lives mostly take place on the street where friendships and trust and betrayal are important themes. Betrayal is seen as a terrible deed amongst their peers and when one suspect does betray his friends in the interrogation, he feels guilty and cries. Besides maintaining friendships, trust and respect on the street, young suspects are very concerned about material goodies such as mobile phones, iPods and scooters. With the little allowance they get from home, if any, objects such as these cannot be purchased. Rather, they are extorted, stolen or so-called traded. Such objects also play a major role in the adults' lives. Most adults have been arrested for being in possession of such electronic hardware. Selling such items provides them with much needed cash to support drinking or drug habits and their illegal living status. Drugs and drinking consequently lead to violent fights and robberies. The futures of all suspects look rather dark. Most adults are frequent police visitors and even most minors have been arrested before. What one of the officers said during my fieldwork period about being harsh with the youngsters: "If you don't start now, they'll become worse criminals", was probably based on years of experience by this officer. The next chapter will be committed to the first observations that I made based on this material and to which research questions these observations have led.

Chapter 3 |

Initial observations: choosing the research topic

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I described how I gathered the material: fifteen recorded police interrogations (talk) and the written police records (text)¹. Before applying a conversation analytical approach to see how actions in the police interrogation setting are recognizably produced and understood, I needed to become familiar with my material. Silverman (2005) suggests that you cannot start looking at your data soon enough and he advises qualitative researchers to begin with asking key questions about your data. The goal of *this* chapter is to make some initial observations and to start asking key questions. These observations and questions, or what Silverman (2005) refers to as ‘identifying the puzzle’, will lead to two research topics.

Although Schegloff calls for “unmotivated looking” (1996:172) when approaching data, this project was already embedded in a certain motivation: to see how the police record is interactionally constructed. Furthermore, in the bigger research project, the motivation was to follow the words of the suspect from police interrogation to trial and to see how these words are transformed in this judicial process. Therefore, my first observations are not completely ‘unmotivated’. However, they are unmotivated in the sense that I started examining my materials without having an analytic goal in mind, trying to see what the noticeable features in the interaction and in the text were. When I approached my material I first tried to understand what actions were being accomplished and then I tried to find out what problems they were responses to. Schegloff (1992:xlvi) refers to Sacks when he talks about the analytic procedure when first looking at material: “begin with some observations, then find the problem for which those observations could serve as (elements of) the solution.”

When I had collected my material, I began by transcribing the interrogations roughly so that the material would be searchable and so that I could get a feel of what material I had gathered. In section 3.1 I will discuss the transcribing process. During this process of transcribing, I already made some first observations. I divided my material into two parts or categories: 1) the written material of the police record (the product); and 2) the interaction that forms the basis for the police record (the process). In section 3.2 I focus specifically on the first observations regarding the police record (the product) and in section 3.3 I make some first observations regarding the actions that are accomplished throughout the construction of the police record (the process). Each section ends with a summary in which the research question will be identified that will be the basis for the research in the remainder of this thesis.

1 As explained in chapter 2: although I have fifteen recordings, I will only be discussing fourteen in this thesis.

3.1 Initial observations while preparing materials

Once I collected my materials I needed to prepare them for analysis. This section deals specifically with that preparation phase. During this phase I transcribed my recordings, a core activity when applying conversation analysis to your materials (see Sidnell, 2010, for an introduction; also see Silverman, 2005). I elaborate on how I transcribed the interrogations, including the typing sounds and how I was able to determine what was typed when (in other words, the text of the police record has been interwoven into the transcripts). Furthermore, I introduce the first distinction that I made within my material: the product & the process.

Transcribing

In order to be able to work with the interrogations - to notice certain patterns or features, to be able to search through materials and to fully understand how things unfold on a moment to moment basis - it was essential to make detailed transcripts of the recordings. Since transcribing accurately takes a lot of time, I first started with rough transcripts of my interrogations. While making these rough transcriptions I focused primarily on what was said, rather than on how it was said. Even by transcribing what was said, the numerous times you need to listen to your recordings already allows you to do some first “noticings” (Schegloff, 1996:172). During this phase I was aware that I could make interpretative or representational decisions that may skew the objectiveness of my transcript. Bucholtz (2000) claims that an objective transcript is not possible but that transcribers need to be reflexive about their practices. In order to reflect on my own transcribing practices I had regular data sessions with colleagues where we would always start out with comments about the transcript. Such data sessions are not only an analytical tool that conversation analysts can use, but can also help to improve the transcript and account for transcribers’ choices.

After I identified certain interesting phenomena, I started to transcribe sections of the interrogations in a lot more detail. During this transcription phase I also paid particular attention to how things were said. Although transcripts can never be used as a substitute for the recordings, making and looking at a transcript allows you to become aware of certain interactional features. The level of detail required depends on your audience and the type of analysis you want to do. Two details I did want to include in my transcripts were the typing sounds, which are both hearable to the officer and suspect, and the content of what was typed when, or, in other words, the text of the police record.

Transcribing typing

Although Jefferson developed an elaborate transcription system (1984, 2004), there is still space within that system for ad hoc features that may be required to be transcribed for particular purposes. Atkinson, for example, needed to transcribe applause when he studied public speeches (1984). One such special feature in my material is the typing that takes place.

There are several ways in which typing sounds have been transcribed in conversation analytic research. Representation ranges from using double parentheses ((typing)) (see Komter, 2006b), the number sign (#) (see Maynard & Schaeffer, 2006; and Komter, 2006b), an underscore line (_) (see Heath 1986), the letters 'kb' (keyboard) with dashes (kb- -) (see Zimmerman, 1992) and x's (see Whalen, 1995). Some typing representations mark the number of seconds the typing lasts within parentheses ((typing 3 seconds)) whereas others precisely mark the overlap onset and ending using square brackets (see the transcription conventions in the Transcription Key at the beginning of this thesis). Whalen (1995) sometimes includes the typed words in his transcripts. In sum, there is not yet a clearly defined transcription system as to how to transcribe typing. At the same time, the detail required in the transcription, or the representational choices one makes (see Bucholtz, 2000) are also dependent on the type of analysis one does or the particular goals for which transcripts are made (for a discussion on detail portrayed in transcripts, see Bucholtz, 2007; for an example of typing transcription being adapted for the kind of analysis that follows, see Komter, 2006b).

What I found to be missing in the literature once I started transcribing the police interrogations were typing prosody markers. The typing sounds represent real words written down, some faster, some slower, some softer, some louder. Patterns started to emerge when I transcribed the typing with some detail. For example, a typing spree often ended with a slowing down of typing sounds and a loud keystroke, possibly the enter key. In order to be able to analyze typing sounds and its interactional effects (see chapter 5), I needed to represent the typing sound production (fast, slow, soft and loud keystrokes). I used Jefferson's transcription symbols in combination with an x, which represents an individual keystroke, to transcribe typing (for an overview see figure 1).

x	individual keystroke
X	loud individual keystroke
x	soft individual keystroke
xxx	continuous keystrokes
xxx xxx	continuous keystroke spurts with brief pauses in between, like words spoken or typed separately
x x x	individual keystrokes typed slower than keystroke spurts (could represent editing)
x (.) x (.)	individual keystrokes with brief pauses in between

Figure 1. Transcription symbols for typing sounds (also see the Transcription Key).

In my materials I transcribed the typing sounds at the beginning and end of the typing activity in a lot of detail. However, the number of x's portrayed in the transcript is still only a rough approximation of the number of actual keystrokes since individual keystrokes within a string of fast typing cannot be heard. During stretches of continuous typing the transcription is less detailed. Not only do the individual keystrokes within a long typing stretch lack strong analytical value, the individual keystrokes are probably not heard by the suspects (or by me as an analyst) as such. Rather, the suspect will hear a string or stretch of typing, which I have represented as such in the transcripts. Noticeable sounds, like loud or soft keystrokes, or pauses within the typing that would also be clearly hearable by the suspect, are transcribed in detail. I also paid special attention to the typing sound transcription when it occurs simultaneously with the talk. When I needed to save space, I transcribed typing using double parentheses indicating the number of seconds, i.e.: ((types 3 seconds)).

Transcribing text

Since I did not have video materials or special key-logging or screen-capture software, I could not exactly see what was typed at what moment in time. I figured out what was typed at what moment in time by listening closely to the interrogations and by looking at the written words from the police records. By physically trying to type the words from the police records in the same time that the police officers would type on the recording gave me an indication of what was typed when. Komter also did this with her materials from the late 90's and I followed this procedure with my materials. Although we can quite accurately reconstruct what was typed at what moment in time, there may be some deviations which are no longer visible on paper such as editing text throughout the interrogation or editing at the end of the interrogation (when the suspect is reading the record). The bold words in the right column in the transcripts indicate what we assume to be the words that were typed at that moment in time.

One of the first things I noticed were the differences in how the spoken words were represented by the different officers. Whereas some officers wrote the story in a first-person monologue style without any mention of the elicitation questions, others incorporated the questions into the written version. Another big difference occurred when there were two officers present. One of these officers would generally be typing whereas the other (mainly) asked the questions. When transcribing the interrogations with two officers it was much more difficult to find out what was typed when. The second officer appeared to be continuously typing and therefore it was difficult to match the typing activity to the written words.

The product & the process

While preparing the materials through transcription I focused on two main features of the police interrogation: 1) the written police record; and 2) the talk and typing in the interrogation. Specifically, I focused on what the *product* looked like that is constructed during the interrogation and I focused on the *process* - the coordination of talk and typing during the police interrogation. The next two sections will elaborate on the initial observations based on the product (3.2) and the process (3.3).

3.2 The product: police record structure, style and stories

When looking at a police record one sees an official document with an official header, a list of information, a body of text and signatures. Some questions immediately come to mind. First of all the police records vary greatly in the way the spoken words are portrayed. Not only length of the police records vary, but also the level of detail included, the styles adhered to and the way in which questions are - or are not - portrayed. The texts are formal in some sections even though the record should be written as much as possible in the suspect's own words. The stories told in the records do not sound like spoken stories, but rather, the sentences in the records are complex structures in which questions are sometimes stated in question form, sometimes in a "recontextualized" form (Komter, forthcoming) where the question is written from the suspect's perspective ("You ask me if...") or sometimes they are barely visible within a monologue structure. Upon seeing such a record, one questions whether the written representation is an adequate version of the stories told in the interrogation room. It is this document that plays an important role in a suspect's future: a police record can serve as one of the two pieces of evidence that is required to convict someone. In order to be able to analyze how this important product came to be, I will first introduce the written records by looking at three features: 1) the structure; 2) the style; and 3) the written stories in the body of the text.

3.2.1 The police record structure

First, I will describe what a typical police record looks like based on an actual example from my materials. I have translated one police record entirely and tried to duplicate the original lay-out as accurately as possible. This record belongs to interrogation 3, an interrogation where the suspect Byron is interrogated about

threatening a victim in the garage and taking his iPod². During the interrogation Byron told the officer that it were mainly his friends Manilo and Stanley who threatened and pushed the victim and that it were Manilo and Stanley who wanted to steal the iPod. On the next two pages I have provided a translated police record.³

In the translated police record, we can note a number of standard and judicially required components as well as some variable parts. The various sections are marked with a number. Below, I would like to go through the sample police record according to the numbers indicated in the record. In this manner systematic attention is paid to the written texts (see section 1.3.4 in the introduction).

The police record begins with a header (1) which marks the document as an official police document. This heading appears automatically after the officer fills in certain information in the form-filling fields. This form-filling screen first appears when officers enter the special police computer system that all computers in the police cell complex and at the bureau are linked with. The police record number is assigned to the record automatically and can be used for future searches or references.

Secondly, the police record states the name(s) of the officer(s) who is/are conducting the interrogation (2). The name is also prompted through the form-filling screen. By typing in his or her police ID number, the name and area in which he/she works automatically appears on the screen.

Below the officer's name and area we can read the date and time at which the interrogation took place, as well as at which police station or police cell complex (3). Furthermore, this paragraph states the official sections under which the crime is known in the Criminal Code. Although police officers cannot determine for which crime the suspects will be accused of or not, they do need to have a "reasonable suspicion of guilt" (Code of Criminal Procedure, section 27) when arresting someone. The sections mentioned are therefore not necessarily the crimes for which the suspects will be heard in court, but they are the crime(s) the suspect is suspected of when the officers arrest the suspect. This entire paragraph is constructed through prompts that are entered during the form-filling phase⁴. A phrase such as 'The suspect stated to be named' is a standard phrase that appears in every police record.

We then arrive at the list of information concerning the suspect's identity (4). This list appears when the officer fills in the questions on the form on the form-

2 Individual summaries for every recorded interrogation can be found in Appendix II.

3 Typing or grammatical errors have been translated as errors in this example and elsewhere. Identifying information has been changed or is marked with x-es. In this chapter I only provide the English translations of the material. In chapter 4 and 5 the original Dutch as well as the English translations are provided.

4 The phases in the police interrogation were introduced in chapter 1 (section 1.5) and will be elaborated on in this chapter in section 3.3.

POLICE AMSTERDAM - AMSTELLAND
DISTRICT X
AREA TEAM XX

Police record number : xxxxxxxx-xx

P O L I C E R E C O R D 1
of interrogation with suspect

Officer 2
Xxxx Xxxx, police sergeant, area team XX

On Wednesday 15th of November 2007, around 18:00 o'clock, I, officer, interrogated in the Police cell complex X in Amsterdam, a man as suspected of infringement of section 312/2/2 Criminal code in conjunction with section 310 Criminal code. 3

The suspect stated to be named:

Name	: Pinas	4
First names	: Byron Anthony	
Born in	: Amsterdam	
Born on:	: xx/xx/1993	
Nationality	: Dutch	
Address:	: xxxxxx xxx	
City	: Amsterdam	
Phone number	: xxx-xxxxxx	
ID information conform	: To verify	
Age:	: 14	
School	: VWO	
Name school	: Maas lyceum	

The suspect stated that the address given by him is also the postal address for correspondence in criminal cases. 5

After I told the suspect that he was not obliged to answer and about what I wanted to interrogate him he declared: " 6

"I have heard and understood that I am not obliged to answer. I am 14 years old. I live with my father. My father's name is Steven Pinas. My mother passed away. 7 8

I go to Maas lyceum Amsterdam. It's not going so well at school. I don't feel like going to school anymore. I want to work and earn my own money. I get five euros a week from my father.

I don't smoke or drink.

I don't have a hobby.

Figure 2: a translated police record

I have been in contact with the police and the Justice department before. About seven ago, I was arrested for public acts of violence. I got eighty hours of community service for this. I haven't done the community service yet. I still have to get aa letter about this.

Case interrogation

On Tuesday november 14th 2007 I was arrested by the police. I was arrested together with two friends of mine. Their names are Manilo and Stanley. I've known them for a long time. I see them regularly lately. They also live near me.

We were arrested because we were suspected of being guilty of street robbery.

You ask me what I want to state about this.

I state to you, that yesterday afternoon I was in Manilo's street together with Stanley and Manilo. While we were hanging out on the street, we saw Mervellino. I don't know who called Mervellino. In any case, it wasn't me. I saw that Mervellino came towards us. When Mervellino came to us, I saw, that he had a headset of a around his neck. We spoke with Mervellino and asked him where he came from. I heard that Mervellino said, that he came from his internship and was going home. I don't remember how the conversation continued, but all of a sudden we were in the garage hallway at the house of Manilo. Mervellino was also in the hallway. When Mervellino wanted to leave, we held the access door closed. This to prevent that Mervellino could leave. The reason to prevent Mervellino from coming out of the garage, was, because they wanted to steal Mervellino's ipod. With they mean stanley and manilo. This didn't succeed, because Mervellino saw a chance to escape from the garage.

You ask me, which act I performed.

I state to you, that I kept the garage door closed and I also helped pull Mervellino into the garage.

You ask me, if a knife was used.

I state to you that no knife was used. At least, not that I know.

You ask me, if I saw a knife.

I state to you, that I only saw a knife when we went to fix the lock of Manilo's garage door. I'm not exactly sure who was in possession of that knife. I think Manilo.

I not see that Mervellino was threatened with a knife.

I think it sucks that I have to go to jail. I'm not saying that I'm not guilty. I stayed because they are my friends. I also helped them."

After the suspect read through his statement, he persisted and signed it.

13

X.X. Xxx
(suspect)

This police record has been prepared by me under oath of office, closed and signed in Amsterdam on November 15th 2007.

The officer,

15

X.X. Xxx

9

10

11

12

14

filling screen. On this screen there are a number of blank fields that must be filled in by the officer before he can print the document. This is generally done at the beginning of the interrogation, but can also be done at the end of the interrogation. Sometimes⁵, the information is already entered in the form, for example, when the suspect is known to the police because of an earlier offence, or because the suspect has been interrogated for the same case earlier. For minors there are different fields than for adults. Fields such as age and school information are not included in the form when an adult is interrogated.

Below the list, we can see a standardized sentence that also appears through a prompt: “The suspect stated that the address given by him is also the postal address for correspondence in criminal cases” (5). When the officer is going through the form, one of the questions is whether the address given by the suspect is the same address that can be used for correspondence concerning the case. When the suspect answers yes, a ‘Y’ is all that needs to be typed in order for this sentence to appear at the top of the record. This sentence appears at the top of every police record in my collection of materials.

Below the address announcement, the written version of the caution is stated: ‘After I told the suspect that he was not obliged to answer and about what I wanted to interrogate him he declared:’ (6). Again, this sentence is entered onto the written police record through a prompt that has to be filled in during the form-filling. On the form, one of the questions is whether or not the officer has given the caution. When a ‘Y’ is filled in, this sentence appears automatically in the police record.

Although the written version of the caution automatically appears at the top of the record, in eleven police records, officers have added a sentence stating that the suspect has actually heard and understood the caution (7). This does not appear automatically in the record, but, this is, in eleven cases, the first line that is typed up by the officers.

In this police record, the social interrogation begins immediately after the caution. The social part is not required and is not included in every interrogation or record. The social interrogation (8) includes information about the suspect’s background, his family, living situation, school, hobbies, etc. When there is no social interrogation, it may mean that the suspect has been interrogated before about the same case. In four police records, the social interrogation is marked with a heading that states ‘Social interrogation’. In this case, it is not.

After the social interrogation we see the header: ‘Case interrogation’ (9). The case-related interrogation concerns information about the case. Information about

5 Since I only started my recorder after suspects had given permission to record the interrogation I do not have recordings of the very beginnings of the interrogations. For this reason I cannot be exact about how often the information was already filled in on the form. I merely have some fieldwork notes that make mention of form-filling at the beginning of an interrogation.

the time the offence took place, who was involved and what happened according to the suspect are provided here.

In eight police records, the questions are phrased in a ‘recontextualisation’ format (Komter, forthcoming; also see section 3.2.2) as can be seen in the record above (10): ‘You ask me what I want to state about this.’ The original question as uttered by the officer has been recontextualized into a first-person answer format as if uttered by the suspect. In this record there are four ‘recontextualisation phrase’ paragraphs included in the police record. The first ‘recontextualisation phrase’ paragraph that is noted here is an open question that is followed by an extended answer. The next three paragraphs are specific questions where the answers are written down in a full sentence (the different types of writing styles will be elaborated on in this chapter).

In eight out of fourteen interrogations, a last ‘moral question’ is asked at the end of the case-related interrogation, which is then written down by the police officer (11). Questions such as whether or not the suspect feels ‘guilty’ or is ‘innocent’, what he thinks about being arrested (again) or whether the suspects can imagine what the victim must have felt like are asked in this context. In interrogation 3, the officer has asked the suspect what he thinks about the idea that he now has to go to jail and whether or not he blames himself. The answers are written down, generally in the last paragraph of the police record. It must be noted however, that these types of ‘last’ questions are not always asked nor are they always written down even if they are asked. Sometimes, the officer asks if the suspect has anything else to say. Answers to this may be written down in the following manner: ‘I have nothing else to state.’

When the quotation marks are closed it means that the actual statement is finished. This is where the words of the suspect end and the ‘standardized’ text starts again. What we see here (12) is a standard sentence that appears in every police record: ‘After the suspect read through his statement, he persisted in it and signed it.’ The suspect can also ask for the document to be read out loud by the police officer. If this is the case, it will state “After the suspect was read his statement by the officer, he persisted in it and signed it.” If the suspect does not speak the Dutch language and a translator has been used in the interrogation, it will state: ‘After the below named translator read the statement to the suspect, he persisted in it and signed it together with the translator.’ These sentences appear in the text automatically after a prompt has been given on the form-filling screen.

At the end of the police record, both the suspect and the police officer’s names and signatures are required. First, the suspect is asked to initial every page and sign the last page (13). Then, the officer, who has ‘prepared’ the document ‘under oath of office’ (14) signs the last page of the police record (15).

This police record is two pages long (50 lines of text). This is based on an interrogation that took 52 minutes. On average in my collection, the police

interrogations took 61 minutes and the records consist of three pages or 96 lines of text. In general, when there are two police officers, the police record is longer in relation to the time the interrogation took (in other words, in general the number of lines typed per minute increases when there are two officers⁶). However many lines, pages or officers there are, the structure as laid out above is generally maintained. When a police record is longer, this generally means that the case-related part of the record is more elaborate.

3.2.2 The police record styles

As stated before, when looking at the police records we immediately notice an official, institutional tone. We notice the use of official and complex sounding ‘recontextualisation phrases’ (Komter, forthcoming) such as “You ask me if...” that give the records a static and official style. I found that this does not reflect the ‘conversations’ that I had heard in the interrogation room. These ‘conversations’ occurred in what I often found to be an informal atmosphere in the interrogation room. Although the interrogations consist mainly of questions and answers, where the questions are almost always asked by the police officer and the answers are almost always given by the suspect, the matters are discussed in an understandable, common language that both officer and suspect share. While being in the interrogation room, I often noticed that officers knew the area where the suspects came from well and they understood the types of problems that suspects dealt with or had gotten themselves into. The officers showed that they ‘understood’ the suspects and their problems.

This informal type of style has its traces in the police record, but there are noticeably more static and official types of phrases. When looking at the product, the police record, I have found that there are different styles in which they are written. All social interrogations, for example, are written in a first-person monologue style, whereas the case-related phase of the interrogation is recorded in various styles (monologue, ‘recontextualisation phrases’ or question-answer style).

In this section, a first introduction will be given to the different writing styles that can be found in the police records. These styles consist of the first-person monologue style (“I don’t smoke or drink.”), the ‘recontextualisation phrase’ style (Komter, forthcoming) followed by a monologue answer (“You ask me, if a knife was used. I state to you that no knife was used”) and the question-answer style

6 This is a rough indication. There are of course many other factors that play a role here, such as individual typing speed of the officers, or interruptions during the interrogations such as toilet breaks, phone calls or other officers that stop by. Also, two suspects were asked to identify people on photographs; this was not typed up in the record, but took a considerable amount of time.

“Question: Have you yourself ever held a fire weapon in your hands? Answer: No.”).

Monologue style

In all of the interrogations in which a social interrogation took place, the social part is written up entirely in the first-person monologue style. As soon as the quotation marks are opened in the police record, the first statement is written from a first-person perspective. This statement reads:

EXAMPLE 1 (PR-int03)

“I have heard and understood that I am not obliged to answer. I am 14 years old. I live with my father. My father’s name is Steven Pinas. My mother passed away.

I go to Maas lyceum Amsterdam. It’s not going so well at school. I don’t feel like going to school anymore. I want to work and earn my own money. I get five euros a week from my father.

I don’t smoke or drink.

I don’t have a hobby.

The opening line referring to the caution that has been given by the officer is immediately followed by what now looks like a volunteered statement about the suspect’s age: “I am 14 years old.” What follows after this abrupt transition is a first person account of different “social” topics, such as living situation, family, school, work, pocket money, addictions, and hobbies. These topics are generally separated into different paragraphs as can be seen in this example.

The questions that elicited this information, however, are not written up in the record. For example, we can note the single-sentence paragraph: “I don’t have a hobby”. This is based on previous interaction in which the officer has asked about the suspect’s neighbourhood and what he does there. The suspect claims that he is “bored” at home and that “recently there isn’t much to do” in the area, after which the officer suggests that there are gyms, soccer clubs, and a swimming pool. The suspect however prefers to hang out with his friends and sit around. Later on in the social interrogation the officer specifically asks if the suspect has hobbies. When the suspect says “no”, the officer raises his voice, evaluates the suspect’s life as ‘boring’ and comes with several suggestions:

EXAMPLE 2 (TCint03min19)

1 P: hobbies?
 2 xxxxxxx[xxxxx⁷
 3 S: [n:o.
 4 P: hmnn?
 5 x [x x
 6 S: [°no.°
 7 P: x [x x x x x x
 8 [no hobby,
 9 you have such A BORING LIFE MAN,
 10 FOURTEEN YEARS †OLD,
 11 DEAR OH DEAR OH DEAR.
 12 (4)
 13 maybe soccer,
 14 no eh eh eh, (2)
 15 eh (3) kickboxing,
 16 nothing.
 17 S: °nothing°.
 18 (5)
 19 P: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx(2) X (1)
 20 rap? (1)
 21 you don't rap either. (7)

After this interaction, as well as the previous talk about the suspect's neighbourhood, the only thing the officer writes down is: "I don't have a hobby." This first-person perspective in the record has no traces of the elaborate interaction that preceded this answer and we therefore cannot see if this version of the story is correct and whether it was a volunteered or invited story (see Komter, forthcoming, Komter, 2002/3, Jönsson & Linell, 1991).

After the social information in the record we see that the beginning of the case-related interrogation is marked with a header and a short, first-person monologue paragraph about the exact date of the arrest and the reason for arrest. I will reintroduce this extract here:

7 As explained in section 3.1, typing is transcribed by using X's. The examples in this chapter do not include what was typed at what moment in time. What was typed when will be included in the examples in chapters 4 and 5.

EXAMPLE 3 (PR-int03)

Case interrogation

On Tuesday november 14th 2007 I was arrested by the police. I was arrested together with two friends of mine. Their names are Manilo and Stanley. I've known them for a long time. I see them regularly lately. They also live near me.

We were arrested because we were suspected of being guilty of street robbery.

The date of arrest, however, is not elicited from the suspect, but rather, the officer types up this information based on the documents he is paging through. The reason for arrest is elicited, but the question is not included in this first-person monologue introduction to the case-related interrogation.

We also see that the police record ends with a paragraph in first-person monologue style. This concerns the last 'moral' question that is often asked at the end of interrogations (see section 3.2.1). The question ("how do you look at it now?") is not included in the police record nor are the further questions that are asked by the officer ("do you blame yourself?", "so you are innocent?", "they were your friends or they are your friends?" and "and you also helped them?"). Although the record may suggest that the suspect volunteered the final paragraph, this is not the case if we look at what was actually asked at the end of the interrogation (also see Komter, 2006b).

In one of the fourteen interrogations we see that the entire police interrogation is reported in a first-person monologue style. In most other interrogations we see a combination of 'recontextualisation phrases' and monologue style.

Recontextualisation phrase style

In the translated police record in section 3.2.1, we see a first example of a 'recontextualisation phrase' after the monologue-style introduction to the case-related phase of the interrogation. It reads:

EXAMPLE 4 (PR-int03):

You ask me what I want to state about this. I state to you, that yesterday afternoon I was in Manilo's street together with Stanley and Manilo.

Komter (forthcoming) uses the term ‘recontextualisation phrase’ when the “interrogator reworks his own questions, remarks, or suggestions into the narrative” while still using the first-person perspective. Komter claims that through such ‘recontextualisation phrases’, police officers “ensure their visibility” in the police records. Recontextualising was also described by Linell (1998:154) who defines recontextualisation as involving “the extrication of some part or aspect from a text or discourse, or from a genre of texts or discourses, and the fitting of this part or aspect into another context (another text or discourse (or discourse genre) and its use and environment).” In this context, the officer extricates part of his own question and fits it into a written answer from the perspective of the suspect (“You ask me what...”). This is in line with the first-person monologue style but additionally it provides some insight into the question that was asked by the officer.

There are four ‘recontextualisation phrases’ in the sample police record. The first question that is documented in this particular style is based on the first open-ended story elicitation question (for example: “What happened” or “Can you tell me what happened?”). In 11 out of 14 interrogations such a first story elicitation question is asked. In this interrogation, the officer asks: “and what do you have to state about this.” When the suspect rephrases the question as: “what happened?” and the officer confirms, the suspect begins to tell his version of the events that happened. The officer asks more specific questions relating to time, location, participants and actions. The telling of the story, the further questioning, and the typing up of the answer takes approximately 14.5 minutes. This results in the answer that starts with a rephrasing of the question: “You ask me what I want to state about this” and follows with: “I state to you, that yesterday afternoon...” The answer is written in first-person monologue style. The three remaining recontextualisation phrases in the police record are more specific (two of which are closed questions):

EXAMPLE 5 (PR-int03):

You ask me, which act I performed.

I state to you, that I kept the garage door closed and I also helped pull Mervellino into the garage.

You ask me, if a knife was used.

I state to you that no knife was used. At least, not that I know.

You ask me, if I saw a knife.

I state to you, that I only saw a knife when we went to fix the lock of Manilo’s garage door. I’m not exactly sure who was in possession of that knife. I think Manilo.

These recontextualisation phrases only receive a short written answer. Although the police officer's questions are visible in the monologue and they even receive their own line in the document, they do not reflect the exact wording of the officer's question. The question-answer style more accurately reflects the wording of the officer.

Question-answer style

In five police records we also see a third main style: the question-answer style. In the five interrogations that result in a record with a question-answer style, the questions are visible, as can be seen in the following example:

EXAMPLE 6 (PR-int12)

Q: Do you remember how long you lost your phone for?

A: I had it back again the next morning

In the records where we see this type of writing style, two interrogations took place with (the same) two officers and the remaining three took place with one officer (three different officers)⁸. During one of the interrogations with two officers, most of the questions had already been written up by the officers in a document beforehand. This allowed the typing officer to immediately start typing the answers during the interrogation as the questions had already been written up. Rather than writing up the question after asking the question, here the officer read the 'prepared' questions from the screen. This interrogation was therefore much more structured according to the pre-written text on the screen.

In the remaining four interrogations officers differ in their typing techniques. Whereas one officer types up the question after he has asked the question, the other officer types up the question first and then reads the question from his screen. This writing style makes the elicitation questions visible and makes the interrogation transparent. While it makes the record fragmented, it simultaneously makes the document easily searchable. The question-answer style police records provide a clear structure. The topic of every paragraph is indicated in the question, as can be seen in the two examples below:

8 One of the officers, FE, is involved in three of the interrogations with a Q&A style. In two interrogations she is the typing officer and in the third interrogation she interrogates the suspect and types up the record. I also have two other recordings where FE is the typing officer. In these records we see a recontextualisation phrase style throughout the record. Although FE is not consistent in the way she writes up records, we should note that three out of five Q&A style records were typed up by FE.

EXAMPLE 7 (PR-int07)

Question: In the living room we also encountered drug-resembling goods, whose are these?

Answer: I don't know, those are not mine.

Question: Have you ever seen your uncle with a fire weapon?

Answer: No

Question: Who else comes to your uncle's residence?

Answer: My friends and my brother.

In this example we do not see a typical “story” told in narrative format like we saw with the monologue and ‘recontextualisation phrase’ styles, but we see detailed questions with short answers. In the next example the answer is more extended. Although we can assume that the officer asked more questions and that the suspect did not volunteer this entire answer at once, it is written up as such:

EXAMPLE 8 (PR-int14)

Question: How do you get money?

Answer: My friend gave me 200 euros when I got out. My girlfriend also wants to help me with money. I do not have social security benefits. I even bought a bus pass. I bought a bus pass every day in order not to be at risk. You're telling me that this is strange since I've only been here for a day. I'm telling you that I bought a bus pass yesterday.

In this question-answer style paragraph we also see a recontextualisation phrase “you're telling me...” where we can guess how some of the interaction has been recontextualised to fit the monologue answer that is provided here. Whereas this police record is written in a question-answer format, we see that the answers include recontextualisation phrase style sentences and the answers are written up in a first-person monologue style; in other words, the three styles are combined.

3.2.3 Written stories

The main body of the police record consists of information relating to “what happened” (also see Cicourel, 1967). In the police record, the stories look like coherent stories told in first-person perspective that happened in chronological order in which referents are made very explicit. Street names, building block names, first and last names, physical descriptions and quotes from bystanders are

made explicit in the written story. The written stories are portrayed as factual and complete and will be used at a later stage (in court for example) to demonstrate “what happened”. Furthermore, since the stories are written from a first-person perspective, the stories look volunteered. Some officers use a question-answer style that makes it seem as if suspects volunteered an elaborate account after every (short) question asked. When reading the police record, one may wonder how it is that this text came to be constructed. Did the suspect really utter “you ask me if ...”? Did the suspect really give this much detailed information about the specific times, location and the participants? Is this story really volunteered? Here, I will make some first “noticings” about the police record. This will lead to a first research question. I will reintroduce a section from the sample record from section 3.2.1.

EXAMPLE 9 (PR-int03)

You ask me what I want to state about this.

I state to you, that yesterday afternoon I was in Manilo’s street together with Stanley and Manilo. While we were hanging out on the street, we saw Mervellino. I don’t know who called Mervellino. In any case, it wasn’t me. I saw that Mervellino came towards us. When Mervellino came to us, I saw, that he had a headset of a around his neck. We spoke with Mervellino and asked him where he came from. I heard that Mervellino said, that he came from his internship and was going home. I don’t remember how the conversation continued, but all of a sudden we were in the garage hallway at the house of Manilo. Mervellino was also in the hallway. When Mervellino wanted to leave, we held the access door closed. This to prevent that Mervellino could leave. The reason to prevent Mervellino from coming out of the garage, was, because they wanted to steal Mervellino’s ipod. With they mean stanley and manilo. This didn’t succeed, because Mervellino saw a chance to escape from the garage.

In this answer, which could be read as a voluntary narrative, the suspect is portrayed as telling the story in which he uses specific references to time (‘yesterday afternoon’), location (‘Manilo’s street’), other participants (‘together with Stanley and Manilo’, ‘we saw that Mervellino...’, etc.) as well as references to intent (‘this to prevent that...’ and ‘the reason to prevent Mervellino from coming out of the garage, was...’). Furthermore, causal relations are made explicit (‘this didn’t succeed because...’).

We know that the police records that are typed up during the interrogation are, according to the Dutch law, supposed to be written ‘as much as possible in the suspect’s own words’. However, the record shows a much more factual, detailed and intentional version of the story told compared to a first observation from the spoken interrogation. In the excerpt above we see some traces of the suspect’s

“ordinary” version of the story when it states “while we were hanging out on the street.” This is then linked to the activity that occurred shortly thereafter: that the suspect, Mervellino, was called on the street and somehow ended up in the garage where the suspects allegedly robbed the victim. Therefore “hanging out on the street” is no longer an innocent, ordinary activity, but rather, “while” doing such an ordinary activity, the trouble started. Furthermore, in this example, the majority of the elicitation questions and the negotiation process that occurs while the officer is typing up the story are also not shown in the record.

3.2.4 Summary and research question 1: how are the suspects’ stories elicited, told and written down during the police interrogation?

Throughout the first observations I made of the product - the police record - we have so far seen that the suspect’s stories are portrayed in the police record using three different styles: a first-person monologue style, a ‘recontextualisation phrase’ style, and a question-answer style. All social interrogations, when they occur, are always written in first-person monologue style. Only one interrogation is written entirely in first-person monologue style. In five records, the case-related interrogation is written in a question-answer style format. In the remaining eight records a combination of first-person monologue style and ‘recontextualisation phrase’ style is used (also see overview table in Appendix I). Whereas the question-answer style most accurately depicts the kinds of questions that were asked that elicited the answers, it also portrays a fragmented story. The first-person monologue style depicts the least accurately the interaction that preceded the answer. In these first-person narratives, either through a monologue or through a combination of a ‘recontextualisation phrase’ and monologue style, the reader does not know how the stories were elicited. Whether the suspect volunteered such specific details about location, time and participants, and whether or not the suspects voluntarily spoke of intent in relation to the crime they have been arrested for remains unknown.

Not knowing how the stories were elicited raises the following question: *How are the suspect’s stories elicited, told and written down?* This research questions will be addressed in chapter 4.

3.3 The process: typing and talking in the various phases of the police interrogation

The different writing styles as seen in the section above suggest that the records are constructed in different ways. Furthermore, I have seen that different phases, such as the social interrogation phase and the case-related phase, may result in different writing styles. In this section, I will elaborate on these phases throughout the interrogation process and I will make some first observations about how the police record is interactionally constructed. Here, I will take a closer look at how talk and typing play a role in the interrogation in these different phases.

While I was first transcribing my materials I noticed that typing occurred at different speeds. Furthermore, typing sounds differed in loudness or softness. Typing also occurred during different moments in the interrogation. Typing occurred before and after suspects answered questions and sometimes in overlap either with the officer him or herself or with the suspect. How typing was exactly managed by the officer, responded to by the suspect and whether or not the typing activity played a role in the transformation from talk to text were some of the questions that immediately came up while transcribing the typing in detail. What type of action is typing and how does it play a role in the interaction? How are talk and typing combined? How do participants orient to and manage the typing activity?

When looking at the process of how a police record is interactionally constructed through talk and typing, we first need to look at the various phases in the police interrogations in which different kinds of talk and typing take place. These phases are made relevant by the participants themselves. Below (in sections 3.3.1 – 3.3.6) I will describe the global phases of the police interrogation⁹. The following phases will be elaborated on: 1) preliminary actions and social talk; 2) form-filling; 3) the police caution; 4) the social interrogation; 5) the case-related interrogation; and 6) exit activities.

The phases that I distinguish here are made relevant by the participants at some point in my materials. However, whereas one officer may explicitly state that he will now start the case-related phase, the other may not. Below, I will provide examples that will demonstrate how the phases are introduced during the interrogation and how the phases are oriented to by the participants. In his frame analysis Goffman (1974) writes that speakers provide cues so that hearers understand which frame

9 There is other talk such as greetings, giving advice or interruptions that are not specifically included in these main phases. Although these phases or sections that I distinguish are common in both the text of the police record (with the exception of phase 1) as well as the talk in the interrogation itself, not all police officers work in the same way. The order of the phases may change and, as noted before, the social interrogation phase may, for example, not occur in every interrogation.

is now being employed in the conversation. In this particular institutional context, institutional frames are constantly created or projected by the professional (the police officer), which allows both participants to follow the structure of the police interrogation. For example, by saying “okay, now we move on to the case”, the police officer makes known during the interrogation that they move from phase to phase or, in Goffman’s terms from ‘frame’ to ‘frame’.

In each phase different institutional goals are achieved (from filling in a list with identification information to writing a narrative from the perspective of the suspect about what happened) and different language is used by the participants. Furthermore, I will demonstrate that the talk but also the typing activity is different in each phase. Some first observations will be made about how typing and talking differ in the various phases and how participants respond interactionally to the typing.

3.3.1 Preliminary actions and social talk

When the suspect is brought from his temporary or police cell to the interrogation room, the officer and suspect meet. During the initial introduction, informal language is used by the officer(s). Officers first sought permission to record the interrogation for research purposes, and then the interrogation would begin¹⁰. Preliminary actions such as logging into the computer system and filling in information in the system take place during this time.

Following the greetings some officers take their time to conduct some social talk with the suspect. This consists of talking about what they just had for dinner, detention center conditions, or, in one case, a moral speech about crime and school. In one interaction (interrogation 12), the officer is familiar with the suspect and makes a reference about the suspect’s aunt, whom he knows from previous arrests. During this kind of social talk, the suspect is made to feel at ease and the officer can get to know the suspect a little before beginning the interrogation and before beginning to type.

3.3.2 Form-filling

The second phase concerns the form-filling (this corresponds with numbers 1-5 marked in the police record in section 3.2.1). Through certain prompts that the officers respond to on the form, the first part of the police record is automatically generated. These fields include the suspect’s name, date of birth, postal address, etc.

10 This part of the interrogation is often missing from my recordings as I only started the recording after the suspect had given permission.

For minors there are different fields than for adults (additionally they will be asked for name of school, schooling level, etc.). This information appears at the top of the police record once it is printed out. The system does not allow for the document to be printed without this information. Most fields are filled in at the beginning of the interrogation; in fact, most information is filled in before the suspect arrives at the interrogation room.¹¹ These fields are filled in automatically when the case code is entered, depending on whether the suspects' information is already in the system. When information is missing, the officer will ask the suspect for this information. This form can also be skipped at the beginning of the interrogation and can be filled in at the end, before printing the document.

I will present two examples of how officers make this phase relevant during the interrogation. In example 10, the officer is about to print the document, but the system does not let him do so unless he has filled in all the required forms. The officer is a little annoyed with the system:

EXAMPLE 10 (TCint04min01:20)

1 P: (.h) what type of school do you go to by the way?
 2 I still have to ask a couple of questions that requires that ssst-
 3 ((literally: that asks/poses that ssst-))
 4 S: altra <east> [practical.
 5 P: [what is what is it VMBO¹² ooh or w w w which what,
 6 what,
 7 [what type of,
 8 S: [yeah actually,
 9 VMBO LBO,
 10 so VMBO with-
 11 l learning support.
 12 P: °okay°.

Here, the officer asks a question and adds 'by the way' at the end of his utterance in line 1. This 'by the way' question suggests that it is something he still needs to ask but may have forgotten earlier or that 'just' needs to be added. The officer even provides an account as to why he asked that question, namely because "I have to ask a couple of questions", which, according to the officer he needs to ask because: 'that requires that ssst' (line 2-3). Although the officer does not finish his utterance, it is plausible that the officer may have wanted to say 'system' or even more plausible 'stupid system'. During my talks with the officers at the police station, a couple of officers shared their problems and annoyances with the computer system with me.

11 Again, this part of the interrogation is often missing from my recordings as I only started the recording after the suspect had given permission.

12 VMBO in Dutch is an acronym for 'voorbereidend middelbaar beroepsonderwijs' which is similar to a vocational high school or literally a 'preparatory intermediate vocational school'

In the next example, the officer is checking whether or not the address that the suspect gave to the officer is also the address to which they can send official correspondence. The suspect is addicted to heroine and has been showing addiction symptoms throughout the interrogation, meaning that he has been mumbling, moving around in his chair and yawning excessively. The interaction below occurs at the very end when the officer is again about to print the document.

What we see here is that the form-filling procedure is not done in co-operation with the suspect, but rather, the officer fills in the form himself while mumbling some of the options he is required to fill in out loud. This officer does not announce that he is moving to the final form-filling phase. However, his own interaction with the screen (mumbling while reading) and the keyboard (typing sounds) suggest that he is filling in a form.

EXAMPLE 11 (TCint15min01:11)

```

1      P:  the address that you gave right
2          that's also your postal address right?
3          (0.8)
4      S:  is my ↑postal(.)[°address°?=
5      P:                               [gaasperdam;
6      S:  =[ (          postal) it's every]thing.
7      P:  [it's also your postal address right?]
8      S:  [°yes°
9      p:  [ohkay, (1)
10         e::h address by (Amster[dam  ]) ((mumbling))
11      S:                               [(          ) living there is everything)
12      P:  [↑oh]kay no fine (.) that eh-
13          [X  ]
14          (0.8)
15          not o↑bliged to (answer), (.)
16          X
17          y↑es (1,8)
18          x x (0.4) X=
19          =↑read record.
20          (.) X
21          ye:s,
22          X
23          end of docu↓ment.
```

Previous to this interaction, the officer and suspect talked about the suspect's heroine addiction and that he needs to seek help. The officer then initiates the new topic of the postal address, which is triggered by the computer system and not the previous interaction. When the postal address is confirmed (line 12), the officer mumbles out loud “not obliged (to answer)”, “yes” and “read the interrogation” and again “yes” while hitting single keystrokes (lines 15-22). This suggests that

the officer is going through the form and answering the questions for the suspect without actually interacting with the suspect. The fields he is filling in are related to the caution – which was already given at the beginning of the interrogation – and that the suspect has read the document – which he has just done. These institutionally required tasks have already been performed but still need to be entered into the system through the form. The question-answer adjacency pairs do not take place between officer and suspect, but rather, between the officer and the officer himself.

The interaction that goes on during this part of the interrogation generally consists of rapid question-answer adjacency pairs, where the answers are codeable features of the institution (also see Raymond & Zimmerman's 'codeable events', 2007:37-38). Typing sounds are short as abbreviations such as 'Y' for 'yes' are required in the fields. Other field entries generally consist of one or two words.

3.3.3 The caution

There are three legal requirements concerning the police interrogation that are spelled out in section 29 of the Code of Criminal Procedure:

1. The suspect must be free to decline cooperation with the police during the interrogation (in other words, the suspect cannot be forced to make a statement by the police). The suspect is not obliged to answer.
2. Before the interrogation starts, the suspect is told that he is not obliged to answer.
3. The statements made by the suspect must be written down in the police record as much as possible in the suspect's own words. In the record it must state that the suspect has been told that he is not obliged to answer.

In part 1 above it states that the suspect has the right to abstain from answering, and in part 2 that he should be told that he has the right to do so at the beginning of the interrogation. Telling a suspect that he has this right is known as the police caution. Below is an example of the caution:

EXAMPLE 12 (TCint 12min00)

1 P: nyeah,
 2 just like what I said to you yesterday,
 3 we're going to eh start again,
 4 V: yes.
 5 P: eh with the, (0.5)
 6 an interrogation,
 7 S: yeah (man).
 8 P: yes (must) I tell you again a number of matters that are very
 9 important for your case.
 10 .hh first of all that you are not obliged to answer.
 11 S: no.
 12 P: that you still know,
 13 for what you've been arrested. (1)
 14 and (so) do not have to give answers for the questions that I am
 15 going to ask.
 16 (0.5)
 17 S: (good).
 18 P: those are your rights.
 19 S: yes,
 20 P: eeh,
 21 do you want to cooperate with the interrogation?
 22 S: y↑eah sure=

In this example, the officer follows the law by stating before the interrogation starts that the suspect is not obliged to answer. The caution is given in the very first minute of the recording. Before I started this recording, the officer and suspect briefly chatted about the suspect's aunt whom the suspect is living with. Whereas some officers conduct some form of short social talk before giving the caution, others give the caution right away.

The written version of the caution automatically appears in the police record when the officer fills in 'yes' or 'Y' in the appropriate field on the form-filling screen. Therefore, there is very little typing involved in this phase. The written version of the caution looks like the following:

EXAMPLE 13 (PR-int2-15)

After I told the suspect that he was not obliged to answer and about what I wished to interrogate him, he declared:

Even when a suspect is interrogated for the second time in two days, the suspect must be given the caution again. Out of the fifteen interrogations that I recorded, two suspects refused to answer some questions and reminded the police officers that they have the right to remain silent.

After the document has been prepared, the form has been filled in, the social talk is completed and the caution is given, the officers move on to the social phase of the interrogation (unless suspects are interrogated for the second time for the same offense).

3.3.4 Social interrogation

The social part of the interrogation is concerned with recording the social background of the suspect. The police officer asks questions related to the suspect's family life, education, housing, financial situation and past experiences with the police. By asking about such social matters, the question-answer interaction starts out rather informally and the officer has a chance to get to know the suspect and his background. Whereas one officer clearly spends time discussing the social life of the suspect without typing, the other begins typing up the social interrogation answers right away. When the suspects have been interrogated before, either for the same offence or for another offence, there often is no social interrogation.

In the example below the officer has first provided the caution, then fills in some of the remaining blanks on the form-filling screen and then begins the social interrogation¹³. The change from one phase to the next is made relevant by the police officer and the new phase is explicitly introduced and explained:

EXAMPLE 14 (TCint03min05)

```

1      P: do you still go to school?
2      S: (yes)
3      P: where?
4      S: amstel lyceum.
5      P: t ((clicks with pen)) ((puts pen down)) (7)
6      ((mumbles)) ((mouseclick)) (7)
7      .hhh
8      xx x x x x x
9      x x x x X
10     .hh
11     GOOD,
12     I eh am first going to take a short (.) social interrogation

```

13 As I have already noted before, the order of the phases of the interrogation may vary. In this example, some of the form-filling items were already automatically filled in. After the caution was given, followed by some social talk, the officer still had to fill in some form items. Only when the form is complete does this officer start the social interrogation. Other officers may skip the form at the beginning and fill in the missing items at the very end before printing the document (see example 10 and 11).

```

13         from you,
14         so that you tell me a little bit about who you are,
15         (what you do) your hobbies.
16         (0.2) home situation, (0.2)
17         .hh how it at school eh,
18         how it's going at school. (2)
19         yyeah?
20         and after that we're going to talk about that case for which you
21         ((plural)) have been arrested.
22         ((mouse click)) (6) ((types))

```

In this example the officer fills in one of the last blanks on the form-filling screen: the name of the school the suspect attends. When this is finished we hear some pen clicking, mumbling, mouse clicking and the officer then hits a number of keystrokes. The change from one activity (form-filling) to the next (social interrogation) is marked with the discourse marker 'good' (line 11). What we often see between different activities (for example from typing to talking or from talking to typing), or between different phases (for example from form-filling to social interrogation) are discourse markers such as 'well', 'so', 'okay' and 'good' to mark this change. Here, the officer not only marks what he is about to do next, but he also elaborates on what that means: 'so you'll tell a little about who you are, your hobbies, how it's going at school, etc.' This officer also lets the suspect know that the case for which the suspect has been arrested will be talked about after the social interrogation.

When the case-related phase and the social interrogation interfere with each other, suspects may not be as cooperative, as happens in the example below. In this example, the officer immediately, after having given the caution, states for what the suspect has been arrested: 'street robbery', implicitly accusing the suspect of the crime. The suspect becomes defensive "I don't steal at all anymore" but then the officer disregards this defensive modus and begins the social interrogation. We can note that the suspect comes back to the reason for arrest a couple of utterances later (line 30, 32 & 34 and also line 69). The questions 'tell me something about yourself' (lines 11 and 15) and 'what does mister Meesters do?' (line 45) seems awkward in this context (in which he is accused of robbery).

EXAMPLE 15 (TCint06min00)

```

1         P: street robbery.
2         S: street robbery.
3         I'm calling I'm calling I I I,
4         I don't steal at all anymore ( ),
5         P: no.
6         S: ((laughs))

```


7 P: okay.
8 [hey first I'mgonna,
9 [x x] x
10 te-
11 [tell me something [about yourself.]
12 [x [x] x
13 S: [eh?
14 P: [xxxxxx xxxxxx xxxxxx xx
15 [do you want to tell something about yourself?]
16 [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxx] xx
17 S: (about) [myself?]
18 P: [xxx xxxxxx] xxxxxx
19 S: [what do I have to tell about myself?]
20 P: [xxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx] xxxxxxxx
21 well.
22 I've never seen you before?
23 who are you?
24 S: yes I am ehm,
25 hernin,
26 abmino,
27 meesters.
28 P: okay.
29 x x xxxx xxxxxx [xxxxxxx]
30 S: [street robbery,]
31 P: [xxxx xxxx]
32 S: [who who?]
33 P: [xxxxxxxx]
34 S: [I didn't rob] anyone (man)
35 P: x x (1)
36 so you are,
37 I have it written here.
38 <hernin>,
39 S: °abmino (yes)°,
40 P: abmino,
41 meesters. (1)
42 born on fourteenth of august nineteen seventy two,
43 S: yes
44 P: ((sniffle))
45 and what does (.) mister meesters do? ((literally: and what does
46 mister meesters?))
47 normally,
48 S: what I do?
49 P: yes.
50 S: I [do nothing man.]
51 P: [xxx xxxxxxxxxxx] xxx
52 S: h- m- [()
53 P: [in daily life?
54 x just,

55 x [X
56 S: [(ah just) [nothing.
57 P: [I work at the police,
58 what do you do?
59 S: I I just receive welfare (you know).
60 P: x x
61 you receive welfare.
62 x x
63 S: °myeah.°
64 P: yes?
65 xxxx xx
66 you don't work?
67 x x x °okay°
68 xxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxx [xxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx]
69 S: [bu- who did I rob then?]
70 P: x
71 we're gonna talk about that a little later,
72 yes?

Before talking about the case, the officer first wants to find out more about the suspect's social life. She starts a turn by saying "hey first I'm gonna" (line 8) and then offers a repair and asks the suspect to tell her something about himself. The suspect is not sure what is meant by this. Although the suspect has been arrested before and should therefore be familiar with the police procedures, he is a non-native speaker of Dutch and therefore may not comprehend the question. However, later he asks 'what do I have to tell about myself?' (line 19) and when he is asked what he does (in daily life) he replies 'I do nothing man' (line 50). This officer even provides information about herself 'I work at the police, what do you do?' to illustrate what kind of information she is looking for (lines 57-58).

We notice that the officer already has the suspect's names and birthdate written down somewhere (lines 36-42). This then demonstrates that one of the goals of the social interrogation is to check information. This example also shows that "social talk" isn't always appropriate in a context in which accusations are given. 'Street robbery' (line 1) is taken by the suspect as an accusation as he replies with a defensive statement (line 4). The officer, however, switches topic to the social interrogation. The two phases interfere with each other and we see that the officer tries to separate the phases so that they can be separately dealt with ('first I'm gonna' in line 8 and 'we're gonna talk about that a little later' in line 71).

What this example also illustrates is how the officer manages two activities, talk and typing simultaneously. We see examples of how the officer hits single keystrokes while talking simultaneously (line 8-9), how she types a string of words and talks simultaneously (line 15-16), how she starts typing after she has confirmed the suspect's answer (line 28-29), how she starts typing immediately after the suspect begins his answer (line 50-51) and how, when the suspect self-selects a turn

and begins talking while the officer is still typing, she does not respond verbally but continues typing and then starts a new topic (lines 29-36). During this last interaction example we see how the suspect returns to being defensive about the robbery which he has been arrested for. The officer however has a different agenda. This interaction concerns the social interrogation, and this social information is what is currently required in the police record. Her next question therefore regards the suspect's full names, rather than the robbery which he denies.

In one interrogation, where the suspect had been arrested a number of times before, the officer referenced to the social interrogation using a diminutive ("social verhoortje"): "oi we'll just begin with a little social interrogation, right." When officers have 'enough' social information about the suspect (this varies between the officers), they move on to the case-related phase of the interrogation, as can be seen below:

EXAMPLE 16 (TCint02min45)

1 P: ((types 28 sec))
 2 ohkay.
 3 now we're going to talk about the case.
 4 now it'll become a little bit interesting,
 5 this is more a little bit,
 6 a [little bit wel to sketch a picture of who you are how you are,
 7 S: [just information.
 8 P: what?
 9 and eh, (1.5)
 10 now we are going to talk about eh the case for which you've been
 11 arrested.
 12 S: hmnn mnn.

Here, after a long stretch of typing, the officer announces that the frame (Goffman, 1974) is now changing from a social interrogation to a case-related interrogation frame (line 3). He elaborates on what the social interrogation was about and how the case-related phase of the interrogation is different. In this example the officer explains that the social interrogation is done in order to 'paint a picture' of who the suspect is. The officer points out that what is to come, the case-related phase of the interrogation, is about the case for which the suspect has been arrested.

3.3.5 Case-related interrogation

In 7 out of 14 interrogations there is no social interrogation at all. This can occur when the suspect has just been interrogated by the same officer a couple of hours earlier about the same offence (for example, interrogation 5 with Stanley). In this

case, the suspect and officer already know each other and the officer only wants to see the suspect again because of one more question – or at least, to start with. During this ‘second’ interrogation, there is no need for another social interrogation. The case-related phase therefore starts immediately after the caution is given.

The case-related interrogation requires more complex questioning and answering regarding the facts of the case for which the suspect has been arrested. The police officer has as its main project ‘truth finding’ whereas the suspect is occupied with telling the story about his previous actions in such a way that will get him in the least trouble possible. Kidwell & González Martínez (2010:70) describe interrogators and suspects working at “cross-purposes.” They explain that “while it is in the interest of the interrogator to get an admission and/or information that could incriminate the subject, it is not in the interest of the subject to provide such.”

Officers are constantly asking questions, listening and typing. Suspects are constantly listening, answering questions and waiting for the typing to end. The case-related part of the interrogation is mostly about story-telling. Officers frequently begin with an open-ended question such as “what happened” which is then followed by more specific questions concerning the details of the event.¹⁴ The specific questions are related to place, time, who and what was involved.

Officers sometimes make use of certain interrogation techniques, like confronting the suspect with information he didn’t think the police was aware of in order to get the suspect to confess to a crime (personal communication with an officer during fieldwork period). During the case-related phase, the interrogation generally becomes tenser and the interaction becomes more emotional. There is more at stake for both officer (who tries to find out what happened) and suspect (who is arrested for being a suspect for a certain offence).

The following example concerns a marked beginning of the next frame: the case-related interrogation. The suspect has just talked about how his new girlfriend is changing his life because she keeps him out of (police) trouble. The officer has been listening throughout his story and is now ready to start talking about the case. She introduces the case by reminding the suspect that he is back at the police station again.

14 When suspects are interrogated for a second time about the same offense (4 out of 14 interrogations), the interrogation generally has as its goal finding out more specific information. During these ‘second’ interrogations, the officers do not always begin with ‘what happened’ but rather start asking specific questions right away.

EXAMPLE 17: (TCint08min13)

1 P: well this b that is really †great,
 2 S: °yes.°
 3 P: but ohkay it all sounds uh magnificent of course but eh uh you,
 4 are back here again of course,
 5 S: yes but innocent, ((literally: not guilty))
 6 P: Innocent? ((literally: NOT guilty))
 7 just like most of them,
 8 who are here.
 9 S: no but I am really here [not guilty].
 10 P: [REALLY not guilty ohkay well I I g I-
 11 just,
 12 what you just said I'm gonna type up real quick and thenneh we're
 13 gonna,
 14 talk about the case.
 15 S: yes.
 16 P: uuuhm,

Before the officer truly starts talking about the case, in which the suspect claims to be innocent, she announces to type up what they have just previously talked about (lines 12-14). Only when this is completed will they discuss the case. Typing, therefore, still belongs to the previous frame. This frame needs to be closed before they can move on to the next frame.

Throughout the case-related phase we see different kinds of typing activity. This is also related to the writing style that officers demonstrate in the police record (see section 3.2.2). Some officers first question the suspect without typing and write some notes on paper, whereas others start typing right away. We can imagine that during the case-related phase of the interrogation, the officers are truly “interrogating” - seeking the truth and possibly eliciting a confession. Typing can interject the talk and thereby halt the flow of the conversation. What is typed up during this phase and how the two activities of talking and typing are coordinated is extremely important for the future of the suspect and therefore requires further exploration.

In the example below a ‘final question’ is asked. The officer decides when he or she has attained enough information during the case-related phase and then rounds off the interrogation. Whereas some interrogations end abruptly, in others, officers ask if the suspects have “anything else to add.” A ‘final question’ is asked in 11 out of 14 interrogations and in eight cases concerns whether or not the suspect feels guilty about the crime or, what he thinks of having been arrested. These types of last questions concern the attitude of the suspects towards the crime or towards their arrest. Below we see such an example:

EXAMPLE 18 (TCint12min23)

1 P: what do you think about [it that [you're [suspected [again of
 2 [x x [x [x x [x
 3 two robberies?
 4 S: I find that (.) ehm yeah.
 5 really strange,
 6 really strange.

In this interrogation, the suspect claims he is innocent. The officer asks what he thinks about being a suspect in two robbery cases, rather than what he thinks about having committed the crime. This provides the suspect with a chance to let the officer know why he finds it strange that he was arrested for the two robberies. The suspect continues hereafter stating that the description was very general and that he can find at least ten guys who will answer to the description. The officer writes this up in the last paragraph of the police record. After the officer asks if the suspect has anything else to state, and the suspect says 'no', the officer ends the interrogation and moves on to the final exit activities before the interrogation truly ends.

3.3.6 Exit activities

The interrogation ends with a number of exit activities. In this phase the police record is prepared for printing. The officer edits and cleans up the lay-out before printing the document. The suspect reads through the entire police record or, in the case of an Arabic-speaking suspect, the document is read out loud by the translator. Generally, the police officer edits the police record on his screen, while the suspect is reading. He or she may be editing the lay-out of the document, the spelling or the actual wording. When the suspect has read through the document, he can ask for changes to be made. When the officer has made the changes, the document is printed again. Both the suspect and the officer now sign the document and the suspect initials every page (one suspect refused to sign the record).

The exit activity procedure is sometimes already mentioned at the very beginning of the interrogation:

EXAMPLE 19 (TCint12min00)

1 P: =do you want to make a statement?
 2 S: yes.
 3 P: okay.
 4 ((types, edits, pauses 30 sec))
 5 .hh later when we're ready with this interrogation,
 6 .hh you're going to go through it,
 7 you can sign,
 8 and then I'm going to discuss with the justice department to see
 9 what they want,
 10 if the prosecutor wants to arraign you,
 11 yes or no.
 12 S: °is [fine.°
 13 P: [but you're gonna hear that from us.
 14 okay?
 15 S: today?
 16 (that you know)
 17 P: xx
 18 if all goes well [today.
 [X xxxxxx X

Since this suspect has been arrested before and was also interrogated just a day earlier, he is probably aware of the procedures concerning the end of an interrogation (i.e. reading through the record and signing it). However, this officer still explains the procedure to the suspect. The officer does use some judicial jargon like 'justice department' and 'arraign' that may not be comprehensible for someone who has never been in contact with the law before.

In most cases, however, the officers only explain the procedure of the end of an interrogation when the officer is ready to print the document:

EXAMPLE 20 (TCint13min50)

1 P1: you †know what we're gonna do?
 2 S: noh.
 3 P1: I'm just going to print your record,
 4 S: yeah.
 5 P1: and we're just gonna take a look.
 6 you can <read> through it.
 7 S: that's fi[ne]
 8 P1: [if] I <phrased it right>
 9 V: °yeah°
 10 P1: then you can sign for it. (.)
 11 and then I'm done with you <for now>.
 12 °okay?°
 13 ((typing sounds))

Every police officer handles these exit activities differently. In a couple of cases, the suspects are hurried, whereas others have lots of time to read and readjust the written text. Overall, however, four out of fourteen suspects made (minor) changes to the written document.

In ten cases, officers use the time after the exit activity procedures to discuss social problems. During this time officers step into an advice-giving role, especially when the suspects are minors or when suspects have larger social problems such as addictions. This kind of ‘exit-social-talk’ can last up to several minutes. Suspects also ask for further procedures during this time. For example, suspects are concerned about when they can go out for a cigarette or how long they will need to stay in the police cell complex. After this final step, the suspect is brought back to his cell by uniformed police officers if the interrogation took place at the police cell complex. If the interrogation took place at the bureau, the interrogating officer can bring the suspect back to his temporary cell.

Out of the fifteen interrogations that I recorded, one suspect refused to sign his record. This suspect also frequently called on his right to remain silent throughout the interrogation.

EXAMPLE 21 (TCint07min33)

1 P1: OH (.) WE'RE GOING TO e:h were just gonna print the form?
 2 P2: [do you want to sign?=
 3 P1: [are
 4 =are you going to read it?
 5 (1)
 6 S: hmhm.
 7 P1: you're gonna read it?
 8 V: yeah I'm gonna read it,
 9 P1: are you also going to sign it?
 10 V: no.
 11 P1: not,
 12 no aGAIN;
 13 why not then;
 14 V: ↑ju↓st.
 15 P1: just.
 16 °okay.° (0.8)

As can be seen from this interaction, this suspect is already known to the police. The officers know that the last time he was interrogated he also did not sign his record. They asked the suspect again if he wanted to sign the record during this interrogation, and the suspect refused. When this happens, the record is still taken up in the case file, and is still considered a piece of evidence.

3.3.7 Summary and research question 2: how are talk and typing coordinated in the various phases of the police interrogations

In this section, the six general phases of a Dutch police interrogation were laid out. Officers make these phases known and participants orient to these phases. During each phase different institutional activities are achieved. These activities are paired with different talking and typing activities and result in different text on the screen.

Officers generally start with an orientation phase in which the suspect and officer meet and some social introductory talk is conducted. When the officer starts typing, the next phases begin. Forms are first filled by using short keystroke activities after which the caution is given by the officer. In 7 out of 14 cases, a social interrogation phase is conducted, followed by the case-related interrogation. During these phases, the “interrogating” begins and typing becomes more prominent. We saw in example 15 that the officer is capable of performing both activities simultaneously and that typing also structures the talk. The officer decides what information is required in the police record. All interrogations are closed with some general exit activities such as editing, printing, reading and signing the record. During this time there may be some exit social talk.

Since typing is such a major part of the interrogation it should be studied further. What I want to explore in this thesis is how officers coordinate typing and talking, whether or not the suspect coordinates his answers to the typing activity, and whether or not the typing activity matters in relation to what is written down in the record. In other words, does typing have an influence on or control over what is written down in the record? All these questions lead to the following research question that I will explore in chapter 5: *how are talk and typing coordinated in the various phases of the police interrogation?*

CONCLUSION

By transcribing my materials and by looking at the written police records I have identified my own puzzle that Silverman talks about (2005). I have seen how a police interrogation is set up: how the officer works through several phases of the interrogation in which different information is elicited. In this process of talking and often typing, a police record is constructed according to P’s agenda. Although by law this should be written down as much as possible in the suspect’s own words, we have already seen that this is not the case. The record shows a much more factual, intentional and precise version of what happened in comparison to what the suspect tells during the case-related phase of the interrogation. Complicated recontextualized writing styles, as well as monological stories and question-

answer format fragments create a first-person story that looks as if the suspect volunteered the story. This, then, is the puzzle: How did this police record come to be constructed in such a way? And secondly, how does the talk in combination with the typing result in a written story?

The remainder of this thesis will be committed to explicating how the text of the police record is interactionally produced based on the talk and typing that goes on during the interrogation. The first question of the puzzle is based on the observation that the police record is very much an (even further) institutionalized version of the talk that goes on during the interrogation. In chapter 4, I will lay out how the suspects' stories are elicited, responded to and written down. I will note the differences between the suspect's stories to be told and the stories to be written. I will look at what type of information from the interrogation is recorded, and what information is left out of the records.

The second question of the puzzle is based on the observation that talking and typing play a major role throughout five of the phases of the police interrogation. Typing is a unique feature of this institutional setting. I want to explore the process of how a police record is interactionally constructed and how the two main activities, talk and typing, play a role in this interaction and ultimately, how they play a role in the construction of the police record. How typing and talk are coordinated and oriented to will be explored in chapter 5.

Based on these themes I have come to two research topics that I will focus on in this thesis. These research topics were not merely created based on the first observations, but they have been revised throughout the further investigations into my material. As Silverman (2005:90) remarks: "Good research rarely moves smoothly from A (research topic) to B (findings) ... alert researchers are always prepared to change their focus as they learn new things from others and from their own data." These research topics have come about through further analyzing the data, presenting my material at data sessions, seminars, symposia and conferences. In the next two chapters these topics will be thoroughly investigated.

Chapter 4 |

“What happened?” From talk to text in police interrogations

INTRODUCTION

The following is a transcript of a story told by a suspect in the interrogation room after he was asked to tell what happened¹:

1 P: =tell,
 2 S: (1)
 3 °(te)ll.°
 4 (0.4)
 5 how the story went like ((about))?
 6 wh[y I've now been arrested,
 7 P: [↑yes,
 8 [yes.]
 9 S: [well](.) (h)it begins exactly like ↑this.
 10 I was t going to play pool with my girlfriend,
 11 (0.3) last night,
 12 P: yes.
 13 S: but i walked like in the direction of her ↑house,
 14 and I saw (.) j- just n couple of guys that I ↑know from the street,
 15 (0.4)
 16 so i asked one of them like,
 17 if i could borrow his moped for a minute to pick up my girlfriend,
 18 (1)
 19 P: ohkay:,
 20 S: ehj he said to me,
 21 yeah is fine but you have to bring it back quickly.
 22 (0.4)
 23 .h so i pick her ↑up, (.)
 24 and i (.) bring her in the direction of the café already you know,
 25 where we were going to play pool (.) .h and in the mean time, (1)
 26 i was stopped.
 27 actually because i wasn't wearing a helmet,
 28 i had >given< her the helmet you know.
 29 .hh so that i thought yeah then I'll take the fine if I'm stopped.
 30 P: >okay<,
 31 S: so afterwards i was stopped,
 32 but g ehm (0.5) ↑first it started like this,
 33 the: license plate of the moped is not right?
 34 P: yes.
 35 S: (thn i had to go with t) station.
 36 and at sta-
 37 the station they said, (.)
 38 that the moped was ↑sto:len.
 39 (1)
 40 P: ↑yes.
 41 S: then it was really then i really thought like <sshitt>.
 42 (1)
 43 P: now you get the blame ((alternative translation: now you're in for it))
 44 S: =yes.
 45 (0.8)
 46 P: okay. (1)

1 As this story is used as an introduction to this chapter, only the English translation is provided here. Transcripts in the remainder of this chapter include the Dutch original talk and the English translation.

Below follows a selection of the text that ended up in this suspect's police record:

You ask me what happened last night.

Last night I walked from Witteveen in the direction of my girlfriend's house, she lives at Diamant. I was going to pick her up at 22.00 because we were going to play pool. I was walking there alone.

Near the OSC I saw a group of about seven guys whom I know. I know the guys from the street, one of them is called Zachary. I call him Zigi. There were also a couple of mopeds.

I asked Zigi if I could borrow his moped for a minute to pick up my girlfriend. I wanted to bring her to the pool centre in Homeview. Zigi said it was fine but that I did have to bring it back quickly.

In this example we see some similarities between the spoken story² and the written text. Similarities include content words (for example: 'last night', 'guys', 'girlfriend', 'borrow'), particular constructions (for example: 'guys from the street', 'bring it back quickly'), the perspective (first person), and we see that the story in the text generally follows the chronology of events as told in the spoken story.

However, there are also differences. In the written story the officer writes up different terms (the term *brommer* is written whereas the suspect talks about a *scooter*³), she adds facts related to time and location ('from Witteveen', 'she lives at Diamant', 'I was going to pick her up at 22:00', 'near the OSC', 'a group of about seven', 'one of them is called Zachary', etc.), direct reported speech is transformed into indirect speech ('He said to me, yeah is fine but you have to bring it back quickly' is changed into 'Zigi said it was fine but that I did have to bring it back quickly'). After this short written extract, the written text continues with more specific recontextualised questions and answers (Komter, forthcoming; also see chapter 3) until the entire story has been reconstructed in written format. If we compare the spoken and written story at first glance, the following question arises: 'Where did all this additional information come from?' An initial answer to that question is that most of this came from further questioning conducted by the officer after the initial story was told by the suspect.

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- 2 I use the term 'story' in the way the suspect uses the term 'story' in his answer above: a story about what happened. I do not use the term 'story' or 'storytelling' as used in for example literature studies.
 - 3 Although both terms translate into 'moped' in English, they are used differently in Dutch. A *brommer* has a more old fashioned look (a mix between a bike and a motorbike) whereas the *scooter* is a modernized version of a *brommer*, generally with smaller wheels and the feet are placed lower on a platform below the steering wheel (source: Wikipedia). Both vehicles are allowed to drive up to 45 km/h.

There are other structural differences between the spoken story and the written text. In the spoken story we see a narrative structure the way Labov and Waletzky have shown to be typical of narratives (1967). The suspect begins his narrative by stating that he was “supposed to” go and play pool with his girlfriend and he introduces the time, ‘last night’. This provides the orientation to the narrative. Here, we already hear that this event – going to play pool – never occurred. The fifth utterance begins with *maar* or ‘but’, providing further evidence that the ‘going to play pool’ event did not occur. Rather, the suspect starts to explain what happened that prevented him from going to play pool with his girlfriend: him being arrested. As the suspect reformulated at the very beginning, this story is one about ‘being arrested’, which is the “most reportable event” (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 2010) in this narrative.

Whereas the orientation in the spoken story included a time reference (last night) and an event that should have taken place (going to play pool with my girlfriend), the written stories’ orientation is about walking from location A to location B last night. Although the time reference is consistent (last night), the written story begins with an intentional action: walking from A to B. The structure, but also the most reportable event has changed. Rather than a story about ‘why I’m now arrested’, this recontextualised phrase: ‘You ask me what happened last night?’, introduces a story about ‘what happened’ as the most reportable event.

Although we see some similarities between the talk and the text, the written story overall has changed (direct reported speech is transformed into indirect speech, facts are added, words are changed and the most reportable event has been adapted). In order to find out what transformations take place, this chapter will answer the research question as defined in chapter 3: *How are stories elicited, told and written down during the police interrogation?* Although the starting point is the product, the police record (also see chapter 3), and how this differs from the spoken story, I will demonstrate *how* the suspects’ stories told to be spoken transform into written stories. In other words, in this chapter, I aim to show ‘what happened’ in the process when the suspect’s story is written up and becomes a written version of the events that happened.

The first elicitation question (‘what happened’) or declarative statement (‘tell’) does not occur in every interrogation. When suspects are interrogated for the second time (for example in interrogation 7 and 12) the interrogation does not concern ‘what happened’, but officers are trying to find out very specific information about things that may or may not have been said during their first interrogations. In interrogation 14 the officer also does not ask ‘what happened?’ This suspect has been arrested because the police had recordings of a stolen phone which led them to the suspect. Whether or not the phone was stolen by the suspect is unknown. The police therefore do not have an event or a victim report that led to

this suspect's arrest (for which a 'what happened' question would be relevant) but rather they are trying to find out how the suspect got the phone in his possession.

Since I will be looking at various ways in which stories are told and written down, I begin this chapter with a short overview of storytelling literature in section 4.1. In section 4.2 I show how the stories in the police interrogation room are elicited. This is followed by the stories told by the suspects in section 4.3. Within this section I look at the three different ways in which stories are told and responded to. In section 4.3.1 I look at a "free" story which is followed by further questioning and the writing up of the story. In section 4.3.2 I look at a "supervised" story which is then written up. In section 4.3.3 I look at an "imposed" story that is told by the officer and confirmed by the suspect when the suspect does not provide a story himself. In 4.4 I bring all the analyses together and show what happened in the process of transforming the spoken story to a written story in the police record.

4.1 Storytelling literature

Stories are told everywhere, everyday by all sorts of people in all sorts of situations. Researchers in various disciplines such as (socio)linguistics (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 2004, 2010; Tannen, 1982), communication studies (Mandelbaum, 2003), sociology (Jefferson, 1978; Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 1992; Sacks, 1992), anthropology (Briggs & Bauman, 1992), photography studies (Edwards, 2001) and psychology (Bruner, 2004, 2010) study stories and storytelling.

Mandelbaum, in her chapter on "how to "do things" with narrative" (2003:596) shows that "storytelling is a basic method by which we share experiences, and in sharing experiences we undertake such important social processes as joking, performing delicate activities, complaining, accounting, telling troubles, gossiping, and constructing relationships, social roles, and social and institutional realities." In other words, we produce and achieve all sorts of social actions by telling stories. Narratives then, are an important resource, which is also what Schiffrin, de Fina and Nylund (2010:1) state at the beginning of their book 'telling stories': "narratives are fundamental to our lives. We dream, plan, complain, endorse, entertain, teach, learn, and reminisce by telling stories."

Stories are not just told by one person, but they are interactively constructed. Most stories in the everyday context are elicited through a request sequence (Goodwin, 1984). Although the storyteller generally will occupy a longer turn-at-talk when telling a story, the other participants contribute by providing continuers, acknowledgements and surprise reactions, by asking clarifying questions, collaboratively evaluating the story and by assessing the story afterwards (see Schegloff, 1982; Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 1992). Story recipients then, also play an important role in the construction of the story. Lerner demonstrates that

sometimes there may be three or more participants who co-construct a story (1992). In his examples, other participants “assist” the storyteller by “employing shared knowledge of events that form the source of the story” (1992:248).

Labov & Waletzky (1967), who extensively researched narrative structure, define narrative as “a method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred”. What Labov found to be furthermore important when telling narratives is that “narrative construction follows the order of events in time” (Labov, 2006:37). The order of events that happened in time therefore must match the order given through the independent clauses in the narrative. In her ten “narrative lessons”, Ochs (2004) provides this condition in her first lesson: “Narratives of personal experience imbue unexpected life events with a temporal and causal orderliness.”

Labov and Waletzky’s analysis of the structure of stories of personal experience shows the following general structure: orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda. In the orientation section, the storyteller orients the listener by introducing the people involved, the location, the time and behavioural orientation. The complicating action refers to the events that occurred that led up to the result. Before providing the result (resolution), however, storytellers often provide an evaluation of the activities that occurred that shows how the narrator felt towards the narrative. After the evaluation and result, there may be an additional section referred to as the coda. Here, the storyteller returns “the verbal perspective to the present moment” (1967:39). Storytellers can do this through the use of the traditional “and they lived happily ever after” or for example by saying “and that was that.”

Labov & Waletzky’s narratives, as well as the suspects’ narratives, revolve around some kind of important event or happening, what Labov and Waletzky (1967) refer to as “the most reportable event.” Labov (2010) also shows that a reportable event can also be told at the very beginning of a narrative, in the orientation or abstract. In Goodwin’s analysis (1984) we see that the story contains a preface, background and climax section, where the climax is equivalent to a “most reportable event” or an event worth telling to your audience. The structure that Labov & Waletzky found in their narratives of personal experience can also be applied to the stories told by the suspects in the interrogation room. The terms defined by Labov & Waletzky will therefore also be applied to the suspects’ stories in order to describe the structures of the spoken and written stories.

Storytelling in institutional settings

As the suspects’ stories demonstrate, stories are not only told in everyday interaction, but also in institutional interaction. At the doctor’s office patients tell stories (sometimes through answering “more than the question”) about their

past or their home situation (Stivers & Heritage, 2001; also see Jones, 2009). During refugee status interviews, refugees are asked to tell stories about their past (Blommaert, 2001) and in court witnesses and suspects are asked to tell and retell stories (Eades, 2008/9). During police interrogations (Rock, 2001; Jönsson & Linell, 1991) or at-the-scene police questioning (Kidwell, 2009), suspects are asked to tell the story about what happened.

Storytelling in these types of institutional settings is in some ways very similar to everyday storytelling, but the stories are embedded in a different type of context. Stories are not voluntarily told, but are often elicited by the professional for a particular goal or function. Within each specific context, stories serve different purposes. Whereas during the doctor-patient interview stories are elicited to explain symptoms, in the police interrogation or at the crime scene stories are elicited to uncover the truth about what happened. At the same time, in such stories, we see very similar narrative organization, evaluation, participant actions and causal skeletons, to what Labov & Waletzky but also Goodwin have shown in everyday storytelling.

As noted earlier, stories are interactively constructed. In the police interrogation setting the police officer is not only the story solicitor, but he or she (or they) also "co-author(s)" the story with acknowledgements, continuers, sometimes with inserted questions, but also through typing. In this way the police officer steers the narrative. For example, by acknowledging the officer indicates that he has heard the previous utterance, by providing a continuer the suspect is encouraged to continue talking, a question solicits an answer and the typing indicates that the officer has found the previous interaction recordable (Komter, 2006b). Some officers begin actively co-constructing the story right at the beginning, whereas others wait until the suspect has told a complete version of the story and only then do they begin asking additional questions and/or typing.

What is particularly different about stories in the police interrogation room is that they are not only told to be spoken, but also told to be written down. In my police interrogation material we have a spoken story elicited by the officer and told (mostly) by the suspect and we have a written story that is based on the spoken story, but solely written by the officer. This data then provides us with two different versions, or in Jönsson & Linell's (1991) terms 'generations' of the same story. Producing the story on paper is one of the goals of the police interrogation: to write up a report, as much as possible in the suspect's own words, about the events reported in the interrogation. It is the story in this report that matters in the further judicial process (cf. Komter, 2006b; Rock, 2001; Jönsson & Linell, 1991) where it can serve as a piece of evidence in court.

Jönsson & Linell (1991) did an analysis of 30 stories told during police interrogations and their written versions in the Swedish police interrogation setting. They found that the written stories show a more visible narrative structure,

the language is more precise, the tone is more neutral (no emotional or value-ridden features), the events within the story are written up as if they are a “series of rational and planned actions” (p. 434), and the source of the written text is often left out. Rock (2001) points out these stories in the statements do not make any reference to the context in which the statements were drawn up. Just like Komter, who demonstrates that the “interrogator’s activities are “noticeably absent” in [the] text” (2006b:222), Rock states that people who later read the stories in the records are “not typically urged to consider what questions might have been asked by a police officer during the taking of a statement” (2001:47). In her analyses she finds that specific additional information is added to the statements, such as very specific references to time.

What is different about these Swedish and English interrogations compared to my data is that the officer makes notes on paper during the interrogation. In England, the statements that Rock used in her analysis remained handwritten whereas in Sweden only after the interrogation is completed, does the officer type up the entire story. In the Netherlands, the police record is typed up while the officer is interrogating. This is either done by the same officer, or by a second officer. With my data I will not only show how the stories are elicited and told and what elements are transformed in the written version, but I will also demonstrate *how* these transformations take place and how the interaction plays a role in constructing the second generation of the story.

4.2 Story elicitations

As I have shown in earlier chapters, police interrogations generally begin with a form-filling phase. In half of my recordings, the form-filling is followed by a social interrogation. Either immediately after the form-filling or after the social interrogation, the case-related phase of the interrogation begins. The question concerning ‘what happened’ is asked during the case-related phase of the police interrogation⁴. It is this phase that I will focus on in the remainder of this chapter. In this section I will first demonstrate how officers switch phases from social interrogation to the case-related interrogation after which the ‘what happened’ question is framed in a typical manner. I will then analyze turns that follow this elicitation question which all respond to this particular framing. In these responses I demonstrate that suspects are “doing being ordinary” (Sacks, 1984b).

4 When suspects are interrogated for the second time, this question is not asked. In these cases, the officers have specific questions they want to ask the suspects. An example of such a question is: *P: wil je nog ergens op terugkomen, op ww wat we gisteren besproken hebben?* (P: do you want to come back to anything, on ww what we talked about yesterday?)

4.2.1 Shifting frames and framing the question

In chapter 3 we saw how officers introduce the case-related phase of the interrogation. By literally announcing that the officer is moving on to the next phase, by using discourse markers like *goed* ('good') and *okee* ('okay'), or by finishing up typing a previous section and asking a next question that is considered relevant for the case, the officers move to the case-related phase. The story elicitation questions, or what Labov & Waletzky (1967:20) refer to as "the stimulus to which the narratives respond", are often asked at the very beginning of the case-related phase of the interrogation. According to Labov & Waletzky (1967), story elicitation questions such as "were you ever in a situation where you thought you were in serious danger of getting killed?" or "What happened?" are relevant to the functional analysis of a narrative as it tells us about the context in which the narrative occurred and the function it may have been elicited for.

In example 1 below, lines 1-9 are still part of the social interrogation. In line 10 we see what the officer types up. This is the last sentence that she writes up as part of the social interrogation. In lines 11-12 we see the shift to the case-related phase, after which the 'narrative stimulus' is given.

EXAMPLE 1 (TCint08min17):

- 1 P: *heb je nog a contact nu met anderuh*
hulpverleningsinstanties?
do you still have a contact now with other eh
social work agencies?
- 2 S: *mmn: n:ee,*
mmn: n:o,
- 3 P: *gee:n [<ujheugd zorg eeh,>*
no: [<uh child services eeh,>
- 4 S: *[nee.*
[no.
- 5 *reclassering,*
probation officer,
- 6 *niks.*
nothing.
- 7 P: *alleen ja °okee.°*
just yes °okay.°

8	S: <i>ook geen reclassering.</i> no probation officer either.	<i>Ik heb op dit moment geen contact met hulpverleningsinstanties.</i>
9	P: <i>ook niet.</i> not either.	<i>instanties.</i>
10	P: ((types 10 sec))	At this moment I do not have contact with social work agencies.⁵
11	P: ° <i>okee.</i> ° ° <i>okay.</i> °	contact with social work agencies.⁵
12	<i>goed,</i> <u><i>good,</i></u>	social work agencies.⁵
13	<i>nou je zit hier onschuldig;</i> well you're here not guilty;	agencies.⁵
14	S: <i>ja=</i> <i>yes=</i>	agencies.⁵
15	P: = <u><i>vertel,</i></u> = <u><i>tell,</i></u>	agencies.⁵

The shift in lines 11-12 is marked with two discourse markers, 'okay' and 'good'. In line 13, the officer refers to an earlier statement made by the suspect at the beginning of the interrogation where he tells her that he is innocent. By explicitly repeating that the suspect claims to be innocent, the officer embeds her story elicitation question in the context of the police interrogation where finding out if the suspect is guilty or innocent is one of the overarching goals. By pointing out the contradiction: you're in custody where you only end up if we have a reason to believe you're guilty of a crime AND you're innocent, the officer frames her elicitation question in such a way that the suspect now has to explain the contradiction. The story elicitation *vertel* is therefore not an open solicitation to tell a story about what happened, but it elicits a 'prove to me you're innocent' story. We also see this framing in other elicitation questions.

In the following interrogation the suspect has previously been interrogated for various other crimes and therefore there is no social interrogation. After the caution, the officer immediately shifts to the case-related phase and begins as follows:

5 As explained in chapter 3, the bold words in the right column indicate the words that I believe to have been typed by the officer at this moment in time. These assumptions are based on close listening, reconstructing the typing and the text of the police record. They are, however, not exact reconstructions (also see section 3.1).

EXAMPLE 2 (TCint09min1)

- 1 P: =okee?
=okay?
- 2 °goed.°
°good.°
- 3 VRIJDAG,
FRIDAY,
- 4 acht februari, (0.5)
february eigth, (0.5)
- 5 marjoleinhof,
marjoleinhof,
- 6 diemen.
diemen.
- 7 (3) jongetje,
(3) little boy,
- 8 jongetje,
little boy,
- 9 of is het een jongen,
or is it a boy,
- 10 of is het >een man<,
or is it >a man<,
- 11 john.
john.
- 12 (1,8)
- 13 S: ken ↑ik,
↑I know him,
- 14 P: ken je?
you know him?
- 15 john he,
john right,
- 16 S: zit bij mij in de klas,
he's in my class,

- 17 P: *dan weet je ook wat er gebeurd is?*
then you also know what happened?
- 18 *die avond?*
that night?
- 19 S: *↑ja: ik weet wat er gebeurd is,*
↑yes: I know what has happened,
- 20 P: *ohkee.*
ohkay.
- 21 S: ()
- 22 P: *kun je dat zelluf vertellen?*
can you tell me yourself?
- 23 S: *ja maar ik begrijp niet waarom hij mijn naam heeft genoemd?*
yes but I don't understand why he mentioned my name?

The switch from the softly spoken discourse marker 'good' to the loudly spoken 'FRIDAY' indicates that the new frame (Goffman, 1974, see chapter 3) about the case has begun and instantly sets the tone. The short intonation units that follow (lines 4-11) are spoken in a staccato intonation that reminds us of a list of facts that is being read out loud. This interrogation immediately begins with a reference to the day (line 3), date (line 4), location (lines 5-6) and participant involved in the case for which the suspect is now interrogated about (lines 7-11). This list of facts that provides the 'orientation' to the story is information that the officer has prepared. The suspect, at this point, does not yet know why he has been called to the interrogation room (again). It demonstrates the asymmetrical relationship between the officer who has the information about the suspect, and the suspect, who is required to answer questions about this information.

After the so-called facts of the case have been read out loud the officer pauses (line 7). The officer continues and when the name of the victim has been said, the officer pauses again (line 12). Here, it is unclear who should take the next turn as the officer has not posed an actual question. The 1.8 second pause in line 12 indicates that there was a possible transition point. S then takes the turn and demonstrates recognition by stating that he knows the boy. The officer attaches a causal relation to the recognition by stating that 'then' the suspect must know what happened on that particular night on February 8th. The suspect confirms that he knows what happened, but does not take the officers' utterance to be a story elicitation. Only when the officer asks 'can you tell me yourself?' does the suspect reply with a confirmation (line 23) which is immediately followed by expression of disbelief that the victim has told on him (a frequent topic in interrogations with

minors – see chapter 2). When P utters ‘can you tell me yourself’ (line 22), he puts the rights to tell the story in the suspect’s hands. The use of ‘yourself’ emphasises that P wants to hear it from S and not from the victim (of which P has already read the report) or from P himself. The story elicitation frame is therefore one of: I already have a version of the story and now it is your turn to tell your story. This type of frame is very typical in the police interrogation setting.

In example 3 we can see this particular type of framing even more explicitly. The police officer not only shows that he already knows what happened, but explicitly states that he knows what happened and where he got this information from. By providing this account the officer demonstrates that it is important who has access to what type of information in this interaction (cf. ‘epistemic status’, Heritage, forthcoming). Previously, the officer has already suggested that something happened by saying “and still you let this happen.” The suspect responded by saying that he was “just” walking on the street. Later, S explains again that when he was walking on the street with two of his friends, “all of a sudden” the police arrived who told him and his friends that they were arrested for street robbery. By using the “passivity marker” (Komter, 1994) “all of a sudden”, the suspect portrays himself as a passive spectator who was not prepared for the police officer’s actions. The officer reminds the suspect that the police do not “just” pick up people and that they would have a reason to pick up him. In this extract the officer is “AGAIN” (line 4) reminding the suspect that he shouldn’t beat about the bush, referring to the earlier interaction.

EXAMPLE 3 (TCint02min9)

- 1 P: °okee.°
 °okay.°

- 2 .h nou goed,
 .h well good,

- 3 wat is er gisteren gebeurd.
 what has happened yesterday.

- 4 en >NOGMAALS<, (2)
 and >AGAIN<, (2)

- 5 ga der niet omheen draaien,
 don't go beating about the bush,

- 6 S: °ik draai er niet omheen°.
 °I'm not beating about the bush°.

- 7 P: *snap je,*
do you understand,
- 8 *ee::h, (4)*
ee::h, (4)
- 9 *ik weet al,*
I already know,
- 10 *onder andere wat wat er,*
amongst other things what,
- 11 *wat zich heeft afgespeeld;*
what has taken place;
- 12 S: *ja.*
yes.
- 13 P: *snap je,*
do you understand,
- 14 *want er zijn getuigen verklaring,*
because there are witness report,
- 15 *.hh en der is aangifte gedaan,*
.hh and someone made a statement,
- 16 *en diegene die aangifte gedaan heeft,*
and the one who made the statement,
- 17 *die zal,*
he will,
- 18 *denk ik,*
I think,
- 19 *niet gaan liegen.*
not lie.
- 20 *hh eeh,*
hh eeh,
- 21 *niet geen dingen gaan zeggen [over iemand,*
not not say things [about someone,
- 22 S: *[ah ik ken die jongen ook,*
[ah I know that guy as well,

- 23 P: *[ja dat weet ik ook ja,*
[yes I also know that yes,
- 24 S: *[ik weet misschien al wie het is,*
[I might already know who it is,
- 25 *mervel<linho> ofzo,*
mervel<linho> or something,
- 26 P: *mervie jij hebt hem toch geroepen?*
mervie you called him right?
- 27 *merv merv,*
merv merv,
- 28 S: *<mervel[linho>.*
<mervel[linho>.
- 29 P: *[°ja toch?°*
[°yeah right? °
- 30 S: *mervie ja.*
mervie yes.
- 31 P: *ja.*
yes.
- 32 *maar wat is er precies gebeurd gistermiddag.*
but what exactly happened yesterday afternoon.

This extract begins with the shift from talk about gangs like the “crips” and the “bloods” (see chapter 2), that the officer thinks the suspect may or may not be part of, to talk about the case. The shift is, again, marked with the discourse markers *okee* (‘okay’) and *nou goed* (‘well good’) (lines 1-2). After a first elicitation question in line 3, the officer immediately follows up by taking the next turn. He raises his voice and refers back to the earlier interaction where the suspect told the officer that they were just walking on the street and they were all of a sudden arrested (line 4). The officer does not provide an opportunity for the suspect to respond by continuing his turn. In line 4-5 we see an accusatory warning towards the suspect that he may be beating about the bush. The suspect treats this as an accusation by denying that he does so (line 6). The officer then continues to explain that he knows what has happened (lines 9-11).

Whereas the interrogative in line 3 only suggests that the officer knows that *something* happened, the officer provides an account in lines 14-15 as to how he knows what happened: through witness reports and the victim report. Whereas the officer first aligns himself to be the unknowing story recipient (line 3) the

officer then presents himself as the knowing recipient by telling the suspect he knows everything already (lines 9-11). It is the institutional context of the police interrogation that makes this contradiction acceptable. The officer has rephrased his ordinary storytelling elicitation question as a question with which he checks whether the suspect tells the truth or not. The truth, according to P, is the story told by the victim, who will ‘not lie.’ By stating that he already knows what happened, the officer employs his epistemic status (Heritage, forthcoming) and authority to pressure the suspect into telling the “correct” story - the story according to the victim report.

Even though the officer claims he knows what happened, note that the officer refers to very vague events and sources: *wat zich heeft afgespeeld* (‘what has taken place’) (lines 10-11), *er zijn getuigen verklaring* (‘there are witness report’) (line 14), *der is aangifte gedaan* (‘someone made a statement’) (line 15), *diegene* (‘the one’) (line 16), and *die* (‘he’) (line 17). The officer does not mention what exactly happened or from whom he has witness or victim reports. He claims knowledge with very vague resources. The suspect confirms (line 12) when the officer tells him that he knows what happened. However, when the officer lets the suspect know that he has a victim report, the suspect responds differently (line 22). Here, the suspect interrupts the officer by stating *ah ik ken die jongen ook* (‘ah I know that guy as well’), which demonstrates that he knows the victim, just like the officer. “Knowing” the guy also downplays the suspect’s guilt. If you know the victim, it will be unlikely that you will have done something terrible to the victim. The officer responds by letting the suspect know that he is aware of this (line 23). The suspect then downplays his certainty that he knows the victim by offering an alternative *ik weet misschien al wie het is, mervellino of zo* (‘I might already know who it is, mervellino or something’). Through a quotation from the actual events *merv merv* (‘merv merv’) (line 27), the officer demonstrates that he knows what went on at the crime scene (even though he was not there). He seeks confirmation for this in line 29 which is given by the suspect in line 30.

The second elicitation question in line 32 is treated by the suspect - and by the officer - as the real elicitation question after which he begins to tell his story. The use of *maar* (‘but’) in the elicitation question creates a contrast. The officer has just shown and told how much he already knows about the events that occurred but still elicits the story from S. The stress on *precies* (‘exactly’) shows that P expects that S has the knowledge to tell the officer *exactly* what happened. This elicitation question is framed in a typical way that is common to police interrogations: after demonstrating knowledge about the answer, the officer still elicits the suspect’s version of the story.

That story elicitations in the police interrogation can be unclear for the suspects can be argued when we look at the responses to the elicitation questions. The ‘what happened’ questions are not always immediately responded to. In

example 4, which is a continuation of example 1, we see some work being done by S before he begins to tell his story.

EXAMPLE 4 (TCint08min17)

- 16 P: =*vertel*,
=*tell*,
- 17 S: (1)
- 18 °(*ver*)*tel*.°
°(*te*)*ll*.°
- 19 (0.4)
- 20 *hoe het verhaal is gegaan zeg maar?*
how the story went like ((about))?
- 21 *waar[om ik ben nu ben opgepakt,*
wh[y I've been now been arrested,
- 22 P: [*↑ja*,
[↑yes,
- 23 [*ja*.]
[yes.]
- 24 S: [*nou*](.) (*h*)*et begint precies ↓zo*.
[well](.) (*h*)it begins exactly like ↓this.

The *vertel* ('tell') elicitation (line 16) is not immediately picked up by the suspect who repeats the elicitation statement after a short pause. He rephrases the question in lines 20 and 21. These reformulations demonstrate that *vertel* could be interpreted ambiguously by the suspect and that the way he reformulates the question is the manner in which S has understood the story elicitation.

As we saw in example 1, the officer has framed her elicitation question in such a way that it encourages S to explain the contradiction of being held in custody *and* being innocent. After such a story stimulus, we would expect the most tellable event (or the "most reportable event", Labov & Waletzky, 1967) to be: 'and that's why I'm innocent.' The suspect however, rephrases the point of the story in line 21 by adapting the most tellable event into: 'and that's why I've now been arrested.' By making this adaption, the suspect is 'doing being innocent.'

In the last example (5) of how stories in police interrogations are elicited, we see another reformulation by the suspect (line 5). Before the elicitation question (line 2), the officer and suspect talked about previous offences and the officer asked

the suspect if he knows why he has now been arrested. The suspect answers that he and his friends have been arrested because of street robbery. While the officer is still typing, he asks the suspect what he has to state about this (where ‘about this’ refers to the street robbery):

EXAMPLE 5 (TCint03min24)

- 1 P: xxx[xxxxx
- 2 [en wat heb je hierover [te verklaren?
[and what do you have to state [about this?
- 3 [X x x x x x x
- 4 x x x x x x
- 5 S: wat er is gebeurd?
what has happened?
- 6 P: ja,
yes,
- 7 x
- 8 S: [naou,
[well,
- 9 P: [x

Verklaren (‘to state’) is a term that is used in the official document of the police record (*hij verklaarde mij dat...* or ‘he stated to me that...’) and is often used in the police context. A police record in Dutch is often referred to as a *verklaring* (‘statement’). In this interrogation, where the suspect is 14 years old, the formal question ‘what do you have to state about this’ is rephrased by the suspect in everyday language as ‘what has happened?’ When this is confirmed by the police officer, the suspect begins his story about what happened. As we will later see in example 12, this suspect also tells a story that leads up to his arrest, where being arrested is the “most reportable event”.

In sum, we see that stories are elicited in various ways in the different interrogations. Stories are generally elicited after an explicitly marked shift from one phase to the next. The story elicitation questions like ‘tell’ and ‘what happened’ can be framed in such a way that the suspects must prove their innocence (despite the “presumed” innocence). Even though officers may claim that they (partially) know what happened, the setting allows officers to elicit another version of the story from the suspect. This type of story elicitation makes the suspect’s story relevant.

At the same time, officers employ their knowledge and authority to put pressure on the suspect to tell the "correct" story – a version of the story that P already knows from victim reports. Although police officers seek information about the event that took place, suspects often rephrase the 'what happened' elicitation question as a story elicitation about the events that led up to their arrest (example 4 and 5). By doing this, the suspects make their story revolve around their arrest rather than the crime they were arrested for. In the next section I will take a look at how the suspects initially respond to these elicitation questions.

4.2.2 "Doing being ordinary"

In response to the questions that we saw above, suspects often begin telling a story where they demonstrate their innocence, or at least, they are "doing being ordinary" (Sacks, 1984b). "Doing being ordinary", is described by Sacks as "essentially that your business in life is only to see and report the usual aspects of any possibly usual scene" (p. 416). Sacks further observes that almost everybody is constantly "doing being ordinary", even when they are describing really catastrophic events.

Kidwell (2009) looked at at-the-scene police questioning in reality TV shows and demonstrates that "what happened" questions typically solicit details from the participants who were at the scene. Although the participants in Kidwell's analysis are not suspects, in the narratives that follow she finds that people "put themselves in the best light", something Labov and Waletzky (1967) also found in their narratives. Kidwell elaborates on Sacks' terms by calling what the at-the-scene witnesses do is "doing being extraordinary".

I will now provide some examples of how suspects begin their stories "doing being ordinary" or in this particular setting 'doing being innocent.' In the next example the suspect, who is accused of being in possession of several stolen mobile phones, claims to be innocent. The officer announces that she will now shift to the case-related phase of the interrogation (lines 1-2). The translator translates the statement (line 3) and the suspect treats it first as an accusation (lines 4-6) and secondly as a story elicitation (lines 7 and 10-12).

EXAMPLE 6 (TCint11min12)

- 1 P: *dan wil ik u vragen (.) eh over de zaak,*
then I want to ask you ((formal)) (.) eh about the case,
- 2 *dus waarvoor u bent aangehoude,*
so for which you've been arrested,
- 3 T: *daba hiya bġat suulik 'ala muškila li šədditi 'aliha?*⁶
دابی هی بغت سؤلك مشکيلة لی شذیت علیها
now she wants to ask you about the problem for which you were⁷
arrested
- 4 S: *elmuškila m'arəf walu m'arəf walu* [()]
المشکيلة معرف معرف شالو
the problem I know nothing I know nothing [()]
- 5 T: *[ik weet daar †niks †van,*
[I don't know †anything †about
that,
- 6 *echt (.) ik weet niks.*
really (.) I know nothing.
- 7 S: *ana mšit ləlxədma, elmraa 'ayeṭəṭ w qəlt mtroḥ* (terug)
أنا مشیت لخدمه ، المرأة عیطت و قلت مترو
I went to work, the (my) wife called and said come back
- 8 T: *(teruggeven)*
(give back)
- 9 P: *>ohkee<*
>ohkay<
- 10 T: *ik ben gewoon naar me werk gegaan,*
I just went to my work,
- 11 *en toen heeft me vrouw me (.) gebeld,*
and then my wife (.) called me,
- 12 *en zei komen >SNEL TERUG NAAR HUIS,<*
and said come >QUICKLY BACK HOME,<
- 13 S: *°ja.°*
°yes°
- 14 T: *zei me vrouw.*
said my wife.

6 The Arabic has been transcribed and translated by Lauren Wagner and Karim Sarsif (for more details on transcribing Arabic see Wagner, 2011).

7 According to the transcribers it is unclear whether the suspect utters *šəddit* which is 'I was arrested' or *šədditi* 'you were arrested'.

In line 7 the suspect begins telling a story. Although the story elicitation is unclear, since the officer never asked a question, we see that the suspect treats it as a question. His answer in the form of a story concerns what happened the day of his arrest. He begins his story with an ordinary event: going to work. This is further marked with the word *gewoon* (just or normally) by the translator in line 10. It was the suspect's wife – a character other than himself - who informed him that he should come home and that there had been trouble. The translator animates what the wife told the suspect on the phone in line 12. Although this is not an exact translation of how the suspect uttered his words in lines 4 and 7 (the suspect never uttered 'quickly back home'), we see that the suspect is 'doing being innocent.' Within the distressed reported speech, the suspect shows that an unexpected event had occurred and that that is why his wife told him to come home ('quickly' according to the translator).

In the next example (7), we see another ordinary beginning to a story. The suspect has been arrested for taking a SIM-card from his girlfriend with some violence while under influence of drugs.

EXAMPLE 7 (TCint15min12)

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | P: <i>kan je mij in je eigh</i> †woorden vertellen,
can you tell me in your own †words, | |
| 2 | <i>[wat volgens jou is gebeurd dan,</i>
[what happened according to you then, | |
| 3 | [X | <i>in je eigen woorden</i>
<i>vertellen wat er</i>
<i>gisteren</i> |
| 4 | xX xxX [xxx [xxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | tell in your own
words what has
((happened))
yesterday |
| 5 | S: [((snuift neus)) [°was met me:
<i>vriendin,</i> °
[((nose sniff)) [°was with me:
<i>girlfriend,</i> ° | |
| 6 | P: °xxx° | |
| 7 | P: <i>wat zeg je sorry?</i>
what did you say sorry? | |
| 8 | S: <i>ik was met muh vriendin?</i>
I was with meh girlfriend? | |
| 9 | P: <i>jah,</i>
yeah, | |

10 S: *mn vriendin moet binnen gaan om die*
 ↑ho:nd binnen te ↑zettuh?
 my girlfriend had to go inside to put
 that ↑do:g ↑inside?

11 P: *hmhm.*
 hmhm.

In lines 1-2, this officer emphasizes that the suspect should tell in his own words what happened. The officer overlaps his own talking with typing and while he is still typing, the suspect begins to answer the question in line 5. The suspect, who is addicted to heroine and at one point in the interrogation claims that he is sick because he needs heroine, is often asked to repeat his utterances by the officer. This time however, his mishearing could also be due to the typing activity in which the officer is still involved. When the officer asks S what he just said (line 7), he has stopped typing. S repeats the beginning of his story in the clear (line 8). Although there is no ‘orientation’ to the story with time and place, this story beginning first introduces the characters (the suspect and his girlfriend) who are doing an ordinary activity: putting the dog inside.

In the next example we see another explicit ‘ordinariness marker’ in line 10. This is a continuation of example 5.

EXAMPLE 8 (TCint03min24)

5 S: *wat er is gebeurd?*
 what has happened?

6 P: *ja,*
 yes,

7 x

8 S: *[naou,*
 [well,

9 P: [x

10 S: *ik [was [gewoon [gister,*
 I [was [just [yesterday,

11 P: [x [X [X

12 x

13 S: *[gavon [en manilo,*
 [gavon [and manilo,

- 14 P: [x [x x
- 15 S: *was ik in die box.*
I was in that garage.
- 16 (1)
- 17 *en daar gewoon beetje °gaan° zitten chillen,*
and was just sitting there °a bit° chillin,'
- 18 P: *hmnn mnn.*
hmnn mnn.
- 19 S: *op een gegeven moment was die sleutel stuk gaan,*
at a certain moment that key was broken,
- 20 *in et slot.*
in tha lock.

In this example the officer elicits a story about what happened. Just like many other examples in my collection, the suspect begins with *naou* ('well') in line 8. The story orientation includes the time (yesterday), the characters (with Gavon and Manilo) and the place (in the garage). This is not only introduced as such, but explicitly marked with *gewoon* ('just' or 'normally') suggesting that this really is an ordinary activity. The entire activity of being in the garage, but also the events that later appeared to have occurred in the garage are normalized in this introductory utterance. The diminutive *beetje* ('a little bit'), the use of *gewoon* ('just') and the activity of *zitten chillen* ('sitting chilling') all suggest that this is a most ordinary activity. The suspect then suddenly jumps to the key being broken in the lock (lines 19-20). The events that led to the breaking of the key are left out of the suspect's story. This is where the officer interrupts the suspect (this will be shown in example 14).

4.3 Suspects' stories

The stories that follow the elicitation questions differ in all sorts of ways. The responses that the officers provide, like acknowledgments, continuers or inserted questions, also differ strongly and play an important role in how the stories evolve (see section 4.1). In this section I want to take a look at several different stories that are told by the suspects, the several ways in which these stories are responded to by the officers and how the stories are written up in the record. After P has elicited the story, there are three different ways in which the stories evolve amongst the interrogations that I recorded. First of all, suspects produce

a longer turn at talk in which their story is told from beginning to end (as in the example in the introduction). Secondly, S starts telling a story, but P interrupts the suspect immediately with either typing activity, or, more likely, with asking more questions through which he or she supervises and steers the storytelling. The third way in which stories are told is that they are not told by the suspect himself, but by the police officer. Either the suspect refuses to tell a story, or the story is not the “correct” story according to the officer. The officer then ‘imposes’ a version of the story which the suspect agrees or disagrees with.

In my collection of 14 interrogations there are three interrogations that do not include a ‘what happened’ question (interrogations 7, 12 and 14 – as explained in the introduction). There are three interrogations where a “free” story is initially told (interrogations 6, 8, and 11) which is followed by further questioning and supervision. There are four examples of an initial supervised story (interrogations 2, 3, 13 and 15), and four examples where the officer mainly tells the story and the suspect agrees or disagrees (interrogations 4, 5, 9 and 10). In the imposed story some suspects later tell their own version of the story (which may be interrupted or not). It must be noted that in most interrogations we see traces of all storytelling styles throughout the interrogation.

In this section I will be using examples from three different interrogations to illustrate the three different ways in which stories are elicited, told and responded to. Examples from interrogation 8 illustrate the “free” story. This is the story I used in the introduction where the suspect, Basil, has been arrested for stealing a motorbike. Examples from interrogation 3 illustrate the “supervised story”. This interrogation with suspect Byron is about threatening a victim with a knife and stealing the victim’s iPod in a garage. Examples from interrogation 10 will be used to illustrate the imposed story. This suspect, Sunny, has been arrested for stealing five Euros from someone’s pocket. A couple of additional examples from different interrogations will be used to further illustrate certain points.

4.3.1 “Free” story, further questioning & typing and the written story

In this section I will use interrogation 8 to demonstrate how a “free” story is elicited, told and responded to. Such “free” stories are followed by further questioning which is generally also when the typing begins. How the written story differs from the spoken story will be explored at the end of this section.

“Free” story

The following example was introduced in the introduction and is a continuation of examples 1 and 4. The suspect begins to tell his story about why he was arrested last night. He has been arrested by the police for being suspected of stealing a

motorbike. The suspect claimed at the beginning of the interrogation that he is innocent. He just borrowed what he thought was a moped⁸ from a friend on the street:

EXAMPLE 9 (TCint08min18)

- 24 S: =nou (.) (h)et begint precies ↓zo.
=well (.) it begins exactly like ↓this.
- 25 ik zou t met me vriendin gaan poolen,
I was t going to play pool with my girlfriend,
- 26 (0.3) gistere avond,
(0.3) last night,
- 27 P: ja.
yes.
- 28 S: maar ik liep zeg maar richting haar ↑huis,
but i walked like in the direction of her ↑house,
- 29 en ik zag (.) g- gewoon n paar jongens van de straat die ik ↑kent,
and I saw (.) j- just n couple of guys that I ↑know from the street,
- 30 (0.4)
- 31 dus ik vroeg aan ↑één van ze van,
so i asked one of them like,
- 32 of ik ze scooter effe moch lenen om mn vriendin op te halen,
if i could borrow his moped for a minute to pick up my girlfriend,
- 33 (1)
- 34 P: ohkee:,
ohkay:,
- 35 S: ehj (.) hij zeg tegen mij,
ehj he said to me,

8 Mopeds (either called *brommer* or *scooter* in Dutch) are motorized vehicles for which you need a special moped license. These vehicles can officially drive up to 45 km per hour in the Netherlands and a helmet is obligatory. The legal driving age is 16. Mopeds are quite popular amongst the Dutch youth. Motorcycles on the other hand, require a different type of motorbike license. These vehicles abide by the same traffic rules as cars.

- 36 *ja is goed maar je moet m snel terug brengen.*
 yeah is fine but you have to bring it back quickly.
- 37 (0.4)
- 38 *.h dus ik haal haar ↑op, (.)*
 .h so i pick her ↑up, (.)
- 39 *en ik breng haar alvast richting t cafeetje zeg maar,*
 and i (.) bring her in the direction of the little café already you
 know,
- 40 *waar we zouden poolen (.) en ondertussen (1)*
 where we were going to play pool (.) .h and in the mean time, (1)
- 41 *werd ik werd ik aangehouden,*
 i was stopped.
- 42 *omdat ik eigenlijk geen helm op had,*
 actually because i wasn't wearing a helmet,
- 43 *ik had haar die helm zeg maar gegeven.*
 i had >given< her the helmet you know.
- 44 *.hh zodat ik dach ja dan neem ik die boete maar als ik word*
 aangehouden.
 .hh so that i thought yeah then I'll take the fine if I'm stopped.
- 45 P: >okay<,
 >okay<,
- 46 S: *dus achteraf word ik aangehouden,*
 so afterwards i was stopped,
- 47 *maar g ehm (0.5) ↑eerst begon zo,*
 but g ehm (0.5) ↑first it started like this,
- 48 *die: kenteken klopt niet van die scooter?*
 the: license plate of the moped is not right?
- 49 P: *ja.*
 yes.
- 50 S: *(temoest ik mee naar t) bureau,*
 (thn i had to go with t) station.
- 51 *en op des-*
 and at sta-

- 52 *de bureau zeiden ze, (.)*
the station they said, (.)
- 53 *dat de scooter geïsto:len was.*
that the moped was ðsto:len.
- 54 (1)
- 55 P: ↑*ja.*
 ↑*yes.*
- 56 S: *toen was het echt toen dacht ik echt van <sshitt>.*
 then it was really then i really thought like <sshitt>.
- 57 (1)
- 58 P: *nou ben je de pineut=*
 now you get the blame ((alternative translation: now you're in for
 it))
- 59 S: =*ja.*
 =*yes.*
- 60 (0.8)
- 61 P: *okay. (1)*
 okay. (1)

This excerpt begins with the very beginning of the suspect's story about the events that occurred the night before. The story begins with the discourse marker *nou* which can be translated as 'well', 'so', or 'now'. In this case, the translation 'well' fits the interactional context. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) state that 'well' often begins turns. Labov (1972) has shown that 'well' is often used at the beginning of narrative abstracts, which is a summary of the main action of the story given at the beginning of the story. By using such a discourse marker at the beginning of an answer or a story, the speaker shows "orientation to the conversational demand for an answer" (Schiffrin, 1987:110), but at the same time delays the actual beginning of the story.

The utterance that follows 'well' in line 24 further delays the story. By announcing how the story *exactly* unfolded, the suspect marks that he has the knowledge to tell the story. He demonstrates that he was there whereas the officer was not. When S begins to tell his story, using the Dutch verb *zou* (would) + infinitive '*gaan*' (going to) which is used for hypothetical situations or situations that never occurred (translated as the past of 'BE GOING TO'), he prepares the listener for a story that will explain why he never got to play pool with his

girlfriend. Furthermore, the suspect introduces the characters (the suspect and his girlfriend), the time (last night) and place (on the way to the pool centre) of the story, what Labov & Waletzky (1967) refer to as the orientation. The orientation depicts an ordinary event: going to play pool in the evening with your girlfriend. It is not surprising that the suspect's story about the events that led to his arrest begins with such an ordinary activity (also see section 4.2.2). Storytellers, according to Sacks (1984b), are constantly doing "being an ordinary person". Kidwell (2009) also shows that answerers in at-the-scene police questioning also "begin their narratives by depicting themselves involved in utterly mundane activities" and shows how answerers use the English term "just" to establish (extra)ordinariness.

After a confirmation from the police officer (line 27), the story elaborates with what Labov & Waletzky (1967) refer to as the complicating action. The suspect begins his telling of his night out with the ordinary activity of walking to his girlfriend's house. On the way there, he ran into a couple of guys from the street and he asked one of them if he could borrow his moped. These activities are normalized by using the term *gewoon* ('just' or literally translated as 'normally') (line 29), letting the officer know that he "knows" these guys and by using *effe* ('real quick' / 'just for a minute') (line 32). This exhibition of "doing being ordinary" is simultaneously 'doing being innocent.' There was nothing strange or out of the ordinary when asking guys that he knows to quickly borrow a moped.

The pause and stretched *ohkee*: in lines 33 and 34 show a delayed continuer response token from the officer. The suspect continues with his story and uses reported speech (lines 35-36), bringing another character into the story, namely, his friend whom he borrowed the moped from. The reported speech shows that the question S asked his friend (if he could borrow his moped), was an ordinary question which received a positive and immediate response. Again, by using this quote from his friend, the suspect is 'doing being innocent.' If his friend said he could borrow his moped just like that, it could not have been stolen. Furthermore, by using this reported speech, the suspect demonstrates that it was not *his* moped, but his friends' moped.

The complicating action of the suspect's story then continues in line 38. On his way to the little café where they were going to play pool, with his girlfriend and himself on the moped, the suspect was stopped by the police. In lines 40-41, S states that 'in the mean time' (or, could also be interpreted as 'on his way') he was stopped by the police. Here, he returns to the most reportable event that he already introduced when he rephrased the question in line 6 in example 4.

The reason - or the account - which S provides for being stopped is given in line 42: he wasn't wearing a helmet, which is obligatory by Dutch law. This account is the official reason for why he was stopped, according to the rules that the police enforce. However, S further explains why he did not abide by the rules. In lines 43-44, S provides a heroic account for why he didn't wear a helmet: because his

concerns for his girlfriend's safety took priority over him having to pay a fine. This heroic account adds to S' 'doing being innocent.' Can a person who cares about his girlfriend's safety really have stolen a moped?

In line 46-48, after the officer's acknowledgement, the suspect provides the details of why exactly he was arrested. While giving the reason for arrest (47-53), the agency of the talk shifts from first person to vague referents. In line 48 the suspect leaves himself out of the utterance. The slow start and the rising intonation of the utterance show an enactment of words someone else uttered. This utterance could be seen as direct speech; however, it is not clear to whom S attributes these words (most likely to the officer who arrested him). The announcement of how the arrest began in line 47 and the rising intonation in line 48 suggest that a list has been initiated. In line 50 we see that the suspect *moest* or 'had to' go *mee* or 'with' to the bureau, demonstrating that this was not a volunteered action but that the action was initiated or performed by someone else. In lines 51-53 we see that S uses indirect reported speech to demonstrate the reason for his arrest. In other words, the police officers only realized and told him at that moment that the moped was stolen. By putting this news in the officer's words, the suspect demonstrates that he also knew nothing until this moment and is 'doing being innocent.'

The suspect, who has so far been encouraged to produce a longer turn at talk through the officer's continuers, returns to a first person evaluation in line 56, a typical way to end a story (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). The collaborative evaluation ends with another discourse marker 'ohkay' from P who ends the story and shifts frames from S' storytelling to P going back to interrogating.

In the analysis above we have seen that the suspect is consistently "doing being ordinary" and that he puts himself in the best light (cf. Kidwell, 2009). This is a common feature in most of the stories told in the interrogations. It is specifically noteworthy that most of the stories begin with very ordinary events. This is in line with what Labov & Waletzky (1967) show in their analyses of narratives and what Kidwell shows in her analyses of at-the-scene police questioning (2009). Whereas Labov (2004) suggests that beginning a narrative in such a way creates credibility, Kidwell demonstrates that such mundane beginnings demonstrate to the listener that "they were not out looking for trouble." However, Labov and Kidwell's narratives mostly lead to an extraordinary event that will be the point of the story. Such incredible events can be shocking, exciting, sad or very funny for example. In my material and in the case discussed here, a suspect's story is elicited by the police officer and the story concerns the suspect himself. Most suspects do not volunteer to talk about the (extraordinary) crime they have been arrested for. In fact, most suspects claim to have been occupied with ordinary activities and claim to be innocent. Their most reportable event is often that they were arrested. Recounting a story in an uneventful, ordinary way establishes credibility for why they are innocent and why their arrest was unjustified.

Further questioning & typing

Examples 10-12 are a continuation of example 9. The officer ends the previous storytelling recipient frame with “okay” and a pause in line 1. With *effetjes* (‘just a sec’ or ‘real quick’) she marks her further questioning frame. Note that the officer has so far not typed up anything. The suspect’s answer thus far is not yet recordable (Komter, 2006b) – she first seeks a clarification. Her further questions concern the starting location of the suspect’s activities.

EXAMPLE 10 (TCint08min19)

- 62 P: *okee. (1)*
 okay. (1)
- 63 *.h effetjes eh,*
 .h real quick eh, ((hold on a sec))
- 64 *jij jij ging vanaf je huis?*
 you you went from your house?
- 65 *mijehof?*
 mijehof?
- 66 *na-*
 to-
- 67 *richting,*
 in the direction of,
- 68 *of hoe moet k t zien?*
 or how should I see this?
- 69 *je zei ik ging naar mn vriendin.*
 you said I went to my girlfriend.
- 70 *lo[pend*
 wa[lking
- 71 S: *[ja ik ging lo[pend*
 [yes I went wa[lking to my girlfriend,
- 72 P: *[waar woont je vriendin?*
 [where does your girlfriend live? xx
- 73 S: *eh ze woont eh ,*
 eh she lives eh,
- 74 *bij diamant?*
 near diamant?

75 P: *okee*
okay.

76 P: xx xx=

In line 68 the officer explains that she wants to know how to visualize the route. The suggested starting location, the suspect's house at Mijehof, is not confirmed by the suspect. Only after the officer repeats the suspect's words that he went by foot to his girlfriend, does the suspect confirm. This example demonstrates that the officer specifically solicits names of locations. She names the location of S's house (line 65) and specifically asks for the name of the location of his girlfriend's house (line 72). The solicitation for such precise facts is similar to what Jönsson & Linell (1991) found in Swedish police interrogations that are transformed to text. Only when P has received the additional information does she begin typing. At the end of this clarification section, P shifts frames with *okee* in line 75. Hereafter she begins to write her recycled version of the suspect's story. In order to put this recycled version in the computer she begins combining the activities of typing and further questioning. The story that was initially told to be spoken is now recycled to become a story told to be written.

However, while typing, it appears that the starting location, which was not confirmed by S, is not clear yet. While the officer is typing up the recontextualized story solicitation question, the suspect overlaps her typing (line 77). Here we see that the 'location' topic is continued by S. He volunteers the location of his friends (*die andere jongens waren bij rijswijk station* or 'the other guys were at rijswijk station') in overlap with the officer's typing activity. This is not oriented to by the officer (and also does not appear in the final police record). The officer does not provide the second pair part but halts her typing and formulates her question again; she still seeks the starting location from where S set off (line 80).

EXAMPLE 11 (TCint08min19)

77 S: =en hiem die andere jongens waren bij [rijswijk
[(station)].
=and thim the other guys were at [rijswijk
[(station)].

78 [xx] xx U vraagt mij wat er
You ask me what⁹

79 xxxxx

9 It may not seem likely that the officer cuts off her sentence at this point. However, after careful listening to the talk and typing sounds and after reconstructing various scenarios, this does seem to be the most plausible scenario. As already noted in chapter 2, I cannot reconstruct exactly what was typed when without video or keyboard logging software.

- 80 P: *okay en je liep vanaf je huis?*
okay and you walked from your home?
- 81 S: *nee ik liep nie ja ik ik WAS, (.)*
no I didn't walk yeah I I WAS, (.)
- 82 *ik had al afspraak met haar gemaakt maar ik ging van-*
I had already made an appointment with her but I went from-
- 83 *voor je huis ging zeg maar naar (.),*
in front of you house kind of to (.),
- 84 *aan (de vriend) van me toe,*
a (the friend) of mine,
- 85 *dus ik was gewoon iets was gewoon buiten zeg maar.*
so I was just something was just outside like.
- 86 *d d afspraak was b bij haar om haar, (.)*
th th appointment was at her place (.) to pick her up, (.)
- 87 *tien uur op te halen. (.)*
at ten o'clock. (.)
- 88 *ja ik moest haar tien uur van der huis ophalen,*
yeah I had to pick her up at her house at ten o'clock,
- 89 *dus vanaf vanaf [paardenhoef liep ik richting haar huis,*
so from from [paardenhoef I walked in the direction of her house,
- 90 P: *[eh-*
[eh-
- 91 *vanaf paardenhoef.*
from paardenhoef.
- 92 S: *ja.*
yeah.
- 93 P: *en waar in paardenhoef?*
and where in paardenhoef?
- gisterenavond
gebeurd is. Ik liep
gisternavond vanaf
Witteveen richting
het huis van mijn
vriendin, zij woont
op Diamant.*

94	S: <i>witteveen.</i> <i>witteveen.</i>	happened last night. Last nright, I walked from Witteveen in the direction of my girlfriend's house, she lives at Diamant.
95	P: <i>okay.</i> <i>okay.</i>	
96	P: ((types 22 sec))	

In line 81 S replies with a negative answer to P's suggestion that he started at his house. In a longer turn at talk (lines 81-89), S elaborates on his route. He brings in new information (that he already made an appointment with his girlfriend), a new character (his friend), and a new location (Paardenhof). Finally, in line 89 does S provide the answer to the question P posed in line 64 and in line 80. 'Paardenhof', however, is the name of an area that P wants specified (line 93) before beginning to type. When S has given the specific street name, P treats this as recordable. She first finishes off the recontextualisation phrase (Komter, forthcoming): *U vraagt mij wat er gebeurd is* ('You ask me what has happened?') and then begins typing up what she considers to be the beginning of the story: *Ik liep gisteravond* ('Last night I walked').

When the officer finishes typing, she reads the recorded answer out loud (lines 97-98):

EXAMPLE 12 (TCint08min20)

97	P: °okay° <i>dus ik liep gisteravond vanaf witteveen</i> <i>richting me h-</i> °okay° <i>so last night I walked from Witteveen in</i> <i>the direction of my h-</i>	
98	<i>het huis van mn vriendin en zij woont op Diamant.</i> <i>my girlfriend's house and she lives at Diamant.</i>	
99	x[xxxxxxx]	
100	S: [<i>ja.</i> [<i>yes.</i>	
101	P: xx[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	<i>Ik zou haar om</i> I was goin to
102	P: [<i>ik zou haar om</i>] <i>eh tien uur af op ko</i> [<i>men</i> <i>ha: len,</i> [<i>I was going to</i>] <i>eh at ten o clock pick</i> [<i>her up,</i>	
103	S: [<i>op</i> <i>komuh halen,</i> <i>her up,</i>	[<i>pick</i>

- 104 P: *omdat u::h we zouden gaan poolen.*
because u::h we were going to play pool.
- 105 S: *ja* *22:00 ophalen*
yeah. *omdat wij zouden*
gaan poolen.
- 106 P: ((types 10 sec)) **at 22:00 pick**
- 107 P: *okee. X* **her up because**
okay. X **we were going to**
play pool.¹⁰

The extract begins with the discourse marker ‘okay’ that announces the shift in activity (Beach, 1995) from typing back to talk. This is followed by a spoken version of the typed words in lines 97-98 (cf. ‘*working aloud*’, Houtkoop et al., 2005), using the first person that she also used when writing up the record. S confirms this part of his read-out-loud statement (line 100) while the officer continues typing (line 99 and 101). The information that she is typing up now (line 101) has already been discussed earlier (see example 11). Summary phrases of previous talk as the one given here are also referred to as formulations (Heritage & Watson, 1979). While she is typing, she is reading out loud *ik zou haar om*. S fills in the end of that sentence (line 103) in overlap with P. This shows that they are not only reconstructing the story together (cf. Lerner’s co-construction of a story, 2002), but they are also preparing the text together. In line 104 the officer adds the reason for picking up his girlfriend, something they also discussed earlier in the interrogation. After a confirmation by S, P finishes her typing and marks the end of this question with an ‘okay’ and a loud, single keystroke (line 107).

In this example, the officer and suspect work on the written text together. Even though the officer is deconstructing S’s original story by asking very specific additional questions that create a chronological and logical story according to P, we also see how S collaborates constructing the record through confirming the read-out-loud text and collaboratively constructing formulations. The suspect and officer collaboratively construct the story as it is told and on paper. The various sequential positions (before, during and after typing) in which such formulations take place in relation to typing and how they aid the transformation from talk to text are introduced in chapter 5 and are thoroughly examined in Sliedrecht & van Charldorp (2011).

10 The translation is somewhat awkward here in order to keep the structure of the Dutch sentence intact. Since ‘picking her up’, the final phrase in the Dutch sentence was overlapped earlier in this fragment, I have left this phrase at the end of the English sentence as well. This meant that ‘at ten o’clock was moved to the front.

Written story

Here I will look at how Basil's "free" story has been written up (this example was already introduced in the introduction). On paper, the story reads as follows:

EXAMPLE 13 (PR-int08)

U vraagt mij wat er gisterenavond gebeurd is.

Ik liep gisterenavond vanaf Witteveen richting het huis van mijn vriendin, zij woont op Diamant. Ik zou haar om 22:00 ophalen omdat wij zouden gaan poolen. Ik liep daar alleen.

Vlakbij het OSC zag ik een groep van ongeveer zeven jongens staan die ik ken. Ik ken de jongens van de straat, een van hen heet Zachary. Ik noem hem Zigi. Er stonden ook een paar brommers.

Ik vroeg aan Zigi of ik zijn brommer even mocht lenen om mijn vriendin op te halen. Ik wilde haar naar het poolcentrum in Papendrecht brengen. Zigi zei dat het goed was maar dat ik hem wel snel terug moest brengen.

You ask me what happened last night.

Last night I walked from Witteveen in the direction of my girlfriend's house, she lives at Diamant. I was going to pick her up at 22.00 because we were going to play pool. I was walking there alone.

Near the OSC I saw a group of about seven guys whom I know. I know the guys from the street, one of them is called Zachary. I call him Zigi. There were also a couple of mopeds.

I asked Zigi if I could borrow his moped for a minute to pick up my girlfriend. I wanted to bring her to the pool centre in Papendrecht. Zigi said that it was fine but that I did have to bring it back quickly.

If we compare the story that the suspect told the officer (example 9), which was the response to the officer's first story elicitation, we see some important differences. First of all, as a reader, we assume that this story was a volunteered story that answers the question 'what happened last night?' The absence of further questions or recontextualisation phrases (Komter, forthcoming), suggests that no further questions were asked. Although it appears from the police record that phrases such as 'I was walking there alone' were volunteered by the suspect, this was not said

by the suspect in his spoken story. This is an answer to a specific question asked by the officer during the further questioning phase (not shown in the examples in this chapter). In the second paragraph, which is still a reply to the question ‘you ask me what happened last night’, it still looks as if the suspect volunteered all the information. However, the location (“near the OSC”), the number of guys (“seven”), the name and nickname of one of the guys (“one of them is called Zachary” and “I call him Zigi”), and the additional information (“there were also a couple of mopeds”) were not said by the suspect during his spoken story. These are all answers to further questions that the officer asked once she was typing up the story. Even though it looks as if the suspect volunteered this information according to the initial ‘what happened’ question, it was the officer who elicited these particular answers.

Secondly, the elicitation question *vertel* (see example 4) is rephrased as a recontextualisation phrase (Komter, forthcoming). This is not the actual question that the officer asked. It is not how S reformulated the elicitation question either: ‘how the story went like, why I’ve now been arrested?’ In the record the recontextualised question presupposes that *something* happened (also see Kidwell, 2009) which is then immediately followed by a story told from the perspective of the suspect. However, the suspect began telling the story that led to his arrest. The suspect told a story that answered: ‘why I’ve now been arrested’ rather than ‘what happened?’ (see example 4). This is not clear from the recontextualisation phrase in the police record.

Thirdly, instead of beginning the story the way the suspect told the story (going to play pool), the officer begins with the activity of walking from location A in the direction of location B. As we saw in examples 10 and 11, the starting location was asked about in several different ways. The officer, who in example 10 told the suspect that she wanted to visualize the route (*hoe moet ik het zien* or ‘how should I see this’), has written up a coherent version of the suspect’s route: ‘last night I walked from Witteveen in the direction of my girlfriend’s house, she lives at Diamant.’ Within this first sentence, the characters, the time and the location are laid out. The time is then further specified in the next sentence “22.00” (also common in British police interrogations as shown by Rock’s analysis of specifying time in police records, 2001). Only hereafter the reason for picking up his girlfriend is given: because we were going to play pool. By moving the activity of walking in the initial position of the written story, the story has a different emphasis than the spoken version in which going to play pool was the initial utterance. By beginning a story with “I was going to play pool”, it suggests that the suspect was planning on doing a very ordinary activity and that something happened on the way. Going to play pool was the “most reportable event.” By beginning a story with “Last night I walked from A to B”, the construction of the past of the phrase BE GOING TO has disappeared, as has the “most reportable event.”

Fourthly, in the third paragraph we see a more precise transcription of the suspect's spoken story. Although the name of the friend ("Zigi") was not specified in the suspect's spoken story, the rest of the information is consistent with the spoken story. The officer has added the causal relationship between picking up his girlfriend with a moped in order to bring her to the pool centre and she has removed the direct speech that the suspect used when re-enacting what his friend said about the moped. Recall that in example 6 where I analyzed this direct speech, I wrote that the use of direct speech of another character adds to the suspect's 'doing being innocent.'

In short, we see that the written document includes specific details about location, time, the names and nicknames of characters. Furthermore, the order of the story is changed based on the further questioning that took place after the suspect gave his "free story". Rather than beginning the story with "I was going to do an activity", the written story begins with "I walked from A to B." Through this construction and through the use of indirect reported speech rather than direct reported speech, the document no longer deploys the 'doing being innocent' resources that the suspect deployed in his talk. Furthermore, by reading the document the impression is given that the suspect volunteered this entire story himself in response to 'what happened last night?', whereas this story came to be constructed through further questioning by the police officer. In this further questioning phase we saw that through the use of formulations and reading out loud what the officer had written up on the screen, this story was partially co-constructed. These are therefore not solely the suspect's words or the officer's words, but this is a combination of the suspect's and officer's words, ordered according to how the officer is writing up a logical and coherent story for her as a writer and reader.

4.3.2. "Supervised" story & typing and the written story

Not all officers allow for a longer turn at talk after eliciting the 'what happened' question. In this section I will take a look at stories that are almost immediately interrupted by the police officer. Suspects do not have a chance to tell a "free" story the way we saw in the previous section. Rather, officers supervise the suspect's talk with typing, talking or both. I will demonstrate how officers supervise the stories and what story then gets written up in the computer. Here, I will use interrogation 3 to show how this happens. In this interrogation, Byron, a minor, has been arrested together with two of his friends for threatening a victim with a knife in a garage and stealing his iPod.

“Supervised” story & typing

In this first example we see that the suspect’s story is soon interrupted. This is a continuation of example 5 and partially overlaps with example 8.

EXAMPLE 14 (TCint03min24).

- 15 S: *was ik in die box.*
 I was in that garage.
- 16 (1)
- 17 *en daar gewoon beetje °gaan° zitten chillen,*
 and was just sitting there °a bit° chillin,’
- 18 P: *hmnn mnn.*
 hmnn mnn.
- 19 S: *op een gegeven moment was die sleutel stuk gaan,*
 at a certain moment that key was broken,
- 20 *in et slot.*
 in tha lock.
- 21 P: s-
- 22 *heel even,*
 just a minute,
- 23 *want je me- mis e°v°en stukje,*
 because you me- missing a °li°ttle piece,
- 24 *ga jou een beetje bijsturen hoor,*
 going to steer you a bit allright,
- 25 .hh (1)
- 26 S: °mnn°
 °mnn°

As already discussed in example 8, the suspect begins telling his story by explicitly using several ordinariness markers. When S tells the officer that the key was broken in the lock, right after telling him they were ‘just sitting there a bit chillin’, the officer interrupts the story. S is, according to P, ‘missing a little piece’ of the story and P searches for the complete story. According to Labov & Waletzky’s narrative analysis terms, S went straight from the orientation (sitting in the garage) to the resolution (key was broken). The complicating

action that led to the key being broken has been left out. The officer not only interrupts the suspect's story but also suggests that he is going to 'steer' him 'a bit'.

The officer asks the suspect to tell the story again from the beginning – at least, what the officer believes to be the beginning of the story:

EXAMPLE 15 (TCint03min25)

- 33 P: *i- ik wil vanaf het begin horen,*
I- I want to hear from the beginning,
- 34 *jje lo:pen,*
yyou ((singular)) wa:lking,
- 35 *of jullie zijn eh in de straat,*
or you ((plural)) are eh in the street,
- 36 *b:ij dingen,*
a:t what's his name,
- 37 *jullie zien,*
you ((plural)) see,
- 38 *mervellino.*
mervellino.
- 39 S: *ja,*
yes,
- 40 P: *laten we daarmee beginnen,*
let's begin there,
- 41 S: *ja,*
yes,

The officer very explicitly co-constructs the suspect's story by providing the characters (*jullie* or 'you' plural), location (*in de straat* or 'in the street') and the first part of the complicating action (they see Mervellino). The officer stresses the last word in utterances 33, 35 and 37, adding emphasis to these facts that have already been established. The suspect confirms this new story beginning after which the officer proposes *laten we daarmee beginnen* ('let's begin there'), where 'us', rather than 'you' also explicitly suggests co-construction.

In example 16 we see that the suspect then begins telling a new version of the story. He continues where the officer left off: seeing the victim, Mervellino, on the street (as we just saw in example 15). Although the officer does provide one continuer in line 39, he soon again interrupts the suspect (lines 47-48):

EXAMPLE 16 (TCint03min25)

- 41 S: *ja,*
yes,
- 42 *dus we riepen hem zo naar ons toe,*
so we called him towards us,
- 43 P: *hmnn ↓mnn.*
hmnn ↓mnn.
- 44 S: *dus gingen we een beetje pra:tuh,*
o we were ta:lkin' a bit uh,
- 45 *praten praten praten.*
talking talking talking.
- 46 *uiteindelijk zei een van* [()
in the end one of them said like [()
- 47 P: [okee.
[okay.
- 48 *waarover gingen jullie praten?*
what about were you ((plural)) talking?
- 49 S: *waarie vandaan kwam,*
where he came from,
- 50 *hij kwam van z'n sstage ofzo:,*
he came from his internship or somethi:ng,
- 51 P: °prima°.
°fine°.
- 52 S: *(offuh)*
(or uh)
- 53 P: *en dan valt iets op. (2)*
and then you notice ↑something. (2)
- 54 S: *ja.*
yes.
- 55 *hij had koptelefoon.*
he had headphones.

- 56 P: *goed zo.*
good job.
- 57 S: *hij had zo'n (.) raar (oog)*
he/it had a (.) strange (eye)
- 58 P: *ja.*
yes.

The interruption occurs in the middle of S's utterance in line 46. *Okee* ('okay') in line 47 marks agreement with the story thus far, but the officer continues with a specific question about the talk. The suspect's repetition of *praten* ('talking') suggests they talked a lot but does not specify what they talked about. Using *uiteindelijk* ('in the end') in his next utterance (line 46) suggests that something happened in between. This is where the interruption occurs where the officer seeks completeness by specifically asking what they talked about.

Throughout the suspect's story, the officer asks additional questions, soliciting further information about the complicating action, as can be seen in 47-48 and in line 53. When the suspect answers, he receives third turn acknowledgements such as *prima* ('fine') (line 51), *goed zo* ('well done') (line 56) and *ja* ('yes') (line 58) that tell him that he is telling the "correct" version of the story. Whereas the open solicitation question suggested that S had the knowledge to tell the story, these acknowledgements suggest that the officer already has this knowledge. By seeking a "complete" and "correct" story, the officer demonstrates that he already knows what the complete version of the story is¹¹ and that the purpose of eliciting the story in this institutional interaction is not to hear something new, but to check if the story complies with other versions of the story that P has heard before. Although this suspect has never told the story to this officer before, the officer has already read the victim report and has interrogated one of the other suspects in this case.

In the story that follows (not shown here), the suspect attributes the activities to the other two characters who are involved in the incident: Gavon and Manilo. According to the suspect it was one of his two friends who asked the victim to come into the garage, it was one of his two friends who dragged the victim into the garage, it was both of his friends who were busy "the whole time" trying to get him in and pushing him, and it was both of his friends who wanted to buy marijuana at the coffeshop. This story then is filled with activities that are done by others. The

11 This type of interaction can be compared to question and answer interaction in a classroom between a teacher and students. In this setting the teacher (generally) knows the answer but still asks the question and responds with an evaluation rather than an acknowledgement (for example, see Mehan, 1979).

suspect himself is merely involved in fixing the lock, walking to the coffeeshop and being arrested.

The suspect is rather vague in his description of what exactly happened. Not only does he not remember who said what or whom of his two friends pulled the victim, he also leaves out the most violent part of the story (“they were busy busy the whole time with getting him inside, and pushin’, blah blah blah blah’ at last Mervellino left”). Such vague references to past events are similar to what Jönsson & Linell (1991) found in the Swedish police interrogations.

Typical of a lot of story endings amongst minors in my materials is that the suspect and his two friends are “suddenly” arrested (also see section 4.2.1). This suspect also explains that while they were walking in the direction of the coffeeshop they were stopped by the police. The suspect does not provide an evaluation (at the end of the interrogation an evaluation is elicited by the interrogating officer), but rather returns to the present: “then we were in Ijburg” – referring to the current police cell complex where he is being held in custody. This is what Labov & Waletzky (1967) refer to as the coda, where the narrative returns back to the present moment.

After Byron finished his story, the officer asks more specific questions about a knife. The officer then asks why they pulled the victim into the garage, after which S answers that his friends wanted something of the victim. This is new information for the officer, who asks him to tell the story again. The new story is continuously interrupted again; or rather, supervised by P. When S admits that they pulled the victim into the garage with the *intention* of stealing the iPod, P begins typing. By doing this, the officer demonstrates that the story is now ready to be typed up.

In the next example (17) we see how P begins the typing phase. He returns to the very beginning of the story after having typed up the first part of the recontextualisation phrase answer (‘I state to you that I...’).

EXAMPLE 17 (TCint03min29)

214	P: †ohkee. †okay.	
215	((clicks with pen)) ((puts pen down))	
216	((clears throat)) (6)	
217	x x (2) x x x x x x x x x x	<i>Ik verklaar U,</i>
218	x x x x x x x x x x	<i>dat ik</i>
219	x X x x x (1)	
220	x xxxxxxx Xxx	I state to you
221	xxxxxx[xxxxxxxxxxxxx]	((formal)), that I

been written up on the screen. His question, ‘what time was it about?’ is a logical question to ask next when writing up a proper story beginning that answers the recontextualized question ‘what do you want to state about this?’ The proper story orientation begins with setting up the time, location and participants. The suspect does not provide an adequate response in line 224. The officer first finishes off his editing keystrokes and then asks for an approximation of the time, demonstrating that the suspect’s previous answer is not recordable. The suspect hesitates which is shown by the two second pause and the stretched ‘yes’ in lines 229 and 230. The officer does treat this answer as recordable and begins typing up the answer. In his story beginning, the officer has now constructed an orientation that includes the participants, and the time. The next question concerns the location (line 235).

Written story

In this interrogation we followed Byron’s story, which was soon interrupted by the officer after he was asked to tell what happened. The officer steered S in a particular direction, not only by interrupting the suspect’s initial story, but also by asking further questions, assessing the suspect’s answers and asking questions based on what was written on the screen. Below is the text of the case-related phase of the interrogation (also see chapter 3):

EXAMPLE 18 (PR-int3):

Wij werden aangehouden omdat wij ervan verdacht werden ons schuldig te hebben gemaakt aan straatroof.

U vraagt mij wat ik hierover wil verklaren.

Ik verklaar U, dat ik gisteren middag samen met Gavon en Manilo in de straat van Manilo was. Terwijl wij op straat waren, zagen wij Mervellino. Ik weet niet wie Mervellino geroepen heeft. Ik ben het in ieder geval niet geweest. Ik zag dat Mervellino naar ons toe kwam. Toen Mervellino bij ons was, zag ik, dat hij een koptelefoon van een om zijn hals had. We spraken met Mervellino en vroegen waar hij vandaan kwam. Ik hoorde dat Mervellino zei, dat hij van stage kwam en naar huis ging. Ik weet niet meer hoe het gesprek verder verlopen is, maar opeens stonden wij in box gang bij de woning van Manilo waren. Mervellino stond ook in de boxgang. Toen Mervellino weg wilde, hebben wij die toegangsdeur dicht gehouden. Dit om te voorkomen, dat Mervellino weg kon gaan. De rede om Mervellino te weerhouden om uit die box te komen, was, omdat zij die Ipod van Mervellino wilden stelen. Met zij bedoel Gavon en Manilo. Dit is niet gelukt, omdat Mervellino kans zag om uit de box te vluchten.

U vraagt mij, welke handeling ik verricht heb.

Ik verklaar U, dat ik de boxdeur heb dicht gehouden en heb ook geholpen om Mervellino in de box te trekken.

U vraagt mij, of er een mes gebruikt is.

Ik verklaar U, dat er geen mes gebruikt is. Althans niet dat ik het weet.

U vraagt mij, of ik een mes gezien.

Ik verklaar U, dat ik pas toen wij het slot van de boxdeur van Manilo gingen repareren, ik een mes gezien heb. Ik weet niet precies wie dat mes in zijn bezit had. Ik denk Manilo.

Ik niet gezien dat Mervellino bedreigd is met een mes.

Ik vind het kut dat ik nu moet zitten. Ik zeg niet dat ik niet schuldig ben. Ik ben gebleven, omdat het mijn vrienden zijn. Ik heb ze ook geholpen."

We were arrested because we were suspected of being guilty of street robbery.

You ask me what I want to declare about this.

I state to you, that I yesterday afternoon together with Gavon and Manilo was in Manilo's street. While we were on the street, we saw Mervellino. I don't know who called Mervellino. In any case, it wasn't me. I saw that Mervellino came towards us. When Mervellino came to us, I saw, that he had a headset of a around his neck. We spoke with Mervellino and asked him where he came from. I heard that Mervellino said, that he came from his internship and was going home. I don't remember how the conversation continued, but all of a sudden we were in the garage hall way at the house of Manilo When Mervellino wanted to leave, we held the access door closed. This to prevent that Mervellino could leave. The reason to prevent Mervellino from coming out of the box, was, because they wanted to steal Mervellino's ipod. With them mean gavon and manilo. This didn't succeed, because Mervellino saw a chance to escape from the garage.

You ask me, which deed I performed.

I state to you, that I kept the garage door closed and I also helped pull Mervellino into the garage.

You ask me, if a knife was used.

I state to you that no knife was used. At least, not that I know.

You ask me if I saw a knife.

I state to you, that I only saw a knife when we went to fix the lock of Manilo's garage door. I'm not exactly sure who was in possession of that knife. I think Manilo.

I not see that Mervellino was threatened with a knife.

I think it sucks that I have to go to jail. I'm not saying that I'm not guilty. I stayed because they are my friends. I also helped them."

Recall that when the officer elicited the story, the suspect began his story by telling the officer that he was in the garage with his friends where he was 'just sitting a bit chilling' (example 8). The officer then elicited and suggested a new beginning (example 14 and 15) starting from being on the street where they saw the victim walking. It is precisely this beginning that is also the beginning of the written story. Just like we saw with the "free" story, the officer has his own beginning in mind. What is important in this interrogation is whether or not the suspects saw that the victim had an iPod on him. If this was the case, the suspects can be charged with premeditated robbery and/or assault. Whether or not the suspect saw that the victim had an iPod (or headphones) would have occurred before the victim was in the garage. The officer's version of the story therefore needs to begin before the participants arrived in the garage.

The ordinary nature of the suspect's original story beginning has been removed through the use of the recontextualisation phrase. The written version begins with the very formal statement *ik verklaar U*, which the suspect never uttered. Rather, the suspect reformulated the 'what do you have to state about this' question into *wat er is gebeurd?* ('what has happened?') (see example 5). By using the recontextualisation phrase *U vraagt mij wat ik hierover wil verklaren* ('You ask me what I want to state about this') and the formal beginning *Ik verklaar U dat* ('I state to you that'), the statement becomes a formal piece of writing in which it appears as if the suspect volunteers an official *verklaring*. However, what really happened is that the suspect started telling a story about what happened, but was immediately interrupted by the police officer who steered him into a certain storytelling direction.

In the first paragraph we see a proper story orientation, solicited by the officer. We also see that the vague referents that the suspect originally used have been specified. Furthermore, the suspect himself plays a major role in his *verklaring*. Whereas in his spoken story he left himself mainly out of the story and spoke about his two friends who mainly performed the activities, in the written version this is no longer the case. Through further questioning (not shown in this chapter), the officer focused on who performed what activity. Questions such as: Who called the victim to come over, who saw if he had an iPod or headphones with him, who held the door closed and who wanted to steal the iPod are questions that the officer

specifically asked throughout the interrogation. The answers to these questions have been written up in this first person monologue.

A written addition is that the officer clearly separates action (holding the door closed) and intention (to prevent him to leave). Jönsson & Linell also found this in their written record, which they describe as "an over-determined description of events and actions in writing" which may be because the document will later need to be understood by other readers who were not present during the interrogation (Jönsson & Linell, 1991). Edwards (2008:182) also writes about the context of police interrogations where there is a "pervasive concern with the intentionality of reported actions." Not only the questioning, as Edwards also demonstrates, is oriented to acts and intent, but particularly the writing, as I have just shown, further specifies action and intentionality.

In this example, the actions are further specified in the three recontextualisation phrases in the written record (which deed I performed, if a knife was used, and if I saw a knife). These phrases with their short answers, as opposed to the earlier monologue response, give the reader some insight into what types of questions the officer asked throughout the interrogation.

4.3.3 Imposed story and the written story

In this section I will use interrogation 10 to demonstrate that not all suspects provide elaborate stories about the events that occurred. This suspect, Sunny, has been arrested for various crimes. This particular interrogation is about stealing € 5,- from someone else's pocket. The suspect does not want to tell a story about what happened. This leads to the officer telling how the event took place which is minimally confirmed by the suspect. It is the officer's story that then appears in the police record.

Imposed story

In this example we see how the officer elicits a story and how the suspect refuses to tell the story. Previous to this interaction, the officer has mentioned the name of the victim and that the case concerns five euros. After P elicits the story in lines 2-4 the suspect replies 'no'. The officer then summarizes the story according to the victim report. When he asks, 'right?' in line 44 the suspect replies with 'yes.'

EXAMPLE 19 (TCint10min01)

- 1 P1: *ohkee?* (1)
ohkay? (1)
- 2 *kun je zelf vertellen wat er gebeurd is,*
can you tell yourself what has happened,
- 3 *die a- die middag,*
that n- that evening,
- 4 *die avond,*
that evening,
- 5 S: *nee.*
no.
- 6 P1: *nee?*
no?
- 7 (3)
- 8 P2: *((typt gedurende interactie))*
((types throughout interaction))
- 9 P1: *volgens john eh was jij met eh,* (1)
according to john eh you were with eh, (1)
- 10 *nog een aantal jongens,*
a few other guys,
- 11 *waaronder ook marvinio,*
also including marvinio,
- 12 (1)
- 13 *winkelcentrum zwaan\hof.*
shopping centre zwaan\hof.
- 14 *in diemenzuid.*
in diemenzuid.
- 15 (2)
- 16 *daareh daar was een jongen,* (1)
there eh was a boy, (1)
- U vertelt mij dat u mij wenst te horen over een beroving op 6 februari van 5 euro op Zwanenhof in Diemen-Zuid. Da aangever heet John. U vraagt mij of ik daar over wat wil vertellen.
Nee dat wil ik niet.*
- You tell me that you wish to interrogate me about a robbery of 5 euros on February 6th in Zwanenhof in Diemen-Zuid. The victim is called John. You ask me if I want to tell something about that.
No I don't want to.**

17 *die werd eerst door (.) marvinio aangesproken,*
 who was first talked to by (.) marvinio,

18 (2)

19 *en e:h, (1)*
 and e:h (1)

20 *dan eh, (1)*
 then eh, (1)

21 *komen ze op een gegeven moment buiten,*
 at a certain moment they come outside,

22 *dan worden ze ingesloten.*
 then they are closed in.

23 *<marvinio> †spreekt die jongen †aan, (1)*
 <marvinio> †talks to the boy, (1)

24 *en eeh,*
 and eeh,

25 *dan eh,*
 then eh,

26 *dan wil jij van hem eh,*
 then you want from him eh,

27 *of (.) je †wil,*
 or (.) you †want,

28 *je gaat (.) met je hand in zijn jaszak.*
 you go (.) with your hand in his jacket
 pocket.

29 (1)

30 *eeh,*
 eeh,

31 *en dan, (0.5)*
 and then, (0.5)

32 *wordt er vijf euro uitgehaald,*
 five euros is taken out,

*U leest mij uit de aangifte
 voor de dat aangever wordt
 ingesloten door een groep,
 dat ik met zijn hand in zijn
 zak heb gezeten.*

33 *en zijn sleutels.*
 and his keys.

- 34 (2)
- 35 P2: ((*typt gedurende de afgelopen interactie*))
((types throughout past interaction))
- 36 P1: *mar,vinio,*
mar,vinio,
- 37 *en dat heeft ie net nog even bevestigd,*
and he has just confirmed that,
- 38 *die heb toen tegen jou (.) gezegd van,*
he told you at that time (.) like,
- 39 >*geef het geld terug*<
>give the money back<
- 40 *want het is niet leuk,*
because it is not fun,
- 41 *dat is niet gebeurd.*
that didn't happen.
- 42 *toen is die vader van die jongen,*
then the father of the boy,
- 43 *bij jou aan de deur geweest.*
came to your door.
- 44 *en heb je hem die vijf euro teruggegeven. (1)*
and you gave him the five euro back. (1)
- 45 *klopt he?*
that's right eh?
- 46 S: (°ja°)
(°yes°)
- 47 P2: ((*typt gedurende afgelopen interactie*))
((types during past interaction))
- You read to me from the victim report that the victim is surrounded by a group, that I was in his pocket with his hand.**
- Daar 5 euro uit heb gehaald en dat zijn vader een dag later het geld heeft opgehaald. Dat klopt.*
- Took five euros out and that his father collected the money a day later. That's right.**

After S provides a negative answer to the story elicitation in line 5, P repeats the rejection with questioning intonation and a distinctly long pause. P now has to provide a different next action. In this case, P begins summarizing the case, or, in other words, the officer begins telling the story according to the victim report. The officer's story comprises 30 intonation units in which several facts are read out loud. At the very end, in line 44, P suggests 'that's right eh?', to which the suspect

conforms. Such a yes/no interrogative provides an extremely limited choice for responding, "exploit[ing] the agenda-setting and subsequent conduct constraining potential of initiating a course of action" (Raymond, 2006). Raymond (2003) has also shown that type-conforming responses to yes/no interrogatives are much more common than non-conforming responses. It is ambiguous whether S agrees to all the facts just stated by P or solely to the last fact. The typing officer (P2) treats his answer as a confirmation of all facts as can be seen in the written story.

Written story

In this interrogation, the suspect refuses to answer the elicitation question about what happened. This results in a story told through the formulations of the officer and the minimal confirming responses of the suspect. Even without the suspect telling an actual story, the officer is still able to create a story on paper. This shows us that writing up a version of the events is one of the main goals of the police record.

EXAMPLE 20 (PR-int10)

U vertelt mij dat u mij wenst te horen over een beroving op 6 februari van 5 euro op Zwanenhof in Diemen-Zuid. Da aangever heet John. U vraagt mij of ik daar over wat wil vertellen.

Nee dat wil ik niet.

U leest mij uit de aangifte voor de dat aangever wordt ingesloten door een groep, dat ik met zijn hand in zijn zak heb gezeten. Daar 5 euro uit heb gehaald en dat zijn vader een dag later het geld heeft opgehaald.

Dat klopt.

You tell me that you wish to interrogate me about a robbery of 5 euros on February 6th in Zwanenhof in Diemen-Zuid. The victim is called John. You ask me if I want to tell something about that.

No I don't want to.

You read to me from the victim report that the victim is closed in by a group, that I was in his pocket with my hand. Took five euros out and that his father collected the money a day later.

That's right.

Even without the suspect telling a story at all, this police record still includes the information that officers often elicit: time, location, characters involved and whether or not the events that the police believe occurred through victim reports are confirmed by the suspect. In the second paragraph we can distinguish four

different actions: 1) the victim is closed in by a group; 2) he (S) was in the victim's pocket with his (my) hand; 3) he (S) took out five euros; and 4) a day later his (S') father collected the money. The *dat klopt* ('that's right') answer is noted on paper as a confirmation to all four actions. As noted in the interaction, the officer has listed these four actions one after the other and the suspect provides a 'yes' response only after the fourth action. Therefore, the written story, or at least the interaction that is portrayed through the recontextualisation phrase and the answer given by the suspect, is somewhat true to the original interaction. Although written from the perspective of the suspect, the text does provide a partial insight into the actions that were done by P and the answer that was given by S. In other words, the original interaction is relatively visible in this written document.

4.3.4 Summary

Although I used one interrogation for each way in which stories are told, it must be noted that there are elements of each type of storytelling in every interrogation. Three distinct styles, however, were observed.

First, we have seen how the officer provides room for a "free" story. Through acknowledgements and continuers, P orients to a longer turn at talk from the suspect. S tells the story in a typical narrative manner with an orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and a coda. Only after S completes does P start asking more specific questions. The answers to these questions, as well as the structure that is established in the further questioning phase, become the basis for the written story.

Secondly, we saw that not all officers provide the suspect with a longer turn at talk. We saw how P supervised S's story by asking to start over and by asking more specific questions in overlap with S's utterances. We saw that this particular reconstructed story was later written up in the record in monologue format as answers to recontextualised questions. Although the recontextualisation phrases give us some insight into what questions were asked that elicited these written answers, many questions have still been left out. Furthermore, the way the story was constructed and steered cannot be seen from looking at the written document.

Thirdly, we saw that when S refuses to tell a story, P tells the story and S may or may not acknowledge. In this case, the story was written up by using recontextualisation phrases. These phrases, written from the perspective of the suspect, tell the suspect's story.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I used the narrative structure terms from Labov & Waletzky (1967) as well as insights from conversation analysis to analyze how stories were elicited and responded to, how stories were told, received and written down and how spoken and written stories were structured. In the process of transforming a spoken story into a written story in the police record format, we have seen several transformations.

Although the written narrative still follows the order of events in time (Labov, 2006), we have also seen that "the most reportable event" (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), or the event that the story revolves around, has been adapted. In the stories told by the suspects we have seen that for the suspects, the most reportable event often revolves around "suddenly" being arrested while they were doing ordinary, innocent things. Such ordinariness is projected through the use of adjectives and adverbs like *gewoon* (just/normally) or *even* (quickly) and by describing very ordinary activities like 'sitting chillin', 'just walking' or putting a dog inside. Suspects reference other actors and quote other actors to make their story more believable. Suspects refer to other people "doing things" like pushing and pulling and make themselves out to be heroes (I gave the helmet to my girlfriend, we fixed the lock). They enact how other people brought them the surprising news of having done something wrong ('at the station they said that the moped was stolen' and 'then my wife called me and said come quickly back home').

We have seen such ordinary story beginnings in the "free" story and in the "supervised" story. Such stories are often a response to the particular framed elicitation question. By introducing the frame 'you say you're not guilty so you better explain why you're here', the 'doing being innocent' response of the suspect is elicited.

In the police interrogation setting, suspects are doing two things with this ordinary telling. First of all, their story, which is elicited in the context of the police interrogation frame, is making their arrest seem to be the most unexpected and reportable event. Secondly, their ordinary stories become a way of 'doing being innocent.' Even the suspect who admits to having committed the crime tells his story in the most innocent way possible (I was drunk, I didn't know what I was doing, I "just" grabbed the bag).

Officers, however, re-create these spoken stories. Through further questioning, interrupting or by telling the story themselves, officers adhere to their own structure and chronology of how they make the events understandable. Officers construct or reconstruct stories where they seek details concerning people involved, time and location: officers make the stories logical and recordable. In the written version of the stories, the ordinariness is not brought to the forefront. The temporal order of the events has been adapted to a coherent story where facts

regarding time, location and direction are included in detail. Overall, the written story is a much more factual, detailed, precise and intentional story on paper constructed according to the officer's perspective. The majority of the elicitation questions and negotiation processes that occur while the officer is typing up the story is not shown in the record. When the elicitation questions are rephrased and recontextualized, they often do not reflect the original question and its implications. Through the analyses in this chapter we have seen that the story in the police record cannot be understood without the context of its production.

By using narrative structure theory ideas from Labov & Waletzky as well as applying a conversation analytic approach, the analyses in this chapter show a unique combination of how stories are constructed through interaction and how stories themselves are structured in spoken and written form. Not only does this analysis show *how* stories change in interaction, but it also demonstrates *what* changes structurally. The use of Labov & Waletzky's terms and ideas has proven helpful in determining how spoken stories are structured, what is considered the most tellable event, and importantly, it has proven helpful in demonstrating that officers search for a different structure while transforming the spoken story into a written version. The combination of using conversation analytic insights and Labov & Waletzky's narrative structure ideas have demonstrated how institutional communication works in practice.

Chapter 5 |

From talk to text: the coordination of talk and typing in police interrogations

Parts of this chapter are published in the articles van Charldorp, T.C. (2011). The coordination of talk and typing in police interrogations. *Crossroads for Language, Interaction and Culture*, 8 (1), 61-92, and in Sliedrecht, K.Y. & van Charldorp, T.C. (2011). Tussen spraak en schrift: de rol van samenvattingen in het politieverhoor. *Tijdschrift voor Taalbeheersing*, 33 (1), 34-55.

INTRODUCTION

The following interaction occurs three minutes into an interrogation. The police officer has just told the suspect for which crime he is being interrogated.

EXAMPLE 1 (TCint04min03)

S: it's actually a good thing that we're talking about it now,
 P: [good.
 S: [so. .hh
 P: not too fast,
 I can type pretty fast,
 S: (.h) ((laughs)) yeah it's f(ine)
 P: except I can't always keep up,
 a moment please.=
 =xx x x X xxxxx x x
 I also make a lot[of mistakes when I type,
 [X
 yeah?=
 =don't pay attention.

In this example the police officer accounts for future difficulties of talking, typing and listening simultaneously by telling the suspect that he can type relatively fast, but he may not always be able to keep up with the talk. This upfront apology attempts to pre-empt possible ways in which typing could become relevant during the remainder of the interrogation. P's announcement not only makes the dual-activity task which P has to perform relevant for the interrogation, it also warns the suspect that future difficulties may arise. This suggests that a special kind of orientation to the dual activities is required from both participants during the interrogation; an orientation that asks the officer to simultaneously interrogate and type up the record, and the suspect to answer questions while keeping in mind that the officer may take some time to type the answers.

Dual activities, in this setting but also in general, often require a main orientation to either one or the other activity (cf. Goffman's main and side involvements, 1963:43). In most cases, we cannot perfectly dual-task for a very long period of time (think of text messaging while listening to a story, or drawing on the white board while answering a student's question), unless the side involvement is an undemanding, subordinate one (think of chewing gum while having a conversation or clicking a pen while listening to the professor). Whatever kind of involvement typing and talking are, the participants' orientation towards these dual activities, specific to the police interrogation setting, is what I want to

explore in this chapter by looking at the interactional construction of the police record via the coordination of talk and typing.

The first aim of this chapter is to explicate how the participants orient to typing during the interrogation. I will demonstrate that typing and talking simultaneously is a specialized skill that is part of this specific institutional setting and that is managed by the police officers in various ways. Suspects orient to the typing by answering 'for the record' and by being silent throughout the typing. As typing does not have a hearable projectable ending (for the suspect) and thus no projected course and duration, suspects are often silent also when the typing ends (also see Komter, 2006b). It is the officer who continues questioning when the typing ends. Although this pre-allocation of turns (Atkinson & Drew, 1979) is somewhat set, the suspect's talk does sometimes overlap with the typing. Officers are able to manage this unproblematically in most cases. A way to combine the activities of talking and typing is through the use of formulations. By summarizing what was just said before the officer starts typing or by summarizing what has been typed up already, the officer makes the typed text "visible" for the suspect.

The second aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how different typing styles are related to contextual factors of the police interrogation. First I will explore how the different phases of the police interrogation play a role in how typing and talking are coordinated. Secondly, I will take a look at a case where there are two officers in which one mainly interrogates and the other types up the record.

The third aim of this chapter is to explicate that typing is not only part of the institutionalized turn-taking system, but that the orientation to the typing activity is consequential for the organization of talk in the police interrogation. For example, we see that when the suspect's talk overlaps with the typing, P sometimes displays a *selective* interest in the talk by halting the typing or continuing the typing. A direct result of this selective interest can be found in the police record where we can see what selection of talk is typed up in the police record. In other words, typing *structures* and *controls* the talk that goes on during the interrogation which in turn influences what is typed up in the record. What may, at first, seem to be a relatively unimportant feature of the interrogation in fact has major implications for the police record and therefore for the future of the suspect.

In this chapter I will begin by giving a brief overview of the relevant literature on typing and other kinds of activities in institutional settings (section 5.1). I then make visible how the participants manage and orient to multiple activities, talking and typing, during the interrogation (section 5.2). I will then unpack the different typing styles based on the phases and on the number of officers present (section 5.3). I then move on to explore how typing structures and controls the talk, and therefore plays a role in what does and what does not end up in the police record (section 5.4).

5.1 Typing and other activities in institutional settings

Heath (1986) discusses the use of medical records and computers in medical examinations. His findings were presented as a postscript to his book where he provides a brief glimpse into his data on doctors, patients and computers. Heath describes a computer making a 'clicking noise' and 'whirring,' suggesting the difference in technology between now and 1986. Beyond sound changes between now and then, this also raises the question of how interaction with computers changes as technology changes over time. However, since 1986, the use of the computer in institutional interaction has received surprisingly limited attention in the literature and especially in studies of police interrogations¹.

One police study that demonstrates how participants orient to the typing is Komter's work (2006b) on police interrogations. She provides a step by step analysis of talking and typing in order to show the 'interconnectedness of the talk, the typing and the text of the [police] record' (2006b:203). She illustrates that generally a police interrogation consists of a question-answer-typing format; however, there may also be periods of extensive simultaneous activity of talking and typing. The typing displays that the prior utterance was 'recordable' (the suspect's answer was appropriate and is 'written up' in the computer) (p. 205) and makes the answer 'permanent' (p. 211). This may encourage defensive activity from the suspect who may overlap typing with talk, if, for example, the suspect wants to elaborate on her answer. This shows that there is tolerance for simultaneous activity in this particular setting (p. 212).

Studies in the doctor-patient setting have shown that patients may attempt to synchronize their talk with the doctor's use of the keyboard (for example, see Greatbatch, Heath & Luff, 1995:205-206). Greatbatch et al. suggest that patients orient to the computer activity in such a way that they coordinate their talk so as not to interrupt the doctor's computer activity. According to the authors, patients use visible aspects of the doctor's use of the computer in order to time their next turn. Observable aspects include hand and other body movements, loud last keystrokes, the movement required to make these keystrokes and gaze. Sometimes, depending on the context, patients wait until the keyboard action has clearly stopped before starting their next turn (rather than latching the typing and talking activities).

Although there are few studies on typing in interaction, there have been numerous conversation analytical studies of other types of activities that are performed during talk within institutional settings, such as pointing and moving a trowel in the dirt while asking questions (Goodwin, 2000), looking at a patient's

1 It must be noted that in many countries (especially those with an Anglo-Saxon law system) the police officers do not use computers. Rather, interrogations are tape or video recorded and later transcribed.

file while talking (Beach & LeBaron, 2002; Frers, 2009) plucking eyebrows while chatting with customers (Toerien & Kitzinger, 2007) and talking on the phone and typing at an emergency center (Whalen, 1995).

A major difference between such activities and typing activity in a police interrogation is that, in the latter, typing and talk are interwoven in and dependent on each other. Whereas the goal of plucking eyebrows can be achieved without talking and the goal of changing topic can be achieved without looking at the record, the police record cannot be created without typing and talking. This is similar to the typing during a medical interview and the filling in of computer forms while talking on the phone during an emergency call. In these settings, the participant's involvement in multiple activities is necessary and the activities are dependent on each other.

Another major difference can be observed between participant's orientation towards multiple activities performed face to face and activities performed while on the phone (Whalen, 1995; also see Raymond & Zimmerman, 2007). Since the caller does not know in what activities the call-taker is involved, he or she cannot know when he or she is interrupting the typing activity going on 'behind the scene' and therefore does not display an orientation to the second activity. What all of these studies do show is that activities need to be coordinated by the participants.

A similarity between these coordinated activities (using a trowel, touching a knee, flipping a medical record, plucking an eyebrow and typing while talking) and the simultaneous typing and talking that takes place in police interrogations and other institutional settings, are that all these activities can be oriented to as an interactional device—the activities are responded to by the interactional partner. For example, a patient may wait until the doctor finishes the typing activity because the patient wants her symptoms to be recorded accurately in the computer system. This not only shows that the doctor is "supposed to" write up information in the computer because the patient orients to it by not talking while the doctor is typing, but it also demonstrates that such an activity at that moment in time is an important one as the participants both prioritize the typing activity.

Another striking similarity is that the material objects (the medical record, the computer, the police record on the computer) are 'owned' by the professional and therefore there is an asymmetry with regard to access to these objects. At the same time, the objects are interactionally used and managed by both parties. In fact, in many types of institutional settings, physical objects play a role in the interaction; the orientation towards these objects can inform us about the particular institutional setting (think of the orientation to the hammer in Heath & Luff's study of auctions (2007) which can serve to transact millions of dollars). In the police interrogation setting, the officer is the only one who has access to the computer, who has knowledge about the text on the screen and who is the author of the document. This partial access to the information (cf. Goodwin's term

“partial opaqueness,” 2000, p. 1508) further defines the asymmetrical setting of the police interrogation.

Drafting such important documents is not only typical to the police interrogation setting. The construction of documents has long been an important feature of institutional or bureaucratic settings (see Zimmerman, 1969; Heath, 1986; Meehan, 1986; Goodwin, 1994). In this particular context of the police interrogation, the document that is produced on the officer’s computer is of great importance to the future of the suspect (also see Rock, 2001; Komter, 2002 and 2006b). In order to demonstrate how the typing activity plays a role in the interrogation and how the participants’ orientation towards the typing activity has an effect on what is typed up in the document we first need to explore the coordination of multiple activities in the police interrogation setting.

5.2 Managing multiple activities during the police interrogation: talking and typing

In this section I will take a closer look at the activities talking and typing so that we can begin to understand how the participants organize and orient themselves to both activities. This investigation will demonstrate that typing and talking are embedded in the institutional interaction. Officers demonstrate specialized skills in managing these two activities and suspects orient to the typing by answering ‘for the typing’ and by being silent while the officer types.

First, I will take a closer look at the general sequential question-answer-typing (QAT) format that is dominant in police interrogations (5.2.1). Following this introduction of basic talking-typing sequences, I will demonstrate the specialized skills necessary in this setting where participants talk and type simultaneously in various ways (5.2.2). Following this illustration, I will demonstrate that through the use of formulations, the police make the typed text visible, or at least hearable, to the suspect (5.2.3). This section ends with a summary.

5.2.1 Basic QAT structure

Komter (2006b) describes the question, answer, typing (QAT) format “to be the most common sequential organization” in the police interrogation and refers to it as “the basic QAT sequence.”

EXAMPLE 2 (TCint08min09)

- 1 P: *heb je schulden?*
do you have debt?
- 2 S: *nee.*
no.
- 3 P: ((types 7 sec))= *Ik heb geen schulden.*
I do not have debt.
- 4 =*en hoe gaat het thuis.*
=and how is it going at home.

This example shows a very clear sequential structure of a yes/no question being asked in line 1, an answer in line 2 and typing in line 3. The question is fairly simple and the short answer is clear. The officer starts typing immediately after S has given his answer. The typing indicates that the answer is recordable (Komter, 2006b) and complete for the time being. In other words, the talk that was just produced is sufficient and will now be registered in the police record.

During the typing, the suspect is silent. The officer asks a new question (line 4) as soon as she finishes typing, suggesting that the previous question-answer pair is closed by typing and a new QAT sequence begins. Although this structure is common, Komter (2006b) adds that the stretches of talk consist minimally of one question-answer exchange, but more often consist of a series of questions and answers before the typing begins.

This example then demonstrates that within this structure talking and typing are separate as well as sequentially arranged activities. It is this QAT structure that appears commonly throughout the interrogations. Questions are asked so that the answers can be typed, and suspects orient to the typing by being silent until the next question is asked.

5.2.2 A specialized skill: talking and typing simultaneously

Although QAT sequences are common in my material, participants also often have no problem doing both activities—talking and typing—simultaneously or in partial overlap with each other. The following four examples demonstrate that the QAT sequence does not always take place sequentially.

Example 3 below shows that the officer's question is not followed by an answer, but by immediate typing by P. This sometimes occurs when P is still typing up something that was said previously, or when P already projects the answer and starts typing up the question or part of the answer before the suspect starts to respond. Since the record is written from a first person perspective, sentences often begin

with “I am...” or “I was...” In the example below, P starts typing immediately after asking a question and S answers while the typing is going on. This demonstrates that S still treats the question as such and answers it within the QA adjacency pair despite the ‘interjecting’ (Raymond & Lerner, forthcoming) typing activity. It furthermore demonstrates P’s syntactic anticipation to S’ response.

EXAMPLE 3 (TCint03min08)

1	P:	.hh[h	
2		[x	
3		hoe oud ben jij?= how old are you?= =Xx xx[xxx	<i>Ik ben</i> I am
4			
5	S:	[veertien. [fourteen.	
6	P:	xx	<i>14 jaar oud.</i> 14 years old.
7		veertien. fourteen.	
8		((continues typing for 6 seconds))	

P is gearing up to start typing and talking (inbreath and single keystroke) in lines 1-2 as a pre-beginning to the sequence to come. After asking the question in the clear in line 3, P immediately starts his typing activity, deviating from the standard QAT structure. The officer is able to syntactically anticipate the sentence that he will write down in the record: “I am...” which he begins typing immediately after posing this question (cf. Lerner’s ‘reference to recognition of the initiating action,’ 2002). The first loud keystroke suggests that the officer hits the enter key or space bar in order to prepare the next section. The suspect takes a little pause before he answers the question; however, the typing sound fills the gap. When S does reply ‘fourteen’ it is simultaneous with the typing that P already started. P demonstrates that he has heard S’s answer by repeating fourteen in line 7. This example again demonstrates that questions are asked so that answers can be typed; in fact, the typing begins immediately as the beginning of the answer is projectable within this specific context.

In this next example (4), the typing is coming to an end. After a stretch of editing sounds and continuous typing, P asks a new question: ‘what time was it about?’ in line 3. This occurs simultaneously with the last strain of typing in line 2.

EXAMPLE 4 (TCint03min29)

1 P: x xxxxxxx Xxx *Ik verklaar U, dat ik*
 2 *I declare to you, that I*
 xxxxxx [xxxxxxxxxxxxx]
 3 *[hoe laat was het ongeveer?]*
[what time was it about?]
 4
 x (1)

The unproblematic management of typing the last few words within a larger string of text and starting a new question at the same time displays an institutionalized, learned manner of dealing with the typical activities going on during the police interrogation².

In the next example (5) the typing is coming to an end. P asks his next question, and while asking the question he hits one last, loud keystroke in line 4. The loud X could be a last spacebar or enter key, which is in overlap with the talk.

EXAMPLE 5 (TCint03min14)

1 P: X (1) x x xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx x
 2 x x x x xxx=
 3 =*praat je wel eens [met je vader hierover?*
 =do you ever talk [with your dad bout this?
 4 [X
 5 (2)

Single keystrokes occurring simultaneously with talk (lines 3-4) are extremely common in my materials. Single keystrokes often mean that the officer hits the enter key or the spacebar in order to prepare the text for the next sentence or paragraph (also observed during fieldwork). This shows that P easily manages both activities of talking to the suspect and working on the layout of the text on the computer.

In the following example (6) P occupies the floor by both typing and talking (cf. Komter's "typing aloud," 2006b, p. 208). P is saying out loud exactly the same words as the words he is typing up on the screen and he is able to keep up this "matched" activity for quite some time. Not only his bodily involvement with the computer demonstrates that he is working on the police record, but his voice also

2 Routinized and experienced police officers may display more advanced skills than new or young police officers. Since I do not have exact information about the officers' experience or time with the police, I cannot say this with certainty.

audibly demonstrates his work in progress. This prevents the suspect from adding or elaborating on information while the officer is engaged in the typing activity (also see Whalen, 1995), but provides a unique opportunity for the suspect to hear what is currently being typed in his police record.

EXAMPLE 6 (TCint03min17)

```

1   P: eeh (3)
      uuuh (3)

2   x x[xxx] X [xxx ]x x[xxxxx xxxx xxxxx ] Ik wil gaan werken
      I want to work

3   [ :ik ] (.) [wil] (.) [ga:an (.) (werken e:n) ]
      [I: ] (.) [want](.) [to: (.) (work a:nd) ]

4   (0.5)
5   .hh

6   xxx[xxxxx xxx xxxxxxxx ]
      en mijn eigen geld verdienen.
      and earn my own money. ((literal translation: and my own money earn))

7   [ehm ei::gen geld] ((voorlees toon))
      [ehm o::wn money ] ((reading intonation))

8   xxxxxx

9   verdienen?=  

      earn?=  


```

In this example, the activities are not competing with each other, but rather support each other. At the same time, the above example gives us insight into how fast the police officer is typing, which is considerably slow compared to speech. This suggests that when P talks at normal speed while typing, these two activities are generally occurring at different speeds.

All the above examples (3-6) demonstrate that P manages talking and typing simultaneously without any major problems. Officers are able to type and talk (example 4), talk and edit (example 5), and type and read out loud (example 6) at the same time. Officers also type and listen to the suspect at the same time (example 3) and are able to type up the exact words the suspect gave in his answer.

5.2.3 Formulations and typing

Managing and orienting to the dual task of typing and talking appears, so far, to be unproblematic for both suspect and interrogator. But, we have also seen that unless the officer reads the typed text out loud, the suspect does not know what is being

typed up on the screen. A way for P to manage sharing the text with the suspect (what will be typed or what has been typed up so far in the interrogation) is by using summaries of the suspect's words, also known as 'formulations' (Heritage & Watson, 1979). Heritage & Watson (1979:123) suggest that "as conversations proceed, members may "formulate" what it is they have been saying." Through a formulation the participant demonstrates his or her understanding of the conversation so far. Heritage and Watson further add (p. 129) that "such paraphrases preserve relevant features of a prior utterance or utterances while also recasting them." In police interrogations such paraphrases are extremely common. Through the use of formulations in relation to typing, officers again show their specialized skills in how they manage two activities within the police interrogation.

Sliedrecht & van Charldorp (2011) found that formulations that occur immediately before or after the typing activity function as a mid-way point between spoken and written language in the police interrogation setting. Officers use formulations to anticipate what they will write down in the police record; the interrogator summarizes the answer given by the suspect and after a confirmation the officer types up the answer (cf. Komter 2006b). Furthermore, officers use formulations after the typing activity to continue where the interrogation was left off before the typing started. The officer hereby demonstrates that he or she is available as a conversational partner and also reminds the suspect where the interrogation was interjected by the typing and where it is now headed. Sliedrecht & van Charldorp (2011) divided these functions of formulations in a police interrogation into two categories: formulations before and after typing. Here, I would like to provide examples of each category and elaborate on how these formulations play a pivotal role between talk and text and how this skill helps to structure the interrogation as well as the police record. Furthermore, these formulations demonstrate that the suspects have a chance to correct the written text either before it is written down or after. The following examples and analyses are translated from Sliedrecht & van Charldorp (2011).

Formulation before typing

The interrogator often expands the basic QAT structure by providing a summary after the question-answer pair and before typing up the answer. The sequential structure then becomes: question-answer-formulation-typing (QAFT). In this QAFT structure the formulation can be seen as a 'midway' point between the interrogation and the police record: the interrogator uses the formulation to make the written text 'recordable' and these summarizing words offer the suspect a chance to respond to this before the words are written up on the computer. I will provide two examples below that will demonstrate how police officers and suspects manage this.

In example 7 below, we see a formulation after a question-answer sequence and before the typing takes place. This example is taken from an interrogation where the suspect is being interrogated for shoplifting. Previous to this excerpt, the interrogator asks the suspect how the arrest in the shop took place. The suspect tells the officer that he was arrested in the shop by two people from security and that he had to wait for the police in a small room. This is followed by a sequence where the officer and suspect solve a misunderstanding. After a long pause (see line 1), the interrogator returns to the story with a summary of what they previously talked about (lines 2-3) before continuing with the reconstruction of the suspect's arrest (line 4):

EXAMPLE 7 (MKint08min18)

- 1 P: (9)
- 2 P: *goed toen ben je in die onderzoeksruimte*
terecht gekomen,
allright then you ended up in the research
room,
- 3 *dat dat wachthokkie,*
that that little waiting room,
- 4 *en [daar gewacht tot de politie kwam.*
and [waited there until the police came.
- 5 S: [ja. *Ik ben naar de*
[yes. *onderzoeksruimte*
gebracht en daarna
- 6 P: ((types 19 sec)) *heeft de politie mij*
opgehaald.
I was brought to the
research room and
after that the police
picked me up.

After the officer's summary of the suspect's own words (lines 2-3), the suspect confirms with a 'yes' (line 5) in overlap with the officer's continuation of the story in line 4. With the confirmation, the suspect responds to the summary so far while the interrogator is still continuing his reconstruction of the events. The suspect has so far only heard 'you ended up in the research room, that that little waiting room' but he has not heard that he 'waited there until the police came.' When the officer finishes his turn in line 4 he begins typing (line 6). In the police record he writes down both elements of his formulation: the part that was confirmed by the suspect and the part that was not confirmed. Although this excerpt shows that the summary given by the officer is similar to the text he types up in the record, we also

see differences. The perspective changes (from ‘you’ to ‘I’) and the word choice is different (‘ended up’ becomes ‘brought to’ and ‘came’ becomes ‘picked up’).

In example 8 below, the officer summarizes a question-answer interaction that took place approximately two minutes earlier. During this interaction (not shown here), the suspect was asked to tell what happened the night he was arrested for stealing a motorbike (also see chapter 4). When S is finished with his story, the officer begins typing. The example below starts with P’s summary of this interaction.

EXAMPLE 8 (TCint08min20)

- 1 P: [((types 3 seconds))] *Ik zou haar om*
I was going to
- 2 *[ik zou haar om] eh tien uur af op*
ko[mən ha:lən,
[I was going to] eh at ten o'clock
pick [her up,]
- 3 S: *[op (.) komuh*
halen,
[pick her up,
- 4 P: *omdat u::h we zouden gaan poolen.*
because u::h we were going to play pool.
- 5 S: *ja.*
yeah. *22:00 op komen*
halen omdat wij
- 6 P: [((types 10 seconds))] *zouden gaan poolen.*
at 22:00 pick her
- 7 *ohkee.*
ohkay. **up because we were**
going to play
- 8 X **pool.³**
- 9 *en toen (.) waaruh waar kwam je die jongens*
tegen,
and then (.) where eh did you see those guys,

This fragment begins with the officer who already types up ‘I was going to.’ As just mentioned, this information (line 1) was already discussed earlier on in the interrogation (approximately two minutes ago). While the officer is typing she is reading out loud ‘I was going to.’ P then adds ‘at ten o’clock’ and while she finishes

3 The translation is somewhat awkward here in order to keep the structure of the Dutch sentence in tact. Since ‘picking her up’, the final phrase in the Dutch sentence was overlapped earlier in this fragment, I have left this phrase at the end of the English sentence as well. This meant that ‘at ten o’clock was moved to the front.

her sentence with 'pick her up,' S adds the same ending of the sentence in overlap. P and S are summarizing and therefore preparing the written text together in lines 3 and 4 (cf. Lerner, 2002). P then adds a reason to the story, namely 'because u::h we were going to play pool.' This information was also already discussed before. After a confirmation from S, P types up the remainder of the sentence. When she is done, she marks the change in activity with 'ohkay' and a loud, single keystroke (line 8 and 9). Now that the summary has been co-constructed, confirmed and typed up – a gradual shift from spoken to written text – a new question can be asked in line 10. The officer is requesting new information that the suspect and herself have not yet spoken about in detail. In the above example we have not only seen that S confirms the formulation before it is written up, but S even co-constructs the text that is to be written by formulating the end of the sentence in coordination with the officer.

In short, these examples of formulations before typing demonstrate that an officer uses formulations to support the process of changing talk into text and to combine the two activities. By using a formulation, P shows the suspect how he or she has interpreted S's words so far and thereby provides S with an opportunity to either agree or disagree before P starts typing. In the second case, S 'helps' the officer formulate the words on paper. In both cases, P uses the formulation to make the interrogation 'recordable' and to make the translation from a dialogical interaction to a monological written output (cf. Jönsson & Linell, 1991; Komter, 2002/2003). Formulations not only help structure the talk, but also the text and they demonstrate the officer's skill in combining the activities of talking and typing.

Formulation after typing

Formulations also occur after the typing has already taken place. With a formulation after typing, the officer can check whether the last typed up information is correct and/or continue with the conversation that ended before the typing started. This provides the suspect with a last chance to disagree with the officer before the interrogation continues. I will provide two examples of formulations that sequentially occur after typing. The first example (9) demonstrates that the formulation is agreed with and therefore the already written text is confirmed. The second example (10) demonstrates that the suspect can also reject the formulation upon which the previously written text is adjusted.

First, we will take a look at example 9 where the officer uses a formulation to continue with the talk that occurred previously to the typing activity. The suspect confirms all parts of the formulation and the police officer moves on with a new question.

EXAMPLE 9 (MKint20min9)

- 1
2
3
4 ((22 lines have been left out where P and S talk and P also types))
5 P: ((types 22 seconds))
6 *nou goed, (1)*
well allright, (1)
7 ((types 1,5 seconds))
8 *dan woon je in purmerend,*
then you live in purmerend,
9 S: *ja.*
yes.
10 P: *en je komt daar niet in aanraking met die*
heroïne dealers omdat je dat niet wilt,
and there you're not in touch with the heroine
dealers because you don't want to,
11 S: *ja.*
yes.
12 P: *en dan kom je in amsterdam.*
and then you come to amsterdam.
13 S: *ja. (1)*
yes. (1)
14 *dan kom ik er speciaal voor e:h ()*
I especially come for it e:h ()
15 P: *en hoe vaak doe je dat in de week?*
and how many times a week do you do that?

omdat ik niet in Purmerend in contact wens te komen met heroïnedealers. Ik ben speciaal weer in Purmerend gaan wonen en min of meer vrij te kunnen blijven van de heroïne.
Because I don't wish to come into contact with the heroine dealers in Purmerend. I especially moved back to Purmerend and more or less stay off of the heroine.

After the interrogator has typed for 22 seconds (for the text see lines 1-6), he resumes the interrogation with 'well allright' and a pause (line 6). The interrogator recapitulates what the previous interaction has been about before changing to a new topic and presents his formulation in a three-part intonation structure (cf. Atkinson's three-part list, 1984). The first two parts have a slightly rising intonation whereas the last part has a falling intonation:

- 1) 'then you live in Purmerend,' (line 8)
- 2) 'and there you're not in touch with the heroine dealers because you don't want to,' (line 10)
- 3) 'and then you come to Amsterdam.' (line 12)

After each summarizing part S provides a confirmation ('yes' in line 9, 11 and 13). The confirmation after the third part of the formulation is the most extended: the suspect not only gives a confirming 'yes,' but also provides additional information 'I especially come for it' (line 14). By having each of the earlier discussed details confirmed one by one, the information becomes an indisputable fact. The interrogator makes it difficult for the suspect to come back to this information since the details have been co-constructed as 'true' or 'correct' (Holt & Johnson, 2006). The contrast between the two cities, Purmerend and Amsterdam in the first and third part of the formulation implies that the suspect does come into contact with heroine dealers in Amsterdam (cf. Atkinson's contrasts, 1984).

After the three-part formulation, P asks the next question: 'and how many times a week do you do that?' (line 15). The formulation is hedged between the typing and the new topic, or new question, and therefore becomes a stepping stone for the next part of the interrogation: now that P and S determined *that* the suspect came to Amsterdam to get into contact with heroine dealers, the next step is to find out with what frequency the suspect did so (cf. Jefferson, 1990: 80).

In example 10 we can see that S has a last chance to change or correct the text in the police record after P has given a formulation based on the text that he just wrote up on the screen in order to continue the interrogation. S takes this chance and reformulates P's words.

EXAMPLE 10 (TCint03min31)

<p>1 ((question and answer are left out)) 2 P: ((types 65 sec)) 3 (2)</p> <p>4 °h >ohkee<, °h >ohkay<,</p> <p>5 dan komt ie naar je toe, then he comes towards you,</p> <p>6 en z- zien <u>jullie</u>, and <u>you</u> (PLURAL) s- see,</p> <p>7 <u>jij</u> ook, <u>you</u> (SINGULAR) as well,</p>	<p><i>Ik ben het in ieder geval niet geweest. Ik zag dat Mervellino naar ons toe kwam. Toen Mervellinno bij ons was, zag ik, dat hij een koptelefoon van een om zijn hals had.</i></p> <p>It wasn't me in any case. I saw that Mervellino came towards us. When Mervellino was with us, I saw, that he had a headphone of an around his neck.</p>
--	---

but S wants the officer to know that he ‘only saw the headphones’ which did not specifically belong to an iPod. In overlap with the last part of S’s ‘headphones’, P simultaneously produces ‘headphones’ where the shadowing choral co-production of the turn constructional unit (Lerner, 2002) indicates that P understands the ending of the story. That he still has not understood that these were not headphones of an iPod takes place in the next TCU’s where P and S negotiate whether or not they are talking about the same thing. Only when P adjusts his formulation from ‘headphones of an iPod’ (lines 10-12) to ‘just only headphones’ (line 14), does S give a confirming response (‘yes’ in line 15). P now continues typing (line 17) where he most likely edits his earlier text. Not only are the typing sounds softer and slower, in the police record we notice that it states ‘that he had headphones of an around his neck’. The missing noun after ‘of an’ suggests that P first typed up ‘iPod’ in this sentence. However, after the negotiation of the formulation based on the repair sequence initiated by S, the officer removed ‘iPod’ from the record.

This example demonstrates how P uses a formulation after the typing to re-initiate the interrogation and to check information that was already written up. Since the formulation makes P’s understanding of the story so far explicit, and since it demonstrates how the spoken words were typed up, S now has a chance to modify this. Although changing the text after it has already been written down requires more interactional (and physical) work than modifying the words before they are written down, we still see that modifications after the typing occur. Formulations are crucial in this process: they provide insight into how the officer has understood the suspect’s words so far or how these words have been recorded. Despite the interactional and physical work that must be done to make the typing ‘undone’, this does provide a chance for the suspect to modify the written words. Formulations therefore allow the suspect to have some control over the police record.

5.2.4 Summary

In the previous section I explored the different ways in which the participants orient to, and coordinate, talking and typing during the interrogation. These multiple activities generally occur in a sequential manner, but they also occur simultaneously. Whereas the standard sequence consists of question-answer-typing where the police officer and suspect sequentially take turns in asking a question, answering and typing up the answer, we have also seen variations of this basic sequence. These variations occur especially often when the officer, edits or prepares the document and the keystrokes are short, when P manages multiple activities him or herself simultaneously such as reading the text out loud, or when part of the question can already be written up in answer-format (note: the

first-person style of the Dutch police record makes this possible). By doing these activities simultaneously, P shows his specialized skills concerning interrogating and writing up a statement. In order to interweave the activities, officers skillfully employ formulations before or after typing. Through formulations suspects have an opportunity to hear what is about to be typed up or what has just been typed up.

5.3 Typing styles

What I have left out of the analysis so far is the relevance of context in which the typing takes place. For example, the interrogation consists of different phases (as explained in chapter 3) in which talking and typing are organized differently as each phase is concerned with different projects (5.3.1). Furthermore, there may be two police officers present, which creates a very different context from an interrogation with only one officer (5.3.2).

5.3.1 Typing in different phases of the interrogation

The typing activity is different in each of the different phases of the police interrogation. For example, during the form-filling phase, the participants are working through a list where the answers are often projectable and short so that typing can begin right away. During the case-related interrogation phase the officers are generally truth-seeking and possibly eliciting a confession. Typing can halt the flow of the conversation and interject the talk. At the same time it is important for the officers to write down the story as much as possible in the suspect's own words (Code of Criminal Procedure) and therefore typing must occur relatively soon after S has given an answer.

In each of the distinct phases, typing has different consequences, not only for the interrogation, but also for the police record. The form-filling beginning of an interrogation is a very rapid succession of questions, answers and typing. Giving and typing up the caution is a routine phase where the officer follows a certain protocol and one keystroke ('Y') creates a standardized full sentence. Form-filling results in one-word answers on a form, whereas the social interrogation answers are based on the individual suspect where the individual stories vary and the answers are less projectable, causing the typing activity to begin later. This often leads to paragraphs written in full sentences. The case-related interrogation usually becomes tenser, as this concerns the reason why the suspect has been arrested. This is considered a crucial part of the interrogation, where there is a lot at stake for both parties. The case-related section in the police record is much more detailed and elaborate and may include the questions as well as the answers (either in question-answer format or in a recontextualisation phrase format). Exit

activities concern the reading of the record by S and editing by P. Here, typing becomes a background activity as S tells P what to do and thereby inverses the role of agenda-setting.

Although there are exceptions, I will show some prototypical ways in which talk and typing is coordinated and oriented to in four different phases of the police interrogation where typing also takes place: form-filling, social interrogation, case-related interrogation, and exit activities⁴.

Form-filling

I will begin by demonstrating how typing is coordinated and oriented to during the form-filling phase of the interrogation. As I explained in chapter 3, this is the beginning of the actual police interrogation and takes place after some initial social talk. In the interrogation in example 11 there is a second police officer present who is training to become an officer. She sits next to P1, but does not speak throughout this excerpt.

EXAMPLE 11 (MKint07min00)

- 1 P1: *e[ven kijken. (1)*
 l[et's see. (1)
- 2 [°x°
 3 °x x x°
- 4 *je voor [namen. (1.5)*
 your first [names (1.5)
- 5 [°x°
 6 °x x xx[xx°
- 7 S: *[voornamen?*
 [first names?
- 8 P1: *ja,*
 yes,
- 9 S: *heinrich,*
 heinrich,

4 The caution automatically appears in the police record by typing 'Y' on the form-filling screen. Since the caution involves little typing activity, this phase will not be elaborated on in this section.

- 10 *umberto;*
 umberto;
- 11 *leonardi.*
 leonardi.
- 12 P1: (0.5)
13 *x xx x x*
- 14 *en [je bo-*
 and [your da-
- 15 *[X*
- 16 *je bent geboren?*
 you were born?
- 17 *geboortedatum?*
 birthdate?
- 18 S: *vijf oktober,*
 october fifth,
- 19 *vier en zeventig.*
 seventy four.
- 20 P1: *vieren [zeventig.*
 seventy[four.
- 21 *[x*
22 *°x x°*
- 23 *en je huidige adres?*
 and your current address?
- 24 S: *hm?*
 hm?
- 25 P1: *ja <HUIDIGE adres>?*
 your <CURRENT address>?
- 26 S: *me adres.*
 me address.
- 27 P1: *ja,*
 yeah,
- 28 S: *kamperweg,*
 kamperweg

- 29 P1: *hm hm,*
hm hm,
- 30 S: *vierhonderdtweeenveertig.*
four hundred forty two.
- 31 P1: [*okee.*]
[*ohkay.*]
- 32 [*°x xx]xx x x°*
- 33 *goed je bent niet tot antwoorden verplicht,*
good you're not obliged to answer,

From the beginning, the officer and suspect verbally and interactionally step into their roles of institutional police officer and lay person being interrogated. We notice this when P, who just sat down behind her computer (not shown here), starts the interrogation with 'let's see', some typing sounds and then immediately poses her first question. This question, which is a declarative without a rising intonation, consists of just two words (three words in English). As P starts typing right away, S initiates a repair, 'first names?' to which the officer confirms that this was indeed her question. S then answers in an institutionally appropriate manner (lines 9-11): he provides his three first names in three separate intonation units - as if they need to be written down. In this way, S fully orients not only to the institutional setting of P asking questions, but S also orients to the typing that P will do after he has provided his answer. We therefore see that S already orients to the typical QAT structure from the very beginning of the interrogation. The predetermined and institutionalized pre-allocation of turns therefore does not just include question-answer sequences, but also includes the typing, suggesting that there is a pre-allocation of activities.

Surprisingly, P does not make a lot of typing sounds. This could mean that the information was already on her screen and she is merely fact checking, rather than filling in the form. We see this again with the next question, which is asked in lines 14-17: 'your da-', 'you were born?', 'birthday?'. Again, S answers in staccato intonation in two separate intonation units of which only the last has a falling intonation. When P repeats the year in which he was born, this indicates that this was the information she was trying to retrieve. These two numbers may have been the only two numbers that were missing from her record. P now softly hits the keyboard three times. With these three keystrokes she could not have typed up the entire date of birth of the suspect. Immediately after typing those three keystrokes, she asks for S's address (line 23). S initiates a repair to which P responds, emphasising 'current'. S only repeats 'my address' which P confirms and again S provides the answer as if said to be typed (lines 28 and 30). Again, P only

hits a few keystrokes, which could not be the entire address. This suggests that P already has a lot of the information in her record and is either fact checking or adding missing details.

In sum, both the police officer and the suspect are oriented to the typing. The interaction almost perfectly follows the typical QAT structure. P sets the agenda and always self selects after the typing to initiate the next question. The questions are posed as if she is working through a list: short declaratives with no additional introduction or explanation. S also orients to the typing. From the very first answer onwards he provides short, to the point answers. He says his answers as if to be typed, in a staccato intonation where the last intonation unit always has a falling intonation contour. An institutional task is being completed: a form is filled in where the answers from the lay person are written up by the professional.

Social interrogation

The next example is taken from a social interrogation with a minor. We have seen part of this example earlier (example 3) when discussing the officers' specialized skills regarding talking and typing. Here, I want to use this example to illustrate a typical interaction within a social interrogation. Questions about age and whether or not the suspect lives with his parents are very common.

EXAMPLE 12 (TCint03min07)

1	P: ((edits and types for 50 seconds))	<i>Ik heb gehoord en begrepen, dat ik niet tot antwoorden verplicht ben.</i>
2	P: .hh[h	
3	[x	I have heard and understood, that I am not obliged to answer.
4	hoe oud ben jij?= how old are you?= =Xx xx[xxx	Ik ben I am
5	S: [veertien. [fourteen.	
6	P: xx	
7	veertien. fourteen.	
8	X xx X xx x X xxx x X x x xxxx= =woon je bij je ouders? =do you live with your parents?	14 jaar oud. Ik woon 14 years old. I live
9	10	

11 S: ja.
yes.

12 P: moeder en vader.
mother and father.

There has been no spoken interaction for 50 seconds until P finishes typing up the caution and asks the first question of the social interrogation. The suspect, who does not have access to the screen, has no knowledge of what has just been written up on the screen. When the officer finishes his long typing activity, he self-selects and asks how old the suspect is. P immediately starts typing, deviating from the typical QAT structure (see section 5.2.2). Since the answer is syntactically projectable, the typing of *ik ben* ('I am') begins before the suspect has responded. S replies, in concurrence with the typing, that he is fourteen years old. The officer hits two keystrokes in line 7 and then halts his typing to repeat the answer in line 8, demonstrating that he has heard the suspect. P hits some loud and some single keystrokes, editing a part of his document before typing up the remainder '14 years old.' and starting with the answer to the next question. The suspect does not self-select but waits until he is asked a next question after the typing is finished.

Immediately after finishing his typing activity, P asks the next question in line 10, which follows a story-telling pattern in the written document. P demonstrates a typical police interrogation structure in which P controls speakership and not only sets the agenda, but also controls the typing and therefore the police record. In line 10 we can see that not only the physical activity of speaking is dependent on the projectable ending of the physical activity of typing, but the content of the talk is also based on the content of what was last written on the screen as the text follows a story about S. P is in control of the computer - and therefore the record -- as well as the turn-taking system.

This excerpt illustrates the quick paced question-answer-typing sequences that are typical for the beginning of the social interrogation. The questions are not complicated, nor are the answers. Parts of the answers that need to be written up are projectable, such as 'I am' or 'I live' and therefore typing can begin right after the question has been posed. This is different from the form-filling interaction we saw earlier. The questions are not standardized through a form; in fact, the questions are no longer visible in the written version. The officer asks questions that are relevant for this particular setting with this particular suspect. Questions therefore are not just based on what the police officer thinks is required for the police record, but are also based on previous answers.

Case-related interrogation

In this section I want to move on to questioning about the case. The case-related phase of the interrogation is conducted in various ways. Police officers have

different ways in which they ask questions, at which moments they do or do not type and the length of time the officers talk or type greatly varies. In general, officers switch between ‘interrogating’ and ‘writing up the record’ in this phase. Interrogating is concerned with truth-seeking, confronting the suspect with evidence and eliciting a confession. Writing the record is much more concerned with writing down what the suspect is saying. In practice, however, writing down the statement and interrogating are interwoven. Although I will not be able to illustrate all the different ways in which talk and typing are oriented to during the case-related phase, I would like to provide two contrasting examples below. In the first example (13) we see how the officer is seeking information and therefore asking specific questions and writing down the answers. She is taking down the suspect’s statement. In this example the nineteen year old suspect is suspected of having stolen a motorbike (also see chapter 4). He claims to have just ‘borrowed’ the bike for a short ride from a guy from the street, Ziggi. The officer is now asking questions about Ziggi.

EXAMPLE 13 (TCint08min47)

- 1 P: *vertel eens [effe over zi:ggi,*
tell me somethin about zi:ggi,
- 2 [x
- 3 *wat weet je allemaal van hem,=*
what do you know about him,=
- 4 =xxx x x x x xxx[xx x] *U vraagt mij*
You (FORMAL) ask me
- 5 S: *[wat w]eet ik van hem,*
[what i] know about him,
- 6 *jah.*
yeah.
- 7 *wei↑nig?*
l↑ittle?
- 8 P: xxx x xxxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxx x x x *om over Ziggi te vertellen*
9 xxx x X x *wat ik weet.*
to tell about Ziggi what I know.
- 10 *weinig.*
little.
- 11 S: *ja.*
yeah.

- 12 P: *das niet veel.*
that's not a lot.
- 13 S: *nee.*
no.
- 14 P: *weet je ze achternaa:m?*
do you know his last na:me?
- 15 S: *nee.*
no.
- 16 P: *hoe oud is ie, (0.4)*
how old is he, (0.4)
- 17 S: *weet ik ook niet.*
don't know either.
- 18 P: *ongeveer:r, (0.4)*
abou:t, (0.4)
- 19 S: *schat mijn leeftijd in. (1.2)*
guessing my age. (1.2)
- 20 P: °negentien°?
°nineteen°?
- 21 S: °ja (0.2) zoiets°.
°yeah (0.2) somethin like that°.
- 22 P: xxxxxxxx x xxxxxxxx x
Ik denk dat hij 19 jaar oud is.
I think that he is 19 years old.
- 23 *waar woont [ie,*
where does [he live,
- 24 [x
- 25 xx=

In this example, we see that the officer writes up the question as well as the answer. She only does this in the case-related part of the police record. In the social part of the record she did not include the questions. This explains why the officer deviates from the standard QAT structure at the beginning of this example. She starts typing right after her own question in line 4. Here she writes the first part of her question: 'You ask me.' S repeats the question and then replies that he knows little about the other suspect. Rather than a third-turn receipt token or an additional question to prompt the suspect, the officer continues typing up the question. This takes approximately 8 seconds. Only when she is finished typing up the question

does she provide a repeat (line 10) which S confirms (line 11), P then evaluates (line 12) and S again confirms (line 13). The interaction is almost comical, as each utterance leads to another response token.

The officer then asks a more specific question since her open-ended question did not result in a lot of information. She asks the suspect if he knows Ziggi's last name. When the suspect says that he does not, the officer moves on with the next question right away. The suspect's negative response is not typed up and does not end up in the police record. Her next question concerns Ziggi's age. Again, the suspect provides a negative answer. But, this time, the officer asks the suspect to estimate. Unlike a last name, an age can be guessed due to appearance or behavior or perhaps comparison. This is what the suspect does, he compares Ziggi to himself and after P's suggestion 'nineteen', S confirms that it could be 'somethin like that'. The officer translates this to 'I think that he is 19 years old': words which she not only initiated, but also transformed ('somethin like that' is changed to the active verb 'I think').

When P finishes up the typing in line 25, she immediately moves on to the next question about Ziggi. The officer always self-selects when she starts typing and self-selects when asking a new question after she finishes typing. Again, P not only sets the agenda but also structures the talk. Furthermore, she decides what is included in the record and what is not. When the suspect does not know the answer, she does not include the question or the answer in the police record. In this example, when the answer is negative but she expects that the suspect can make a guess, she continues to ask more specific questions so that something can be written up in the record. P is very much trying to elicit an answer and will only type when she has been successful in doing so. In this example, typing is dependent on the answers provided by S and whether or not they conform to the agenda and structure set by P.

In this next example (14) from the same interrogation, the officer has just switched topics. Now that she has established how it came to be that the suspect was riding on the stolen motorbike, she wants to know if the suspect knew beforehand that it wasn't just a moped, but a motorbike. The suspect claims that he did not know it was a motorbike until the officers at the police station told him so. Here, the officer does not type up the answers immediately, but rather, focuses on 'doing' interrogating. Although she makes some minimal typing sounds, she does not type up a summary of this interaction until minutes later in the interrogation.

EXAMPLE 14 (TCint08min36)

5

- 1 S: *ik kwam opt bureau zeg tegen mij is eh motor.*
I came to the police station they told me it's a motorbike.
- 2 *ik zeg is een mOtor?*
I say it's a mOtorbike?
- 3 *dat ding zit er precies uit als een [scooter=*
that thing looks exactly like a [moped=
- 4 P: *[ja*
[yeah,
- 5 *=nou [sommige motors zien eruit als een scooter.*
=well [some motorbikes look like a moped.
- 6 *[x x*
- 7 S: *ja*
yeah
- 8 P: *x [x x*
- 9 S: *[da-*
[tha-
- 10 *toen zeiden ze ist een motor scooter,*
that's when they said it's a motor moped,
- 11 *toen zei ik [echt niet.]*
then I said [no way.]
- 12 P: *[x x x] x x*
- 13 S: *zeiden ze jawel dat ding,*
they said yeah that thing,
- 14 *.h heeft meer dan vijftig cee cee,*
.h has more than fifty c c,
- 15 *maar dat ding gaat niet eens over de ho:nderd.*
but that thing doesn't even go faster than hundred⁵.
- 16 P: *x x xx*

5 This refers to hundred kilometres an hour (motorbikes are supposed to be able to go at least 120 km/hr whereas mopeds are allowed to go 45 km/hr).

- 17 S: *van mij mag als het een* [motor-
according to me if it's a [motor-
- 18 P: [heb je het wel even geprobeerd dan?
[did you try then?
- 19 (1)
- 20 S: *om over de honderd te gaan?*
to go faster than a hundred?
- 21 P: *ja?*
yes?
- 22 S: *ehnee*
eh no
- 23 P: *hoe weet je dat dan?*
how do you know then?
- 24 (4)
- 25 S: *ik geef vol gas gaat maar vijfenzeventig.*
I floored it only goes seventy five.
- 26 (4)
- 27 P: *mn (.)*
mn (.)

In this example, the suspect claims that the bike looked exactly like a moped (line 3), and quotes his own disbelief at the police station (lines 2 and 11). The officer responds to S's arguments while softly editing some text on the computer. S continues his arguments in lines 13-15 when he rejects the police's argument that the vehicle had a 50 cc cylinder since the vehicle did not go faster than hundred kilometres an hour. This initiates a new question from P, who interrupts S in line 18 when she asks if he tried. After an inserted repair sequence (lines 20-21), S hesitantly replies 'eh no' in line 22. When P confronts him by asking how he knows (line 23), there is a significant four second pause. Since S has just answered that he did not try to go over a hundred, he needs to provide a different answer as to how he would know this. Since S has also claimed that he did not know that it was a motorbike, he cannot say that he expected the vehicle to go over hundred kilometres an hour. The answer that S carefully provides in line 25 after the four second pause is a relatively safe one: 'I floored it and it only goes seventy five.' Although this would be considered a traffic violation (mopeds are only allowed to go 45 km/hr), it does not reveal anything about the suspect's knowledge of the vehicle being a moped or a motorbike.

The officer and suspect continue to briefly talk about the speed limits and license plates and then P states (not shown in transcript): “I’m just eh (.) going to note some things down.” She now types up not only the previous interaction, but also writes up what came before this interaction. In fact, she writes up three previously asked questions and their answers. After having confirmed the first answer through a summary she does not confirm the other two answers.

This example then illustrates how ‘interrogating’ takes precedence over typing (also shown in Komter’s analysis of a police interrogation, 2006b). In this instance, the officer is clearly interrogating; she is eliciting information about the motorbike and confronting the suspect with his own inconsistencies. Only minutes later does she write down her summary of what they talked about. These are the words that are written down in the police record:

“You [formal] tell me that it is a motorbike and not a moped. Yes that is what I heard from the police. But it only drove 75 or something and it looks just like a moped.”

When officers are mainly interrogating without immediately typing and only later writing down summaries of their interaction, we see such large transformations from talk to text.

Above, we have seen two examples of how typing takes place in the case-related phase of the interrogation. As already mentioned, there are many ways in which typing and talking are managed and oriented to in this specific phase. Some officer may ‘interrogate’ first and only later write down a summary of the talk. Some officers may ask a second round of questions while they take down the statement (see example 13). Other officers begin typing right away and write down almost every question and answer. Different officers also have different ways of writing up the report. Whereas we have just seen an example of an officer who includes the questions in the record, most officers do not include the questions. Later in this chapter we will see an example of a case-related phase of the interrogation where the questions are not only included in the record, but the questions were even prepared beforehand (section 5.3.3).

Exit activities

This example is taken from the same interrogation as above (examples 13 and 14). Here, instead of describing the type of exit activity that is going on, I would like to focus on the typing activity and how the participants orient to the typing activity within this phase. P has been editing the record while S has been reading through it. The last thing P said before S started reading was: ‘You can read through this.’ Since

this suspect has been arrested before, he probably already knows that he has the right to change the record if he does not agree with it (see Komter, forthcoming).

EXAMPLE 15 (TCint08min01:01)

- 1 P: xx x=
- 2 S: =paar [[↑]spellingfoutjes heb (°ik°).
=couple [of spelling mistakes i (°have°).
- 3 P: [xx
- 4 j:a dat zou kunnen, (.)
y:eah that could be, (.)
- 5 dingetjes die ik snel getikt [heb.
things i typed pretty [fast.
- 6 S: [j:a.
[yeah.
- 7 (3)
- 8 P: ik kan het aanpassen hoor,
i can change it no problem,
- 9 x X
- 10 is wel netter he?
it looks neater right?
- 11 (0.5)
- 12 S: ik liep dAA:T,
i walked tHEE:R,
- 13 alleen. (hh)
alone. (hh)
- 14 P: °x x°
- 15 (0.6)
- 16 in plaats van daar?=
instead of there?=
- 17 S: =ja.
=yeah,

- 18 P: *ohkee.*
ohkay.
- 19 °x°
- 20 *doe ik wel effetjes.*
i'll do that quickly.
- 21 x x x x [x x x
- 22 S: *[nou van mij hoeft het niet,*
[well you don't have to for me,
- 23 P: [°x °x°
- 24 S: *[tweek ik weet wel wat tb °wat [(er bedoeld°),*
[iknow i know what t m °what [is meant°),
- 25 P: °n[ou,°
 °w[ell,°
- 26 [x [x X x x]
- 27 S: *[wat er wordt] begrepen.*
[what is] understood by it.
- 28 P: x=
- 29 S: =*maarja,*
 =*but yeah,*
- 30 x (.) x
- 31 *is wel netter.*
it is neater.

At the beginning of this excerpt we see that S self-selects his turn to announce that he has found some minor spelling errors. This is one of the few occasions in my data collection where S self-selects the next turn after P has been typing. In this example P has been editing the record while she has told the suspect to read through the police record to see if there are any errors. If this were to be the case, it means S needs to self-select the next turn while P is editing. He announces this by saying that he 'has' a couple of mistakes. After P announces that she will make the changes because it will look 'neater', S announces his first change.

The negotiation about the changes (lines 12-17) takes place 'in the clear', without P typing except for two very quiet keystrokes (line 14). The actual typing begins in line 21 after P has announced her change in activity from talking to

typing with 'ohkay' in line 18 and an actual statement of her beginning the activity in line 20 'I'll do that quickly'.

We now see the two activities of talking and typing concurring. As P is editing, S keeps talking about how he does not mind the changes but finally argues that it would look neater – words that P uttered earlier (see line 10). His changes are embedded in not only a pre-announcement (line 2), and an agreement (line 17), but also in very careful wording about it not being an important matter after he has provided the changes (in lines 22-27). S's account for why the officer does not really need to make the changes is quite elaborate.

This example demonstrates how the roles have been reversed in the institutional setting. Instead of P continuously self-selecting, taking the floor with typing activity, setting the agenda by asking the next questions and structuring the talk through typing and questioning, S now self-selects and tells the officer what changes she needs to make. The typing is slow and P barely talks, allowing S to interject the typing with his talk. S now has some minor control over what is changed in the record. However, S does this very carefully, with pre-announcements and later providing an account for why it is not that necessary to make the changes.

5.3.2 Two police officers

The management of and orientation to typing changes when two officers interrogate a suspect. When this is the case (in 5 out of 14 interrogations), we will generally see that one officer does all of the typing and the other officer does most of the questioning⁶. This way, the questioning officer can focus mainly on the talk. Sometimes, he or she will wait until the typing officer is finished typing before asking the next question. More often we see that the question-answer sequences continue and the typing becomes a 'background' noise. The typing officer is supposed to 'keep up' with the talk. When the typing officer is behind, remarks such as 'hold on' or 'what did you say' are common.

In this example (16) I want to take a closer look at part of a case-related interrogation where there are two officers present. For readability purposes I will provide two separate versions of this example marked as example 16a (the original transcript in Dutch) and 16b (a translated version in English). Here, we see that the participants sometimes orient to the typing sounds, but often the interaction solely takes place between the questioning officer and the suspect. The typing then no longer interjects the talk, but becomes a background noise. The words spoken by the suspect and the interrogating officer (P1) are displayed in the first column. The

6 In one of these five interrogations with two officers, one officer mainly talks and types. The second officer also has to leave half way through the interrogation. The main officer finishes the interrogation on his own.

typing done by the typing officer (P2) is displayed in the second column (when typing occurs in the clear, the length of typing is indicated in the first column). What was typed when is displayed in the last column. The suspect's phone has been tapped and therefore the police have information about the suspect's whereabouts during the time of the crime. The suspect is now denying that he had the phone (simcard) at that moment in time.

EXAMPLE 16a (TCint07min03)

1		P2: X	
2	P1: ohkee.	P2: X	
3	wie-		
4	wie >maakt er nog meer<	P2: °x	
5	gebruik van het num[mer?	P2: xxxxx	
6		P2: xxxxxxxx=	
7	S: =<alleen ¶ik en me neef?>	P2: °x°	
8		P2: x x x x	
9	((2,5 sec typen))	xxxxx	Vraag: Wie
10	P1: nn:ee,	P2: xxx	maken er
11	maar sinds je het hebt,	P2: (0.2)x xx xxx	allemaal
12	P1: anderhallef jaar.=	P2: x x x x x	gebruik van
13	S: =°ja.°=	P2: x x	dat nummer?
14	P1: =in die anderhallef jaar,	P2: xxx xxx xxxxx	
15	zijn er ook nog andere mensen	P2: xxxxxx xxxxxx	
16	die daar gebruik van maken?	xxxxxxx xxxxxx	
17		°xxx°	
18	((1,5 sec typen))	P2: x xx xx x	
19	S: hij stond een sstij:dje stil	P2: °x °x x x °	Antwoord:
20	ja.		Alleen ik en
21	P1: =ja.		mijn neef.
22	S: niemand <gebruikte hem meer>.	P2: x xxxx xxxx	
23	P1: °mnn°.	P2: xxxxxxxx	
24	S: ik had een nieuwe simkaart gekregen,	P2: xxxx xxxxxx xx	
25	((0,2 sec typen))	xxxxxx	
26	P1: ja?	P2: xxxxx	
27	S: en toen ben ik di:e,	P2: xxx xxxx xxxx	
28	¶tehleefoon ben ik <u>kwijt</u> geraakt,	xx	
29	en heb ik (.) die ouwe weer		Hij heeft
30	genomen,=		een tijdje
31	P1: =°hmnn [mnn°.		stilgestaan.
32	S: [en gebruik.		

EXAMPLE 16b (TCint07min03)

1		P2: X	
2	P1: ohkay.	P2: X	
3	who-		
4	who >else makes use< of this	P2: °x	
5	phone number?	P2: xxxxx	
6		P2: xxxxxxxx=	
7	S: =<just ↑me and my cousin?>	P2: °x°	
8		P2: x x x x	
9	((2,5 seconds of typing))	xxxxx	Question: Who all make
10	P1: nn:o,	P2: xxx	use of that phone
11	but since you have it,	P2: (0.2)x xx xxx	number?
12	P1: a year and half.=	P2: x x x x x	
13	S: =°yeah°=]	P2: x x	
14	P1: =in that year and a half,	P2: xxx xxx xxxxxx	
15	are there also other people	P2: xxxxxx xxxxxxxx	
16	who make use of it?	xxxxxxx xxxxxx	
17		°xxx°	Answer: Just me and my
18	((1,5 seconds of typing))	P2: x xx xx x	cousin.
19	S: it was o- o:ff for a while	P2: °x °x x x °	
20	yeah.=		
21	P1: =yes.		
22	S: nobody <used it anymore>.	P2: x xxxxx xxxxx	
23	P1: °mnn°.	P2: xxxxxxx	
24	S: i got a new simcard,	P2: xxxxx xxxxxx xx	
25	((0,2 seconds of typing))	xxxxxx	
26	P1: yes?	P2: xxxxx	It has been off for a
27	S: and then i,	P2: xxx xxxxx xxxxx	while.
28	<u>lost</u> that ↑cell phone,	xx	
29	and i (.) took the old one		
30	again,=		
31	P1: =°hmnn [mnn°.		
32	S: [and used it.		

During this interrogation, the officers already had some questions typed up in a separate document beforehand. Police officers call this the ‘interrogation plan.’ This suspect was already interrogated before and therefore the officers knew that they specifically wanted to find out more about the mobile phone and its whereabouts. Their ‘prepared’ questions therefore are very focused on trying to attain this information. The typing officer is copying and pasting already typed up questions from another document into the police record screen⁷. This is what she does at the beginning of this excerpt (lines 1 and 4-9).

7 Since I do not have video data, I do not know exactly what was typed up when or when the officer was cutting and pasting from the other document. Only my fieldwork notes serve as evidence of this cutting and pasting activity.

Whether or not P1 is reading the question from the screen in lines 3-5 cannot be said. What I can note is that P1 is oriented to the typing during the beginning of this excerpt. This becomes clear in line 10. The suspect just provided an answer to P's earlier question 'just me and my cousin'. After this answer, neither S nor P1 self-selects to take the next turn. After a significant 2,5 second pause, while typing performed by P2 is going on in the background, P1 offers a response token 'nnoo:' in line 10. This officer is oriented to the typing and not to the suspect's talk at this point.

From this point on the interaction becomes much more sequentially aligned. The officer poses a multi-turn question from lines 11 until 16 after which the suspect answers in line 19. The typing officer, P2, is keeping up with the conversation. However, the other participants are no longer oriented to her, but rather, to each other. P1 is providing continuers such as 'yes' (line 21), 'mnn' (line 23), 'yes?' (line 26) and 'hmnn mnn' (line 31). Between the suspects answers and the officer's response tokens there are almost no pauses. The continuers allow the suspect to tell his story, which he does throughout the excerpt. The story is not halted by interjecting typing as P1 and S are oriented towards each other, focusing on one activity only. The sequentially aligned questions and answers are very similar to the types of question and answer sequences we will see in example 27 (when the officer is not typing).

The typing officer, P2, is keeping up with the talk. Since the question was already cut and pasted into the document, she only needs to type up the relevant answers. From the suspect's story, she formulates his answers. The first answer 'just me and my cousin' is a literal version of the words spoken by the suspect. The second answer: 'It has been off for a while' is a transformed answer. From the suspect's words: 'it was off for a while yeah', 'nobody used it anymore', 'I got a new simcard', P writes down 'It has been off for a while.' Not only does she make a selection from S's answer, but she also transforms the tense (simple past to present perfect) and leaves out the conversational tag 'yeah.' What follows next (not shown here) is a negotiation of whether the suspect is talking about his old or new simcard before P writes down the remainder of the story.

What this example shows us is that when an officer can focus solely on questioning, while the other officer makes a record by typing it up in the computer, the sequential alignment of the conversation is mostly maintained. When there is misalignment, it could be due to the officer orienting towards the typing, rather than the talk. Furthermore, the text that is produced in the police record is very similar to the talk that was produced. The typing officer quite literally writes up the answers as she is listening to the interaction between S and P1. Especially when the questions are already written up in the document, P1 only needs to add short versions of the suspect's answer. At the same time, this excerpt also demonstrates that the typing officer can change the text in the record to a more structured

and formal story (change of tense and deletion of conversational talk). While P1 is interrogating, P2 has time to adapt the story to a 'written' version without interjecting the talk between S and P1.

5.3.4 Summary

In this section I demonstrated that within the institutional setting of the police interrogation, the participants display different orientations to the talking and typing activity in the various phases of the interrogation. As each phase, or niche, consists of different goals for both police officer and suspect, the typing and talking take place on different levels of involvement. Throughout this section we have also seen that P structures the talk and the record in varying ways throughout the different phases of the interrogation. This became especially clear during the social and case-related phases of the interrogation where the structuring of the talk has a direct effect on what is included in the record. When there are two officers, the typing interferes less with the actual question-answer pairs as it becomes backgrounded. Therefore, typing has less of a structuring role and does not control speakership when there are two officers present.

5.4 Typing as structuring and controlling action

If we take the spoken and written versions of the examples given in this chapter, we can see that there are a number of additions, deletions and transformations when going from talk to text (chapter 4 in this thesis dealt specifically with these changes). Here, I want to focus on the typing activity as a transformation process that partially causes these changes. In this section I want to explicate that typing can be seen as an institutional device that not only contributes to the transformation that takes place from talk to text but it also controls the interrogation, which in turn contributes to the transformation from talk to text as well.

I start this section with an example that shows how the officer demonstrates selective interest when talk and typing overlap (5.4.1). I continue with an example commonly found in interrogations - a question-answer-typing interaction about a minor's family situation - that illustrates how typing contributes to the structuring of an interrogation and how P sets the agenda (5.4.2). In order to illustrate that an interrogation without typing consists of less controlling and structuring tools, I provide a comparison between interrogating without typing and interrogating with typing (5.4.3). This example will clearly show that the record is very much constructed according to P's agenda. This section ends with a summary.

5.4.1 Police officer demonstrates selective interest

We have already seen an example where S talks when P is already typing. In example 3, S provided the answer ‘fourteen’ while P was already typing. This example demonstrated that there is room for overlap within the basic sequential QAT structure often found in police interrogations. However, S can also talk while the typing is going on for a reason other than answering the question. Komter (2006b) has shown that suspects add more information during the typing in order to show defensiveness. She suggests that this occurs in overlap because there appears to be no other slot to do so (2006b:212). Whalen demonstrates in his data that when callers elaborate on the information they have previously given during call-takers’ typing activity it “exhibits a recognition that the call-taker’s audible in-progress typing is dedicated, at that moment, to recording precisely that type of information” (1995:203).

In the next two examples this is precisely what happens; S elaborates his answer while P is already typing. I want to show how P manages the additional information that S provides while P is already engaged in the typing activity. P demonstrates selective interest in the suspect’s additional talk and further displays the asymmetry between the suspect and the officer when selecting what information to include in the record. The officer does this by continuing to type but not adding the additional information from the suspect in the police record (example 17) or by halting the typing when the suspect has something to say that the officer does want to record (example 18).

In the following example (17), P starts typing after S has provided an answer to the question about how many hours of community service he received for his previous crime. S elaborates in line 5 with more information while the typing is going on.

EXAMPLE 18 (TCint03min20)

- 1 P: *en heb je ook [straf gehad?*
and did you also [get punishment?
- 2 [x x x x x x x x
- 3 S: *eh taakstraf [van] tachtig u:ur,*
eh community service [of] eighty hou:rs,
- 4 P: [x]
- 5 *hoeveel?*
how much?

6	X	
7	S: <i>tachtig uur,</i> <i>eighty hours,</i>	
8	P: xxx[xxxxxxxxxxxxx]	<i>Ik heb hiervoor</i> I got for this
9	S: <i>[nog vier weken voorwaardelijke jeugd]</i> <i>detentie.</i> <i>[also four weeks of suspended youth]</i> <i>detention,</i>	
10	P: (<i>°hiervoor,°</i>) (<i>°for this°</i>)	
11	x xxxx	<i>tachtig</i> eighty
12	(<i>°tachtig°</i>) (<i>°eighty°</i>)	
13	X xxxx	<i>uur</i> hours
14	(<i>°uur°</i>) (<i>°hours°</i>)	
15	xxxxxxx x x x xxxxxxx (3) x	<i>taakstraf gehad.</i> of community service.

At the beginning of this fragment the officer asks a question while he is editing his document, something we have seen happens simultaneously without any problems (see example 5). While S answers, the officer hits one last editing keystroke. P then signals a hearing problem when he asks the suspect ‘how much’ community service he got for his last offense in line 5 and immediately hits a last final keystroke that marks the end of his previous editing activity. S answers with ‘eighty hours,’ which P treats as a sufficient answer by starting to type in line 8. S, however, demonstrates that the ending was misprojected as he still adds that he also got four weeks suspended youth detention, an addition to the very first question asked in line 1. When uttering this addition, P is already typing and does not halt the typing until S utters the last word. However, P does not type as fast as the interaction occurs, which is demonstrated when he mumbles what he is typing out loud in line 10 (‘for this’), line 12 (‘eighty’) and line 14 (‘hours’).

We then see that the police record does not include S’s elaborated statement about his punishment. The record states: ‘I got for this eighty hours of community service’ and then continues with the answer to the next question (not shown here). The extended answer ‘also four weeks of suspended youth detention’ is not taken up in the record. This then tells us that the ‘eighty hours’ was sufficient to type up

for the police record according to P, who not only sets the agenda but also “owns” the computer and therefore decides what is included in the police record and what is not. For the police officer the QA sequence finished at line 7 whereas the suspect only finishes his answer in line 9. In this example then, S exhibits recognition that his answer thus far is now typed up and offers further information ‘for the record.’ P however, responds by keeping the floor through mumbling and typing, and selects what he wants to include in the record.

The following example (18) shows that the suspect is adding more information that is important for the case. He does this while P is typing. This example of providing important information in overlap with typing occurs when a crucial question in the interrogation is posed: ‘who had the knife?’ The suspect answers ‘don’t know’ after which P starts typing. Then, S self-selects and adds information in overlap with the typing. The officer now halts the typing and thereby selects the answer as important⁸.

EXAMPLE 18 (TCint03min41)

- 1 P: [x [x
 2 [wie [had het mes?
 [who [had the knife?
 3 x [x xx
 4 S: [weet niet.
 [don't know.
 5 P: *heh?*
 huh?
 6 S: †weet niet.
 †don't know.
 7 P: x x x x x X
 8 xx[xxx-
 9 S: [manilo geloof ik,
 [manilo I believe,
 10 want hij heeft het van binnen gehaald.
 because he got it from inside.

8 There are also other instances in which the typing is halted, for example when the interrogation becomes difficult, when S becomes emotional, when a confession is given, or when S calls on his right to remain silent. In these instances the typing is halted for a longer period of time and the writing is delayed.

Immediately after posing the question, P hits a couple of keys on the keyboard (line 3). While P is hitting these keystrokes, demonstrating engagement in another activity but at the same time preparing the record for the answer (also see examples 4 and 5), S answers the question by saying 'don't know' in line 4. P initiates repair which S does not treat as a request for an elaboration but rather as a problem of understanding and provides the exact same answer again in the clear (line 6). The officer now treats this as recordable and edits or prepares the document with single, slower keystrokes in line 7. Just when the officer finishes editing and when the typing speeds up in line 8 (indicated by the continuous x's in the transcript), S provides a second answer, 'manilo', followed by an uncertainty marker 'I believe' in line 9 with an extended reason in line 10. P immediately halts his typing. This information is crucial to the case as the person who was holding the knife will most likely be accused of and possibly charged with threatening the victim with a weapon. By giving this information to the officer, S now accuses someone else specifically. By doing this he tells on his friend, something he previously mentioned in the interrogation he would not do. This point in the interrogation is crucially important and this is partially shown by P through the halting of the typing activity while S is providing a legally relevant answer in lines 9-10 (compare to example 7 where the information is not necessarily legally relevant and where P does not stop his typing activity). The information is selected by P's halting the typing and is therefore treated as recordable. This is also demonstrated through the text that P writes in the police record: "I don't know exactly who had the knife. I think Manilo."

5.4.2 How typing structures the talk and the text

Here, I want to show a typical example of a social interrogation with a minor. The officer structures the interrogation through his questions and his typing rhythm. He displays his institutional asymmetry by not aligning with previous talk but aligning with his own text which only he currently has access to. In this example (19), P types up all the answers one at a time, and when additional information is given by S, P only types it up when he is ready.

EXAMPLE 19 (TCint02min21)

- 1 P: *je woont nog bij je (.) ouders?*
you still live with your (.)parents?
- 2 *vader en moeder?*
father and mother?
- 3 S: *m moeder alleen.*
just m mother.
- 4 P: *je moeder alleen.=*
just your mother.=
- 5 =X xx[xxx X] *Ik woon*
I live
- 6 S: *[en met me broer°tje°.]*
[and with my °little° brother.]
- 7 P: *xxxX xxx xxxx xxxxxx* *bij mijn moeder.*
with my mother.
- 8 *hoe heet je moe[der?]*
what is your mo[ther]'s name?
- 9 [xXx]xxx [xxxx xxxx x] *Mijn moeder heet*
My mother's name is
- 10 S: *[sabine de graaf]*
[sabine de graaf]
- 11 P: *X xxxxxx (.) x xx xx* *Sabine*
Sabine
- 12 *sabine?*
sabine?
- 13 *[(en dan)*
[(and then)
- 14 S: *[ja,*
[yeah,
- 15 *de graaf.*
de graaf.
- 16 P: *de graaf.*
de graaf.
- 17 S: *d[e] graaf.]*
d[e] graaf.]

5.4.3 A comparison: story elicitation without typing and story elicitation with typing

I now move on to a comparison between two ways of interrogating during the case-related phase of the same interrogation. In the first example (20), the officer is focused on finding out *why* the suspect did what he did and does not type up anything. Approximately eight minutes later, in the second example (21), the officer types up the earlier elicited story while asking more specific questions concerning *what* exactly happened. These two examples allow us to see how typing further structures and controls the talk and therefore the text. It also shows us that a rather vague, initial story is turned into a well-structured, chronologically-told story in which the causal relations are made explicit.

In the first example (22) there are extended question-answer sequences without P typing. P is asking the suspect about the victim, Mervellino, who was assaulted in a garage by the suspect (currently being interrogated) and two of his friends (also suspects in this case). The victim claims that all three suspects stole his iPod. Until now, the suspect currently being interrogated has denied that he knows anything about stealing an iPod. However, through a confrontation, the officer is successful in getting the information from the suspect, who admits that it was their intention to steal the iPod (also see chapter 4). During the interrogation, the questions and answers follow each other sequentially with minimal pauses or overlap. This allows for a fast-paced question-answer interaction.

EXAMPLE 20 (TCint03min27)

- 1 P: *ohkee* (2) *e::n .h* (2) *mervellino*,
 ohkay (2) *a::nd .h* (2) *mervellino*,
- 2 *die werd in die box getrokken*.
 he was pulled into the garage.
- 3 S: *ja*.
 yeah.
- 4 P: *waarom?* (3)
 why? (3)
- 5 S: *(zeiden ook wou) dat ze iets van hem °wilde° ofzo*,
 (they also said want) that they °wanted° something of him or sumthing,
- 6 P: *hmnn?*
 hmnn?

- 7 S: *ze wouden hem in elkaar slaan ofzo:,*
they wanted to beat him up or sumthi:n,
- 8 P: *en waarom?=
and why?=
=manilo had had an argument with him I think,*
- 9 S: *=manilo had ruzie met hem geloof ik,
=manilo had had an argument with him I think,*
- 10 P: *hmnn mnn, (0.4)
hmnn mnn, (0.4)*
- 11 S: *voor zover ik weet,
as far as i know,*
- 12 *maarja.
but yeah.*
- 13 *ik weet niet,
I don't know,*
- 14 *manilo had volgens mij ruzie met hem,
manilo had an argument with him I think,*
- 15 *dat was het ja.
that was it yeah.*
- 16 P: *hmnn.
hmnn.*
- 17 S: *[of gavon.
[or gavon.*
- 18 P: *[nnee.
[nno.*
- 19 *°nee°.
°no°.*
- 20 *manilo zegt dat jullie die ipod wilde stelen van hem.
manilo said that you ((PLURAL)) wanted to steal the ipod from him.*
- 21 S: *†ik vond het sowieso al geen goed idee,
†I didn't think it was a good idea anyhow,*
- 22 *ik zei ze al,
I already told em,*
- 23 *laat hem.
leave him.*

In this part of the case-related interrogation the officer is figuring out what happened in the garage. The climax is building up towards a statement in which we hear that S knew all along that the other two suspects wanted to steal the iPod (lines 21-23). The answer S provides here means that he already knew that his two friends wanted to steal the iPod before they pulled the victim, Mervellino, into the garage. Judicially this has implications because it means that the other two suspects *intended* to steal the iPod (Criminal Code, section 310).

In lines 1-2, P strategically uses a summary or a ‘formulation’ (Heritage & Watson, 1979) of what was previously said in the interaction by S. With this formulation there is a preference for agreement (Heritage & Watson, 1979), which is demonstrated in line 3. The agreement allows the officer to immediately ask for more details with an open-ended ‘why’ question, which invites S to give an unlimited answer and to provide the story according to how he thinks it happened (also see Kidwell & González, 2010). When P provides a rising intonation continuer (line 6), S gives a new answer in which he again takes no responsibility for pulling the victim into the garage (‘or sumthing’). When P questions him again and asks ‘and why’ they wanted to beat him up, S still does not take blame for the event, uses an uncertainty marker (‘I think’) and leaves himself out of the story. After an appropriate continuer ‘hmnn mnn’ in line 10, S marks further uncertainty by using ‘as far as I know’ and ‘I don’t know’ and ‘I think.’ Up to this point the officer has let the suspect tell his story, which has changed from ‘wanting something of him’ to ‘wanting to beat him up.’

P responds to S’s non-committal story with two ‘no’s’ in lines 18-19. S adds one more uncertainty element ‘or gavon’ in overlap with the downward falling ‘nno.’ This is where S’s story ends. S does not receive a continuer or an agreement token after his elaborated explanation of why they wanted to beat up the victim. Rather, P quotes the other suspect (line 20) and thereby faces the suspect with a confrontation. This shows that P knew the answer to the question all along but wants S to say it himself (also see Edwards, 2008). In reply to the confrontation, S admits that he already told his friends that it wasn’t a good idea from the start. By saying this and by emphasizing the personal pronoun “I” (line 21), S admits that, even if *he* did not think it was a good idea, it was indeed the other suspects’ intention to steal the iPod, which is the exact piece of information the officer was trying to elicit. This confrontation (as well as other police interrogation strategies such as a formulation, open-ended questions, continuers, and disagreements) is consequential for the manner in which this interrogation evolved. Only after approximately eight minutes does P return to these events and start typing up what was elicited here.

In the next excerpt (21) we see that the officer asks another round of questions and waits for the suspect to answer. It is this second round of questions and answers that is the basis for the text in the police record. The questions are now not only

focused on ‘why’ but also on ‘what’ and ‘who,’ and they follow the sequential order of the text on the screen. In this excerpt the questions are asked specifically so that their answers can be typed, and when the answers are not oriented to the typing, the suspect is asked by P to wait.

EXAMPLE 21 (TCint03min35)

- 1 P: *ww[ro::rm,* *((Mervellino stond*
ww[ro::rm, *ook in de boxgang.))*
- 2 [Xxxxxx xxx ***((Mervellino was***
also in the garage
- 3 *e[:n,*
a[:nd, ***hallway))***
- 4 [x
- 5 *jullie staan in die box?=
you ((PLURAL)) are in that garage?=
=x x=
=en wat gebeurt er dan? (1)
=and what happens then? (1)*
- 8 S: *mnnn,*
mnnn,
- 9 *mervellino probeert weg te gaan,
mervellino tries to leave,*
- 10 P: *hmnn ;mnn;
hmnn ;mnn;*
- 11 X
- 12 S: *ja [toen hielde we die deur dicht,]
yeah [then we kept that door closed,]*
- 13 P: [x x x x x x x x] ***((editing))***
- 14 S: *[probeerden we hem tegen te houden,]
[we tried to stop him,]*
- 15 P: [x x x x x] x ***((editing))***

- 16 °ja. °
°yeah. °
- 17 S: [zijn nog een tijdje bezig geweest],
[were busy for a little while,]
- 18 P: [x x x xxxxxxxxxxxx] xxx x x
Toen Mervellino
When Mervellino
- 19 S: uit[eindelijk was ie weggegaan].
in [the end he left.]
- 20 P: [xx xxxx x x x]
weg
made
- 21 even hoor,
wait a second alright,
- 22 x [x x x] xxxxx (0.2)
wilde,
to leave,
- 23 [(mompelt zacht)]
[(soft mumbling)]
- 24 xxxxxx
hebben
we kept ((Dutch:
kept we))
- 25 wie heeft die deur [dichtgehouden?
who held the door [closed?
- 27 [x
- 28 S: weet ik niet (°meer°). (2)
i don't remember (°anymore°). (2)
wij die toegangsdeur
dichtgehouden. Dit
om te voorkomen,
- 29 P: ((types 22 seconds))
((we)) the access
door closed. This in
order to prevent,
- 30 X xxxxx xxxxxx X[xX
- 31 [en waarom wilde jullie eh h:en,
[and why did you ((PLURAL)) want
to eh th:em,
- 32 nniet hebben dat [mervellino eh (.) wegging?
didn't want that [mervellino would eh (.) leave? dat Mervellino weg
kon gaan. De rede
om Mervellino te
weerhouden om uit
die box te komen,
was, omdat zij die
Ipod van Mervellino
wilden stelen.
- 33 [X X
- 34 S: †i|pod (hhh).
†i|pod (hhh).
- 35 P: x

36	<i>mnn.</i> <i>mnn.</i>		Mervellino from
			leaving. The reason
			to stop Mervellino
37	((types 37 seconds))		from coming out of
			the garage, was,
			because they wanted
			to steal the Ipod
			from ((or: 'of'))
			Mervellino.

This extract begins with a marked change in activity from typing to talking (markers like ‘ohkay’, ‘well’, but also stretched nonsense noises like this one here are common in my materials when officers transition from one activity to the other), while at the same time posing an ‘and-prefaced’ next question linking back to the previous topic (Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994). The officer has just typed up ‘Mervellino was also in the garage hallway’ which he presents as a summary of the current event unfolding (line 5) before posing a new open ended question (similar to the use of the formulation in examples 9 and 10). When S produces a longer answer in return to the open question elicitation (‘what happens then,’ cf. Kidwell & González, 2010), the suspect is not orienting towards the typing and P tells the suspect to hold on (line 21). S is giving an elaborate answer in story-form, which consists of five separate intonation units: 1) Mervellino tries to leave; 2) we held the door closed; 3) tried to stop him; 4) were busy for a little while; 5) in the end he left. Each unit has a rising intonation except for the last unit when his story is finished. Whereas S answered in a similar format when P was not typing (example 20) here we see that P has to keep up with the talking activity but he is still editing and he does not type as fast as S tells his story (also see example 1). After P asks S to wait he takes and maintains the floor by typing continuously and softly mumbling what he is typing (line 23). S therefore not only has to adhere to the agenda that P sets by asking the questions that he wants to ask, but he also has to adapt to the speed of the officer’s typing capabilities (which was not the case in example 20).

Now that the officer knows ‘why’ the suspects wanted to keep the victim in the garage (from the interaction in example 20), the officer is focused on what happened exactly and in what order. His questions are based on what was previously typed up, as we already saw at the beginning of this excerpt in line 5 and 7. The officer’s questions lead to a coherent story on paper; the questions are oriented to the text that is already written and that is about to be written. This can also be seen in line 25 where P’s question is not based on the last words S uttered (‘in the end he left’), but rather on what the officer wants to type up next. This concerns details about the second part of the suspect’s story (‘yeah then we kept that door closed’). That the questions are based on what was last typed up on the screen can also be seen in lines 29-30 where P finishes writing up the second part of the suspect’s story. P begins formulating a causal relationship in the text (‘This

in order to prevent'), upon which he bases his next question (lines 31-32). The suspect's answer is short, 'iPod,' as they already discussed this approximately eight minutes earlier in the interrogation (see example 10). P now specifically spells out intent when he types up the last two full sentences in the record.

In sum, during the first round of questions (example 20), we see a question-answer session where both participants focus solely on the talk that is going on. The interaction happens rapidly and sequentially; the questions are based on the answers and the answers are based on the questions. The officer's goal is to have the suspect say out loud why they kept the victim in the garage and who is responsible for what; the officer is "doing" interrogating.

In the interaction where typing is one of the main activities (example 21), the officer seamlessly switches between talking, listening and typing (as explored in section 5.2 in this chapter). Here, the officer is "doing" taking a statement. Although the two ways of interrogating (example 20 and 21) show similarities (marking topic/activity changes, setting the agenda, using formulations, open-ended questions and continuers), we also see how the typing influences the talk. The officer, who is the only one who has access to the computer and therefore types when he wants to type, is now not only in control of the spoken interrogation, but is also in control of what is typed up and when this is typed up. The officer asks the suspect to hold on and keeps the floor while typing. Furthermore, the agenda is not only based on what the suspect last produced or on what questions he wants to ask next, but on the last words that were written up in the police record, which are always visible to the officer but not to the suspect. When the suspect provides a long answer while the officer is still busy editing, S is specifically asked to orient to the typing and answer 'for the record.' Whereas the first version of the story was a non-committal account of the events that took place, the second version of the story focused on the specifics of 'who' and 'what' as well as 'why.' The story on the computer, or the end product, is a formal, coherent and legally relevant one that spells out the causal relations between the suspect's actions (keeping the door closed because they wanted to prevent the victim from leaving in order to steal his iPod) (also see Edwards, 2008).

5.4.4 Summary

P uses the typing activity to select what information he hears and writes down in the police record, thereby displaying asymmetry regarding the writing of the document. Whether a police officer waits until the suspect is finished, waits until the suspect has started formulating an answer (it being projectable where it is going), continues typing while the suspect adds information (and does not include this information in the record), or halts typing while the suspect adds information

(and treats the information as important) shows us what information from the suspect's story matters for the construction of the police record, according to the police. The typing activity even further structures the talk where P not only asks the questions, but also types up the record and knows when the typing activity will end so that a new question can be asked. When we compare a stretch of interaction with and without typing, it becomes clear that the officer can utilize the typing activity to maintain the floor. Furthermore, the text on the screen structures the talk and further defines the interrogation agenda.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the chapter I set out three aims. First of all, I wanted to explore the different ways in which the participants orient to, and coordinate, talking and typing during the interrogation. Throughout this chapter we have come to understand how typing and talking are produced and oriented to in police interrogations. These multiple activities generally occur in a sequential manner, but they also concur simultaneously. Whereas the standard sequence consists of question-answer-typing (QAT) where the police officer and suspect sequentially take turns in asking a question, answering and typing up the answer, we have also seen alternatives to this basic sequence (QTA or talk and typing in overlap with each other). These alternatives occur especially often when the answers are projectable, the keystrokes are short, the interrogation becomes difficult or when P is managing typing and talking him- or herself simultaneously. How QAT and alternatives thereof are organized in time shows us whether or not and when the questions are recordable, how the talk and text are structured and how the participants orient to and organize the typing and talking. The organization of typing furthermore shows us what information from the suspect's story matters for the construction of the police record. We have also seen that formulations help structure the interrogation and the record, but also provide S with an opportunity to make changes to the record.

Secondly, I set out to find out how the various typing styles are related to the different phases of the interrogation and to the number of police officers present. We have seen examples of how typing is not only produced, but also oriented to differently in the specific phases of the police interrogation. In each of these phases the complexity of managing the talk and typing changes as the consequences for each phase change. For example, the consequences of answering a question about age for a form as opposed to answering who held the knife are different for both P and S. That these consequences are different is not surprising as each phase has different goals that need to be achieved. These various goals require a different focus and therefore different orientation to the typing. The tensest part

of the interrogation, the case-related phase, requires the officer to focus on the interaction, which, as we have seen, sometimes occurs without typing. In other phases, typing is often combined and intertwined with questions and answers. As some of the suspects demonstrate (see examples 8, 11 and 19), answers are very much oriented to the typing. The institutional demands of writing up an important record as well as the predetermined allocation of turns and orientation towards these turns are therefore constantly present. When there are two officers, the typing has a less structuring role. Typing becomes a background noise, instead of an interjecting activity. Since the typing officer is only focusing on the typing activity and not on interrogating as an activity she has more time to make the police record 'appropriate' for the future audience.

Thirdly, I wanted to explore how typing functions as an institutional, controlling action when talk is transformed into text during the interrogation. I demonstrated in the last section of this chapter that P can use typing to even further define the asymmetrical roles between the police and the suspect. Throughout this chapter we have seen examples of the typing interjecting the talk, causing the talk to be backgrounded, or the typing being halted because the answer was significant to the interrogation. It is always P who is in control of when the typing begins and ends and when the next question comes. Suspects orient to this pre-allocation of turns and provide answers 'for the typing.' Typing demonstrates not only that an answer was recordable, but can also keep the floor and 'overrule' additional volunteered information by the suspect. This then means that P is not only in control of structuring the talk, but P's typing activity is also used to exercise control over the interrogation and therefore what is written down in the text.

Aside from Komter's work on police interrogations and Heath's work on doctor-patient interaction, there has been little conversation analytic research to date on typing and talking in a face-to-face setting. For this reason I also drew on other studies of performing multiple activities at the beginning of this chapter to provide a backbone for analysis of participants engaging in multiple activities in an institutional setting. This elaborate account of typing and talking in the Dutch police interrogation adds to the existing literature about coordinating multiple activities in interaction. As human beings we seem to be capable of performing such activities simultaneously, but how we do this and what effects this has on our interaction has not been explicated in such detail to date in conversation analytic studies. Specifically in the institutional setting material objects or secondary activities that make use of physical objects often play a role in interaction. In this chapter I demonstrated that the physical activity of typing has an influence on the other activity that takes place during the police interrogation, in this case: interrogating.

The analyses in this chapter have shown that in this particular institutional setting, Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson's conversational turn-taking system (1974)

is elaborated with an additional activity: typing. Although typing may not be a turn per se, it is an activity that is oriented to by the participants. This means that the conversational rules as explicated by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, are adapted in this particular setting, creating a very specified turn-taking system. For example, in this particular setting, there are lengthy gaps between speaker transitions where the typing fills this gap. The typing demonstrates that the officer is occupied and suspects often remain silent during the typing. The next turn, after a typing stretch, is often taken by P who knows when the typing will come to an end. Typing therefore also restricts turn-allocation as the ending of typing activity can only be projected by the police officer. Typing not only 'restricts' the talk but also structures the talk and can be strategically used to structure the text that is produced for the police record. It is precisely this police record that will serve a very important function in the future of the suspect.

Chapter 6 |

Conclusion and discussion

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I have demonstrated how officers and suspects co-construct the written police record: from police interrogation to police record. Through story solicitations and storytelling, deconstructing and co-constructing the stories and consequently through the multi-tasking of and orientation to talking and typing, the police officer and suspect create a written version of the spoken story.

In this concluding chapter I summarize the findings of this study (6.1). I then provide a discussion about the theoretical (6.2) and practical (6.3) implications of this work. This chapter ends with suggestions for future research (6.4).

6.1 Summary

At the beginning of this PhD project I set out to collect police interrogations and police records as part of the bigger research project ‘intertextuality in judicial contexts’ in which we aimed to follow the suspect’s statement from police interrogation to trial. Once we had permission from the Ministry of Justice I was relatively soon welcomed by the police to sit in on interrogations and to record these special kinds of interactions. At the police station I learned what it takes to collect such unique material that is usually not available to the public.

When I had collected the material, 15 police interrogations and their police records, I had the basis for my research. The interrogations I recorded were with 11 different police officers and 14 different suspects. Suspects were interrogated about crimes such as robbery, extortion, threatening, handling goods and violent robberies. The suspects, aged between 14 and 42, come from all sorts of backgrounds and have various histories in relation to crimes and imprisonment.

The officers also come from different backgrounds; they have various levels of experience within the police and various levels of experience with interrogating. Interrogations were conducted with one or two officers. The ways in which the records were written up and the ways in which the officers managed the various activities of the interrogation (asking questions, listening, typing, writing on a piece of paper) not only differed amongst the officers, but also differed from one interrogation to the next with the same officers.

The different phases of the police interrogation were carried out in a more or less homogeneous manner. In general, officers began the interrogation by doing some preliminary activities on the computer while waiting for the suspect to be brought to the interrogation room. When the suspect arrived, he was either given the caution immediately, or some form-filling questions were first asked. Officers then conducted a social interrogation in about half of the cases or otherwise immediately started with the case-related interrogation. The interrogation was

rounded off with exit activities such as printing the record, having the suspect read through the record and signing the documents.

After having recorded the interrogations I started transcribing my materials. While closely looking at the data, I started to identify the puzzle that the material offered. When looking at the product of the police interrogation, the police record, three styles were prevalent: the monologue style, the recontextualisation phrase style and the question-answer style. None of these writing styles, however, reflected the sometimes informal, emotional or particularly conversational language and interaction I had experienced as an observer in the interrogation room. When returning to how suspects told their stories in the recordings, I did not find the complex, recontextualised, formal statements and wordings that were so apparent in the police records. Additionally, although the question-answer style did show what questions were asked during the interrogation, the monologue style made it appear as if the statements were volunteered by the suspects.

This observation led to questions about the process of constructing a police record. Asking questions, listening to answers, typing and asking further questions are tasks that the police officer has to manage. For the suspect, who is mainly answering questions, listening and waiting, there is most at stake during the case-related phase. It is here that the officer is seeking the truth, and the suspect may or may not want to or cannot tell “what happened.” I became curious about how the officer and suspect manage and orient to the main activities that are going on in the various phases of the police interrogation, particularly the activities of talking and typing, and how the suspects’ stories are, in this process, transformed from a story to be told into a story to be written. This led to two research questions which became the main focus of this dissertation:

1. *How are the suspects’ stories elicited, told and written down during the interrogation?*
2. *How are talk and typing coordinated in the various phases of the interrogation?*

The first research question was explored thoroughly in chapter 4. In this chapter I analyzed how the suspects’ stories transform from talk to text. Although the suspect plays a major role in the construction of his own story, we also see that the majority of the records are written up according to P’s agenda, in P’s words, reformulating P’s questions and selecting the words appropriate for P’s future audience.

In this chapter I first looked at how the suspects’ stories were elicited. Officers frame their story elicitation questions in such a way that it invites suspects to tell an innocent story. When officers let the suspects tell their stories in a longer turn-at-talk, I labeled these types of stories “free” stories. Officers respond with minimal acknowledgement tokens, encouraging suspects to continue telling their story about what happened. Other officers soon interrupt the suspect when they tell

their stories. I labeled these types of stories “supervised” stories. Here, we clearly see that the officer steers the suspect’s story in a particular direction. Answers can be “correct” and officers encourage suspects to tell the “correct” version of the story – a story that the officer may already have heard from the victim or witnesses. A third way in which stories are told is that officers “impose” a story. Officers tell the suspect how the events occurred and then the officer may or may not list a number of yes/no interrogatives that the suspect may or may not confirm (or he confirms all interrogatives at once). Such yes/no interrogatives can be powerful as they preformulate the answer (see Raymond, 2003), leaving little space for the suspect to say things differently.

Either through further questioning, through interruptions or because the officer tells the story him- or herself (or a combination thereof), officers co-construct and construct a story according to their own structure and chronology. We see that the “most reportable event” as defined by Labov & Waletzky (1967) is adapted from an “innocent” story about doing ordinary things to a story about intentional actions. In the written stories we see that the temporal order has been changed to create a coherent story that includes facts relating to time, location, names of people and direction.

At the same time, by looking at the written record we cannot see how the stories were constructed. The various interactional styles of eliciting, telling and responding to a story are not shown in the record. Questions are sometimes completely left out (monologue style), or they have been rephrased as if they were spoken by the suspect whereas they were actually uttered by the officer (recontextualisation phrase style).

The second research question was examined in chapter 5. Here, I looked at how the officer and suspect coordinated and oriented to talking and typing. Generally, talking and typing are sequentially organized and separate activities. Even when there is some overlap, these two prevalent activities are managed unproblematically in this specific institutional setting. Overlap of talk and typing occurs when the answers are projectable, keystrokes are short, or when P is for example reading out loud what he/she is currently typing. The typing demonstrates not only when answers are recordable, but also demonstrates the projectability of an answer. In other words, how talk and typing are organized and oriented to shows us what information from the suspect’s story matters for the construction of the police record. A way for P to share with S what has been typed or what is about to be typed, is through the use of formulations. Such formulations function as a mid-way point between talk and typing and not only help structure the interrogation, but also provide S with an opportunity to make changes to the record during the interaction.

Of course typing and talking are not managed the same throughout every interrogation with every different officer. We must take into account contextual

factors such as the different phases of the interrogation. The various goals of the various phases of the interrogation require a different orientation to the typing. For example, during the form-filling phase, questions and answers are short whereas during the case-related phase officers are seeking the truth and “doing interrogating.” Furthermore, the number of officers who are conducting the interrogation can differ. When there are two officers, typing becomes more of a background activity while at the same time the typing officer also has more time to make the police record ‘appropriate’ for the future readers of the document.

In the last section of chapter 5 I demonstrated that typing can play a role in structuring the interrogation. Through interjecting the talk, keeping the floor, and overruling information from the suspect, officers are in control not only of writing up the document but also of the interaction. Suspects orient to the pre-allocation of turns and activities by answering for the typing. Typing therefore further defines the asymmetrical roles between the professional (the police officer) and the lay-person (the suspect).

6.2 Theoretical implications

This research adds to the existing literature about how police interrogations are recorded as written statements (Jönsson & Linell, 1991; Komter, 2002/2003, 2006; Rock, 2001). In accordance with previous research, I have demonstrated that the suspects’ stories are co-constructed in interaction with the police officer. The written records do not accurately reflect the interactional construction of the record nor can we see what changes the story has undergone in its process of becoming a written story. Furthermore, I showed that the story is structured by the officer, who not only sets the agenda, but demonstrates interactional control through the coordination of talk and typing.

On paper, it looks as if the suspect volunteered most of the story. These voluntary stories in the documents are, however, transformed stories and will play an important role in the much wider judicial context. As the results from the bigger intertextuality project demonstrate (Komter, 2011; Sneijder, 2011; van der Houwen, in preparation) these transformed stories are retold and/or cited from in court where they are lifted out of the interactional setting where they were originally produced (Komter, 2011; also see Eades, 2008/9; Park & Bucholtz, 2009). This thesis helps us understand how an important document like the police record was constructed in the first phase of this judicial process and has shown us that the written story is no longer the suspect’s own story.

In order to demonstrate how stories were transformed, I looked at how stories were elicited, told and written down. Jefferson, who continued with Harvey Sacks’ work on storytelling in ‘sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation,’

states that “stories are sequenced objects articulating with the particular context in which they are told” (1978:219). My research on police interrogations has made a contribution to the study of stories in interaction. In the police interrogation setting, the various ways in which stories are elicited, “supervised”, or “suggested” by the officers demonstrate the interactional influence of the officer as the story elicitor and story recipient. By combining insights from conversation analysis and Labov & Waletzky’s narrative structure theory I have not only shown how stories are elicited, told, responded to and written down, but I was also able to demonstrate what changes in the structure of the suspect’s story. The unique aspect of the Dutch police interrogation setting where spoken stories are written up during the interaction, has allowed us to see that the structure of the written story informs the interaction that takes place between officer and suspect.

In addition, we have seen that officers demonstrate control during the interrogation through typing. A unique contribution to the existing literature about police interrogations is the very detailed analysis of the multitasking of talk and typing in this institutional setting. Building on the work of Komter (2006) who has shown the importance of typing and the difficulty of managing multiple activities, I zoomed in on this multitasking phenomenon that creates a special turn-taking system (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1974).

The detailed analysis began with a new and elaborate transcription system that allows for a detailed look at how talk and typing are managed in time and in relation to each other. I then demonstrated that the participants’ orientation towards both activities calls for a very specialized, institutionalized turn-taking system in which there appears to be a pre-allocation of turn order as well as turn activity. Although typing is not a ‘turn’, it does take up a place in the interaction. During the typing activity, suspects are often silent and there are large gaps between participants’ talk. Furthermore, turn allocation rules differ as the officer is the only participant who can project the ending of the typing. The officer is the one doing the changing of activities and knows exactly when he is about to talk and type and where the transition relevant places in interaction occur. For the suspect, it is a different matter. The suspect does not know when the officer will start typing or when he is about to finish. Therefore, the suspect is even less aware of the agenda when typing also occurs than when the officer only talks and does not type. The conversational ‘rules’ in the turn-taking system as described by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), are therefore adapted for this particular setting. These additional or changed rules in which typing plays a prominent role, is what makes this setting interactionally different from an everyday conversational setting.

The detailed analyses of multi-tasking in police interrogations also demonstrates that typing competes with the turn-taking system. We do not see long stretches of talking and typing that are produced simultaneously, unless both activities are produced in concert with each other like reading out loud what is

being typed or when there are two police officers. When we study these kinds of simultaneous activities, we notice how slow one types compared to the speed of talk. We also see that typing and talking compete when the interrogation becomes 'difficult,' which is when either the talk or the typing will generally come to a halt. There are therefore clues that typing and talking cannot be managed seamlessly by the participants at all moments in time.

The idea that multiple activities cannot be managed seamlessly is a common thought when thinking about multitasking in the workplace. Although officers can perform both talk and the activity of typing simultaneously in short moments of overlap, or when the officer reduces his speed of talking to his speed of typing so that the activities are "matched", I have also shown that in most other cases, one of the activities becomes the "main" involvement, reducing the other to the "side" involvement (Goffman, 1963). Since the officer is the only participant who has access to the typing, it is the officer who can control what activity is prioritized over the other. Although this research has made a contribution to the study of multitasking in interaction by showing that even routinized officers prioritize one activity over the other, it also shows that activities can be utilized to control the interaction.

The partial access (cf. Goodwin's term 'partial opaqueness', 2000) to the resources in this particular setting plays a role in structuring the interaction and in further displaying the asymmetrical roles between suspect and officer. The suspect does not have access to the physical product that is being produced (which is achieved by the physical activity of typing). P does have access to the computer, the keyboard and the text as it is being produced.

Therefore, as Beach & LeBaron (2002) stated: activities not only become part of the interaction but also help to define the institutional roles. We have seen how the officer and the suspect do this by managing the typing. The asymmetrical relationship is made even more asymmetrical through the one-sided activity of typing. In other words, the rigid turn-taking system and asymmetrical relationship between P and S defined by the question-answer format of the police interrogation, is even further institutionalized and being made asymmetrical by the typing activity.

6.3 Practical implications

My analyses of real-life police interrogation data have shown what actually happens in the interrogation room and what was actually written down. In addition to adding knowledge to the fields of spoken and written language and their interrelations, this research also has practical implications. Since the Dutch judicial system is mostly based on written documents (Malsch, de Keijser, Kranendonk & de Gruijter, 2010)

and since the police record is an important part of the case file (Malsch, Haket & Nijboer, 2008), readers of these ‘second generation’ documents should be aware that the story on paper is not solely the suspect’s story, but it is a co-constructed story. Both judges and police officers are aware of this. Judges have indicated (personal communication) that police records are written in formal language that does not reflect the suspects words. At the same time, one of the officers in one of the interrogations I recorded states the following while he is typing up the record: “it must all be so formal” (*het moet allemaal zo formeel joh*). While he says this he is typing up: “Do you have any objections against giving back the goods that were encountered and confiscated at your house to your girlfriend M.” (*Heb je bezwaar tegen het teruggeven van de bij jou aangetroffen en in beslag genomen goederen aan je vriendin M.*) The police officer’s perception illustrates that differences in perspective are tied to the institutional tasks.

Although both police officers and judges are aware that the police record is not written entirely in the suspect’s own words, insight into how these documents were constructed can be beneficial for judges, prosecutors, lawyers, the police and suspects as well as professional and lay people in other institutional settings. In this thesis we have seen that not only the suspects’ words are recorded, but the officer’s words also make up a substantial part of the police record. The monologue style may suggest that a suspect has been willing to volunteer a story and can therefore be seen as a cooperative suspect. However, by looking at the monologues and recontextualised phrases a reader cannot know which words were the suspect’s and which words were the officer’s. Although officers probably do not intentionally misrepresent the spoken words, it would be beneficial – not only in the police setting – for participants to understand in what ways this process can be made more transparent and how the suspect can play a bigger role in having his own words represented on paper. I will provide three suggestions here.

Firstly, providing an insight into how the stories were initially told can make visible what the suspect truly volunteered about what happened and what he considers to be the most reportable or most important event. These initial stories could be written up by the officer or they could be typed up by the suspect him or herself. Further (written out) questions and their answers in question-answer style can then illuminate what aspects the suspect did not mention in his story, but does provide answers for in the further questioning phase. Since Komter’s police interrogation material from the late 90’s does not include any question-answer style police records there may be a new trend towards using a question-answer style in police records (also see Malsch et al., 2010). Although a collection of 20 interrogations from the 90’s and 15 interrogations from the 2000’s does not accurately reflect all police practices, this is an interesting shift to study further.

Secondly, during the interrogation, the use of formulations by P provides the suspect with an insight into how the officer is understanding the suspect’s

words so far. Through the use of formulations the suspects have a chance to agree or disagree with how the officer formulates the suspect's words. The use of such formulations and how this relates to and is interwoven with the typing activity could be more elaborately discussed in the police interrogation advice literature (also see Sliedrecht, in preparation). Although this may not lead to a more literal way of writing up the suspect's story, it does allow for transparency during the interrogation and allows for the suspect to hear what elements of his story are being recycled.

Thirdly, an option could be to not type at all during the interrogation. Rather, as is done in for example police interrogations in the UK or in child witness interviews in the Netherlands, the interrogation can be recorded and typed up verbatim at a later stage. In this manner, the typing cannot have a structuring or controlling role throughout the interrogation. Having a recording of the interrogation would be an added benefit since the involved parties will always have the original recording to return to when required. In her dissertation about the development of rape victim stories, Haket (2007) wrote that when a police officer is typing throughout the interview, the police is constantly checking 'facts' and the conversation almost becomes business-like. Although the victim may have more time to think while the officer is typing, she also has to keep waiting for the officer and she can only continue her story according to P's schedule and agenda. Haket also has recordings of victim statements where the report was typed up afterwards. During these interviews she found the conversation to be 'smoother' (or more fluent) where the victim had more space to tell her story in her own way.

Just like Haket's intuitive observation we have also seen in this thesis that the typing activities structure and control not only the spoken interrogation but also the text that appears in the police record. The suspect, the lay person, has fewer rights in the interrogation room, not only by law and physically, but also interactionally. In order to give the suspect more space to tell his story - to give him more interactional freedom and opportunity to tell his story - we could suggest that combining activities such as asking questions, telling a story and typing should be kept to a minimum.

However, there are some drawbacks to this strategy as Malsch et al. (2010) demonstrate in an experiment they performed. The authors showed a videotaped recording of an interrogation with a suspect to five different police officers and asked them to write up a police record based on the interrogation. This led to five very different records. The researchers then showed these records to lawyers and asked them to evaluate the records based on believability and quality. What they found is that the most elaborate police record scored the lowest on the believability scale. The more formal and business-like police record and the monologue police record scored highest on the believability scale. It can therefore not be said that an

elaborate, verbatim account of the police interrogation is beneficial for the truth-finding that occurs based on written records at later stages in the judicial process.

At the same time, as discussed earlier, the partial opaqueness of the setting plays a role in the structuring and controlling role that P has in the interrogation. A way to solve the partial opaqueness problem would be to use a second screen that is visible to the suspect who can then read along with what the officer is typing up.

I am aware that not only police interrogations, but the entire judicial system is a complex matter. The above suggestions would need to be fully explored by those familiar with the entire system. Although my perspective may be a legally naive one, I hope to encourage interdisciplinary dialogue with others working on police interrogations and the police record.

This research may also be beneficial for other institutional settings in which a story is written down and then used as a portrayal of the spoken interaction. Documents like these are often used by others for evidence of “what happened” (Cicourel, 1967). However, such texts and discourses are often only partial representations of previous interaction but are “then used by others for inference and action” (Cicourel, 1967). Settings in which this is the case can include the legal setting, the medical setting, the educational setting, a journalistic setting, a government setting, or basically any bureaucratic setting in which documents are constructed and are later read and used by others as the basis for “what happened.”

6.4 Suggestions for future research

This research project looked at only one of the stages of the judicial process. Although I do not believe this to be a limitation of the study, it must be noted that the suspect’s story travels through other stages. In the bigger project ‘intertextuality in judicial contexts’ we not only looked at how the police record was constructed but also at how this record was used by lawyers, prosecutors and judges in the courtroom. The suspect’s story may also have been told to friends before he or she arrives at the police station, to the probation officer, the lawyer, a counselor, and the investigating judge. The story therefore, is not only transformed through the writing up of the documents and quoting from it at a later stage, but these various phases and people may also have an influence on how the story changes throughout the judicial process (also see Haket, 2007).

Furthermore, during the trials, we noted that there were many more documents that were referred to by all participants involved. The police do not only draw up a police record based on the interrogation, but they also draw up records based on the arrest, house searches, trips around the neighborhood with the suspect, and further interrogations. Reports are also drawn up by the

examining judge, medical examiner, social worker or family counselor. In short, there are many more documents in the judicial process that all help to form a story about the suspect and the crime he is suspected of. How the complete story is constructed and transformed and how all these documents are decontextualized and later recontextualized in the courtroom could show a more complete picture of intertextuality in the judicial process.

In addition, future research could benefit from video recordings of the police interrogations. One of the main points of this thesis has been the coordination of talking and typing. Although the excellent sound recordings allowed me to accurately transcribe the typing sounds, this research could have benefited from video recordings of the police interactions. With video images I could have further refined the conversation analytical analyses on how the typing activity is oriented to by both participants. Body torque, gaze, gestures and other hand and body movements would allow me to fully observe how multiple activities are managed, oriented to and would have allowed me to more precisely analyze the embodied actions. Furthermore, in order to see exactly what was typed when, keyboard logging would have been extremely helpful to study computer-human interaction.

Such detailed video and keyboard logging recordings could provide a more refined insight into how participants must divide their attention in the workplace. Typing while talking or talking while typing is not a unique combination of activities in a workplace. There are countless jobs where these two activities, or any other set of activities are required for the job. Think about a pilot who flies a plane while talking through his headset, a call centre worker who asks questions while filling in the questionnaire on the computer, or a secretary who is taking notes while listening to the meeting in progress. In today's (technological) world, multi-tasking is the norm. How human beings manage, organize and accomplish social interaction through simultaneous activity, how certain activities are favoured or prioritized over others and how activities can become a controlling factor in interaction needs to be further explored.

However, even with the data that we collected for this specific project, there are countless possibilities for future research. One such possibility concerns closely looking at the suspect's first stories when they are asked "what happened?" In their stories, where particularly the minors are "doing being innocent", I sensed a type of common sense that I was not always familiar with. Suspects attempt to convince officers that they were helping friends steal electronic goods because of friendship and that closing in on a young boy with at least seven people was just fun. These kinds of remarks demonstrate more than "doing being innocent." This talk is a reflection of the suspect's background, identity and their life world. Such quotes are then written down, formalized, and later discussed in court as offences.

In a passage about criminal law and narratology, Witteveen (1990: 188) wrote that the criminal process is a "translation machine" because there are enormous

differences between official criminal language and colloquial language. I have also shown in this thesis that the suspect's conversational, oral stories are transformed to a more formal, written story. But, this is only one part of the transformation. Witteveen also wrote that in the language of the law, a lot of the language that is important in our life worlds is lost. In the police records we no longer see the "everyday behaviour" of the suspects being described; rather, we see a transformed story, relevant for the judicial setting and relevant for the future audience (also see Cicourel, 1967: 333).

What I find to be missing in the written documents is the real story from the suspects' initial perspective before he has entered the judicial process. In this thesis we have only seen the suspects' language and their version of the story as told to the police. In this setting they were able to tell their story themselves, but this was already in an institutionalized setting, co-constructed with a police officer. In court the suspects' stories are even further recontextualized and institutionalized. What is their own real first story? What is the language these suspects use in their life worlds to describe what they do in their life worlds? And how far removed is this from the language used further on in the judicial process?

In addition, there appears to be a different type of common sense amongst the suspects as compared to the common sense upon which our law system is based (also see Schegloff, 1992 for a discussion on common sense in legal reasoning). I am interested in exploring the common ground of common sense, particularly amongst young suspects, criminals and the law by using interaction and ethnographic material from the suspect's everyday life world language in addition to the police interrogation and court hearing material.

This unique material deserves to be more fully researched in order to learn more about the language of suspects, police officers and the interaction between them.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

Overview table

Table 1 can be used as a reference while reading this thesis. In this table a summary is given of all the interrogations I recorded at a specific police unit in Amsterdam¹. This illustrates what types of crimes the suspects were arrested for and it shows demographic information about the suspects. This table also allows us to see under what circumstances these interrogations took place by for example comparing how long the interrogations took, whether or not the suspects were sitting in the interrogation room for the first time and whether the suspects were faced with one or two police officers. Furthermore, this information allows some general insight into how much text was written down as well as the changes the suspects made at the end of the interrogation. In the individual summaries in Appendix II, I will elaborate on the content of each of the interrogations.

1 In order to further anonymize the people and places in this research, I do not specify at which unit or in which area in Amsterdam I recorded the interrogations.

TC interrogation nr	Pseudonym for suspect	Reason for arrest	Adult/ minor	Country of birth	1 st or 2 nd interrogation	Length (approx.)	Interrogators	Changes made by S at the end of the int.	Police record style ²	Additional information
01	X	Robbery of home and several other possible crimes	Adult	Suriname	1	00:56:00	2 (RE & ST)	None		This material cannot be used in thesis (see chapter 2)
02	Manilo	Street robbery with violence (iPod)	Minor	Netherlands	1	02:36:00	1 (GE)	None	Monologue (social & case) + recontext. (case)	Arrested with suspect from int. 3
03	Byron	Street robbery with violence (iPod)	Minor	Netherlands	1	00:52:00	1 (GE)	None	Monologue (social & case) + recontext. (case)	Arrested with suspect from interrogation 2
04	Manilo	Extortion and hostage taking	Minor	Netherlands	1	01:26:00	1 (MI)	S makes a couple of changes - P & S negotiate	Mainly monologue (case) & recontext. (case)	Arrested with suspect from int. 5 - has been interrogated about same case as int. 2 & 3 (not recorded)
05	Stanley	Extortion and hostage taking	Minor	Netherlands	1 (for this offence)	00:23:00	1 (MI)	S signs, talk continues, record is printed again, S signs again.	Recontext. & monologue (case)	Arrested with suspect from int. 4 (same suspect as int. 2)
06	Hermin	Street robbery (cash)	Adult	Curacao	1	01:02:00	1 (FE)	None (does not read)	Monologue (social) & recontext. (case)	
07	Mark	Street robbery (with violence?)	Minor	Suriname	2	00:54:00	2 (FE & ST)	Couple of changes, but does not sign the document	Q&A (case)	Police officers use interrogation plan
08	Basil	Handling motorbike	Minor/ Adult	Netherlands	1	01:05:00	1 (LI)	Couple of spelling errors	Monologue (social) + recontext. (case)	
09	Marvin	Street robbery (€5,-)	Minor	Netherlands	1	00:28:00	2 (FE & WO)	None	Recontext. (case)	Arrested with suspect from int. 10
10	Sunny	Street robbery (€5,-)	Minor	Netherlands	1	00:13:00	2 (FE & WO)	None	Recontext. (case)	Arrested with suspect from int. 9
11	Ahmet	Street robbery (mobile phones)	Adult	Morocco	1	01:40:00	1 (FE) + translator	A couple of changes (with translator)	Monologue (social) & Q&A (case)	With Arabic translator. Suspect speaks very little Dutch
12	Ben	Street robbery (mobile phone)	Adult	Curacao	2	00:41:00	1 (JU)	Adds information	Q&A (case)	
13	Peter	Street robbery (purse)	Adult	Suriname	2	00:58:00	2 (NI & RO)	None	Monologue (case)	Previously told police he was innocent but now changed his mind
14	Aras	Street robbery (phone) and illegal alien	Adult	Sudan	1	00:51:00	2 (FE & ST)	None	Monologue (social) & Q&A (case)	
15	Doug	Street robbery and domestic abuse	Adult	Curacao	1	01:18:00	1 (RD)	None	Monologue (social) & Q&A (case)	Addicted to heroin; shows withdrawal symptoms during interrogation

2

Table 1: Summary of the main features of the interrogations

2 These styles and the phases in which they occur are explained and elaborated on in chapter 3.

APPENDIX II

Individual summaries of the material

Below follow fifteen individual summaries of the interrogations that I recorded and that I have police records of so that the reader has an understanding of the types of crimes the suspects were arrested for and what was talked about during the interrogation.

Interrogation 1

The suspect in this interrogation has been arrested for robbery in a home. This suspect is also sought in relation to several violent robberies with weapons. The two police officers only want to do a social interrogation today and discuss the case the day after. Therefore, during this interrogation, they only discuss the suspect's background, previous criminal activities and time spent in prison, relationships and social life in the Netherlands. After I recorded the interrogation, the officers asked me not to include this interrogation in my dataset (see footnote 1). From here on, this interrogation will not be further discussed or used in my analyses.

Interrogation 2

The suspect, Manilo, a minor who has spent time in a detention centre before, has been arrested for stealing an iPod with violence. He has been arrested together with two of his friends (also see interrogation 3). The three suspects supposedly pulled the victim into the garage box underneath Manilo's house and threatened him with a knife after which they stole his iPod. Manilo and his friends formed a group, Greenside, a couple of days earlier which they display by wearing green clothing. The idea behind the group was to take care of each other. When they were arrested they told each other they wouldn't say anything to the police. At the beginning of the interrogation, Manilo denies major involvement in the crime. He puts most of the blame on his friend Stanley. Manilo claims that Stanley had had an argument with the victim. When Manilo and Stanley saw the victim pass by the garage, they called him over. When the victim tried to run away, Manilo held him back because he wanted to talk. According to Manilo it was Stanley who fought with the victim in the garage. Stanley took the knife out of Manilo's inside coat pocket and threatened the victim. After approximately two hours of interrogating, Manilo tells the officer that Stanley knew that the victim had an iPod with headphones on him. Apparently it was Stanley who wanted to steal the iPod from him. Manilo is now crying during the interrogation because he feels like he is betraying his friends and he is worried that this will cause him problems. He is also

worried about being taken away from his mother by ‘child and adolescent welfare’ (‘jeugd zorg’). The suspect now wishes he had not been there and he wants to have a “normal” life.

Interrogation 3

The suspect, Byron, a minor who has been arrested before for vandalism and public violence, claims to have been ‘at the scene’ because he was with friends. He claims to have played a very minor role in the events that occurred in the garage (see interrogation 2). The suspect is not doing very well at school; he doesn’t like being at home with his father (his mother passed away) and prefers ‘chilling’ with his friends. He wants to be “free” to be able to do what he wants to do. Together with two of his friends (also see interrogation 2), he started a group who will take care of each other and who wear green bandana’s. Byron was hanging out in Manilo’s garage with these two friends when they called the victim over. Byron claims that the other two suspects were busy trying to push and pull the victim into the garage. This is when he knew that they wanted to steal something of him, probably his headphones that belonged to his iPod. Byron says that his loyalty to his friends was the reason why he didn’t leave. He only helped a little to make sure the victim stayed in the garage. When he is asked if a knife was used to threaten the victim, Byron says that a knife was only used to fix the garage lock.

Interrogation 4

The suspect, Manilo (the same suspect as interrogation 2), has been accused of kidnapping, threatening and extorting a victim. The suspect claims to know the victim very well – he also lives in the same neighbourhood. Apparently, the victim’s brother, Bruce, stole Manilo’s digital video camera of him. When Manilo and his friend Stanley were at the supermarket and they saw Bruce’s younger brother, they walked behind him for a few minutes, asked him where the digital camera was and threatened him. According to Manilo it was Stanley who told the victim that if his brother stole Manilo’s camera, they now want something in return. Manilo only wanted his digital camera back but Stanley made a deal with the suspect that he will bring two iPods and twenty euros. When they got closer to the victim’s house, they smoked a cigarette and the victim told them to wait around the corner from his house. A few minutes later the police arrived and Manilo and Stanley ran away. Manilo was surprised that the victim pressed charges because they had made a deal together – they even did a handshake. He also says that it was his friend Stanley who did most of the threatening and pushing. He does understand that the victim may have felt threatened by him and Stanley.

Interrogation 5

The suspect, Stanley, a minor, has been accused of kidnapping, threatening and extorting a victim. Stanley was together with Manilo (see interrogation 4). The suspect has been interrogated earlier but he refused to cooperate with the police officer. This interrogation took place a few hours later, after the officer interrogated Manilo. The officer asked the suspect if he wanted to add anything to the story. However, Stanley remained uncooperative. He did not want to mention any names and said that if he tells the officer what happened, people on the street will talk and it will get him into trouble. He does not want to be called a betrayer. The suspect wanted to call his mother to ask her for advice.

Interrogation 6

The suspect, Hernin, has been arrested for street robbery. He claims that it was not a street robbery. Hernin explains that he was asked by a young guy, about 16 or 17, to exchange five €20,- notes for forged money. For one €20,- note you can buy €50,- forged money. The victim gave the money to Hernin, who went out to look for forged money near the shopping centre. Although the victim didn't trust Hernin at first, Hernin convinced the victim that he could be trusted by mentioning a number of times that he is the brother of Kwaku and Manzino. Since all the Antillean people know each other in this area, and since the victim's stepfather is Antillean, Hernin thought it would be best to bring the money back to the suspect. However, when he returned about 30 minutes later, the victim was gone. Hernin then kept the money and spent it.

Interrogation 7

The suspect, Mark, a minor, has been arrested for violent robbery of two people. One of the items he is accused of stealing is a mobile phone that was later found on him during a house search. The suspect has been interrogated the day before during which he claimed to be innocent. This is the second interrogation where the police officers ask more specific questions. The suspect still claimed that he is innocent. The officers already had the questions they want to ask typed up on their screen. One of the questions concerned what exactly the suspect's phone number is. At the beginning of the interrogation the suspect gave the same phone number as the phone that the officers have tap-reports of. However, when the suspect read through his police record at the end of the interrogation, he claimed that the officers wrote down the wrong phone number and the suspect changed the numbers. Other questions concerned the fake drugs that the officers found in the suspect's room and the bike he allegedly bought on the street. The suspect told the officers that he used to sell fake drugs but he no longer does this. When the officers

confronted the suspect with information they had from the surveillance cameras from the subway station, the suspect called on his right to silence. Later, he called on his right to silence a few more times. The officers claimed he does this when the interrogation “becomes difficult.” At the end of the interrogation the police officer told the suspect that he is lucky to be living with his uncle who takes care of him and that he can go to school. The suspect claimed he has a hard life.

Interrogation 8

The suspect, Basil, a nineteen-year old who is still considered a minor according to the police³ has been arrested for stealing a motorbike. He is also still on probation from his previous crime. The suspect claimed that he just borrowed the motorbike, which he thought was a moped, to pick up his girlfriend. He gave his girlfriend the only helmet and he rode without the helmet from his girlfriend’s house to the café where they were going to play pool with his brother and cousin. Basil borrowed the motorbike from a friend whom he ran into on the street. Although the ignition was broken and the bike had to be started up with a special tool, he did not think that the motorbike was stolen and therefore claims he is innocent.

Interrogation 9

The suspect, Marvin, a minor who has been arrested for a number of violent crimes, is currently interrogated for stealing €5,- out of the victim’s pocket together with his friend Sunny (also see interrogation 10) and others. The victim was a classmate of Marvin. According to the victim report a group of guys stood around the victim and took his money and keys out of his pocket. Marvin claimed that he was surprised that the victim mentioned Marvin’s name. He was not part of the group and when he heard that the guys took his money he told them to give it back. He also told the victim that he had nothing to do with it and that he left. The police asked the suspect about others who were part of the group – one of these other guys was Sunny (see interrogation 10).

Interrogation 10

The suspect, Sunny, a minor who has been arrested for a number of violent crimes, is currently interrogated for stealing €5,- out of the victim’s pocket (also see interrogation 9). The suspect immediately admitted that he took the €5,- out of the victim’s pocket. He could not explain why he did it, but later he says that they were just messing around. He was also surprised that the victim pressed charges,

3 He has been arrested a number of times before and is considered a ‘harde kern jeugd’ (‘hard core youth’), meaning that he has committed at least two serious offences in one year as well as three smaller offences (also see section 2.1).

because the victim's father came by his house, threatened Sunny, and got the €5,- back. He said he also intended to give the €5,- back. Since the victim now had his money back, Sunny didn't understand that the victim told the police about this incident. Sunny did not want to mention any other names of people who were part of the group. He claimed they were people of his age who were just passing by.

Interrogation 11

This interrogation took place with a translator. The suspect, Ahmet, is from Morocco and does not speak the Dutch language fluently enough to be interrogated in Dutch. Ahmet has been arrested for robbery of a number of mobile phones and other electronic goods and handling these stolen goods. The police have arrested Ahmet because they have tap recordings from a stolen phone that the police claims belongs to Ahmet. However, Ahmet claims he is innocent. He did not own the phone that the police have tap recordings of. The relatively new phone that Ahmet was currently using was bought in a shop of which he has the receipt at home. He did own a large number of second hand phones, video cameras, MP3 players and GPS devices. He bought these second hand goods at different markets in Amsterdam, fixed them and sold them with a profit at the flea market on Queens Day. He needed this money to support his wife and three children.

Interrogation 12

The suspect, Ben, has been arrested for two violent robberies, one of which was a robbery of a mobile telephone. The suspect had been interrogated the day before and this was his second interrogation. The suspect claimed to be innocent. He claimed to have bought the phone from two friends and believes that the police description of the suspect in these two cases was applicable to a large number of people. He therefore found it strange that he was arrested for this crime. The officer wanted to ask the suspect additional questions during this interrogation, particularly about the two friends whom he bought the phone from and the friend whom he lent the phone to. The suspect and the police officer knew each other from earlier encounters and had a lot of 'social talk' at the end of the interrogation about the suspect's socks, tattoos, the suspect's aunt and mother and about which officers the suspect liked.

Interrogation 13

The suspect, Peter, has been arrested for stealing a purse with violence. The suspect has already been interrogated a day earlier during which he told the police he had nothing to do with the crime. The police officer, however, didn't believe him, and visited the suspect in his cell. During this time, the suspect admitted that he lied

during the first interrogation and he told the officer where he hid the purse and where he dropped the stolen phone. Two officers, the suspect and I drove to the location and picked up the purse that was hidden in the bushes. The phone could no longer be found. Upon returning to the police cell complex, the suspect was interrogated again.

During this second interrogation the suspect was very sorry about lying the day before and about stealing the purse from the lady. The suspect considered himself a respectable man with a girlfriend, three children, a mortgage and a full-time job. He made enough money and had never stolen before. He claimed to have been very drunk the night he stole the purse. After drinking several beers at his sister's house and at his cousin's BBQ he drank more whiskeys at a bar. He had talked to a girl who gave him a false address. When he did not find the girl at the given address, he went for a walk and on his way he met a couple who needed directions to the parking garage. The suspect stole the purse from the lady and ran away. He took the cash, the cigarettes (shag) and the phone out of the purse and hid the purse in a playground. When he was trying to walk back towards his sister's house, he was arrested. The suspect does not remember everything and he does not understand why he took the cash, the cigarettes or the phone as he does not need them (and he does not smoke). He told the police officer several times that he doesn't usually do these kinds of things and that he was very sorry. He wanted to give the cash back to the victims and wanted to buy a new phone for them.

Interrogation 14

The suspect, Aras, has been arrested for stealing a mobile telephone. He is also considered an unwanted alien. Aras said that he indeed had the phone in his possession but that he bought the phone from a junkie at central station when he was just released from prison. Prior to this the suspect had been in prison for six years. He bought the phone together with a friend of his, John. When he was released from prison he had never had a mobile phone with a camera and this is what he really wanted. He claims that when he bought the phone, he fell in love with his phone. The police officers accused him of being in the Netherlands illegally since he was released from prison. The suspect claimed to have arrived in the Netherlands the day before – but he didn't want to tell the officers where he was before. He also didn't want to talk about his girlfriend or his family. The night before he was arrested, he stayed with the mother and little brother of a friend of his, Shuy, whom he knew from prison.

Interrogation 15

The suspect, Doug, has been arrested for robbery of a mobile phone by using violence. The suspect's girlfriend pressed charges. This is already the third or

fourth time she pressed charges against this suspect. Doug is heavily addicted to heroin and cocaine and showed withdrawal symptoms during the interrogation (like yawning, sleeping and sighing). He claimed that he bought a SIM-card for his girlfriend and that nobody should have known the phone number except him. However, when they were together, the phone kept ringing and she didn't pick up. Therefore, the suspect didn't trust her. The suspect and his girlfriend had just used cocaine and heroin at his house and then went over to her house to bring back her dog. While they were there, a man arrived on a moped, who started saying that he was going to shoot the suspect. At the same time, his girlfriend was using drugs with another friend. The suspect then wanted his SIM card back as he didn't trust his girlfriend and the SIM card was his property. The suspect took the phone from his girlfriend, who resisted and fell. The suspect said that his girlfriend lied all the time. He claimed to be innocent and agreed to give the phone back, but not the SIM card.

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SUMMARY IN DUTCH / SAMENVATTING

Van politieverhoor naar proces-verbaal

In dit proefschrift maak ik inzichtelijk hoe politieagenten en verdachten het geschreven proces-verbaal co-construeren. De politieagent (P) en de verdachte (V) creëren gezamenlijk een geschreven versie van het gesproken verhaal. Ik laat dit proces zien aan de hand van materiaal dat ik zelf heb verzameld bij de politie. Dit materiaal, politieverhoren en processen-verbaal, verzamelde ik voor het NWO-project 'Intertekstualiteit in juridische settings: de interrelaties tussen gesproken taal en geschreven documenten in politieverhoren en strafrechtzaken' waarin het verhaal van de verdachte van politieverhoor tot rechtszitting wordt gevolgd. Nadat het College van procureurs-generaal toestemming had verleend om de politieverhoren bij te wonen en op band op te nemen werd ik relatief snel door de politie verwelkomd om dit type interacties op te nemen. De succesvolle veldwerkperiode leidde tot het verzamelen van materiaal dat normaal gesproken niet beschikbaar is voor het publiek. Deze fase van het onderzoek beschrijf ik in **hoofdstuk 2**.

Het materiaal voor mijn onderzoek bestaat uit 15 verhoren en processen-verbaal die ik tijdens het veldwerk heb verzameld. De verhoren vinden plaats met 11 verschillende agenten en 14 verdachten. De verdachten werden verhoord voor onder andere diefstal (met geweld), afpersing, bedreiging en heling. De verdachten waren tussen de 14 en 42 jaar oud ten tijde van het verhoor, hebben verschillende etnische achtergronden en de mate waarin ze met justitie in aanraking zijn geweest varieert. Niet alleen tussen de verdachten, maar ook tussen de agenten zijn er verschillen te beschrijven, bijvoorbeeld wat betreft etnische achtergrond, werkwijze, werkervaring en verhoorervaring. Sommige agenten bereidden zich voor op het verhoor door middel van het maken van een verhoorplan terwijl andere agenten dit niet deden. De manier waarop processen-verbaal werden opgeschreven en de manier waarop de agenten de activiteiten organiseerden (zoals het stellen van vragen, luisteren, typen, aantekeningen maken) verschilden niet alleen tussen de agenten onderling maar ook tussen de verhoren die door dezelfde agent werden afgenomen.

Na het transcriberen en een eerste inventarisatie van het materiaal bood de volgende puzzel zich aan. Het product – het proces-verbaal – liet drie verschillende schrijfstijlen zien: de monoloogstijl, de recontextualisatiestijl en de vraag-antwoordstijl. Echter, geen van deze schrijfstijlen leek op de soms informele, emotionele en vooral conversationele taal en interactie die ik had waargenomen in de verhoorkamer. De complete, gerecontextualiseerde en formele zinnen die zo nadrukkelijk werden gebruikt in de verbalen kon ik niet terugvinden in de opnames

van de verhoren. Daarnaast liet bijvoorbeeld de monoloogstijl de vragen van de verhoorder niet zien in de geschreven versie. Deze schrijfstijl deed het doen lijken alsof de verdachte zijn verklaring vrijwillig had verteld. Deze observaties leidden tot vragen over hoe een proces-verbaal wordt geconstrueerd. Aan de hand van de opnames, de processen-verbaal, de transcripties en een eerste inventarisatie van het materiaal heb ik twee belangrijke thema's geselecteerd en geanalyseerd vanuit een conversatieanalytisch perspectief. Zoals in **hoofdstuk 3** wordt beschreven hebben deze thema's geleid tot de volgende onderzoeksvragen: 1) Hoe worden de verhalen van de verdachten uitgelokt, geconstrueerd en opgeschreven tijdens het politieverhoor? 2) Hoe coördineren de gespreksdeelnemers het typen en praten tijdens de verschillende fases van het politieverhoor en wat voor invloed heeft dit op het schriftelijke proces-verbaal?

De eerste onderzoeksvraag wordt beantwoord in **hoofdstuk 4** van het proefschrift. In dit hoofdstuk laat ik zien hoe de verhalen van de verdachten worden getransformeerd wanneer ze opgeschreven worden. Hoewel de verdachte een grote rol speelt in het vertellen van zijn eigen verhaal, blijkt uit mijn analyses dat de processen-verbaal veelal aan de hand van P's agenda, in P's woorden, aan de hand van de vragen van P en geschikt voor het publiek van P worden opgeschreven.

Verhalen van de verdachten worden uitgelokt door de politieagent. Sommige agenten laten de verdachten een verhaal vertellen waarin enkel bevestiging wordt gegeven door middel van bijvoorbeeld 'ja's' of 'okee's.' Dit eerste type verhalen worden 'vrije' verhalen genoemd (*free stories*). Verdachten worden aangemoedigd om een langer verhaal te vertellen over wat er is gebeurd. Andere agenten onderbreken de verdachte al snel wanneer die begint met het vertellen van zijn verhaal. Dit tweede type verhalen vertellen worden 'gesuperviseerde' verhalen genoemd (*supervised stories*). De agent stuurt de verdachte in een bepaalde richting door het stellen van vragen, antwoorden als 'goed' of 'niet goed' te markeren, en middels het aansporen van het vertellen van de 'correcte' versie – de versie die de agent al eerder heeft gehoord van bijvoorbeeld een aangever of een getuige. Een derde manier van verhalen vertellen is wanneer de agent het verhaal 'oplegt' (*imposed stories*). P vertelt de verdachte dan bijvoorbeeld wat er heeft plaatsgevonden en welk aandeel V hierin heeft. De agent gebruikt dan bijvoorbeeld ja-nee vragen die de verdachte bevestigt of niet. Zulk soort ja-nee vragen zijn invloedrijk omdat ze het antwoord al vooronderstellen (zie Raymond, 2003), en weinig ruimte overlaten voor de verdachte om iets anders te zeggen.

Door het stellen van aanvullende vragen, door interrupties of omdat de agent zelf het verhaal vertelt (of een combinatie van deze strategieën), construeren en co-construeren de agenten het verhaal aan de hand van hun eigen structuur en chronologie. Inzichten vanuit de narratieve analyse-theorie (zie Labov & Waletzky, 1967) tonen aan dat het belangrijkste element van het verhaal, ook wel het *most reportable event* genoemd, in de transformatie van verhoor naar proces-verbaal

verandert van een onschuldig verhaal over ‘normale’ zaken naar een verhaal met intentionele acties. In dit geschreven verhaal zien we ook een aangepaste temporele volgorde van het verhaal waarbij de feiten zo gerelateerd worden aan tijd, locatie, richting en namen van mensen en plaatsen dat het verhaal een coherent geheel is.

Tegelijkertijd laat het geschreven verhaal niet zien hoe het verhaal tot stand is gekomen. De manieren waarop het verhaal is uitgelokt, verteld, of de manieren waarop er op het verhaal is gereageerd blijken niet uit het schriftelijke stuk. Vragen worden soms helemaal weggelaten (in de monoloogstijl) of ze zijn gerecontextualiseerd (“U vraagt mij of...”). In sommige processen-verbaal zijn de vragen wel opgenomen aan de hand van een vraag-antwoord structuur. Hoewel deze vorm van het proces-verbaal steeds meer wordt gebruikt (in ieder geval ten opzichte van een verzameling processen-verbaal uit de jaren '90) wordt deze structuur nog niet standaard toegepast.

De tweede onderzoeksvraag wordt beantwoord in **hoofdstuk 5** aan de hand van een gedetailleerde analyse van het typen en praten tijdens het politieverhoor. Verdachten en agenten oriënteren zich op het typen door de activiteiten veelal als sequentieel georganiseerde en separate activiteiten te beschouwen. Het komt ook voor dat typen en praten overlappen. Overlap komt voor wanneer de antwoorden voorspelbaar zijn, de typegeluiden kort zijn, of als P hardop voorleest wat hij op dat moment aan het typen is. Het typen laat zien dat de antwoorden ‘opschrijfbaar’ zijn en ook of een antwoord voorspelbaar is. Met andere woorden, hoe typen en praten georganiseerd zijn en hoe de deelnemers zich hierop oriënteren maakt inzichtelijk welke informatie van het verhaal van de verdachte belangrijk is voor het proces-verbaal.

De manier waarop gespreksdeelnemers typen en praten organiseren lijkt gerelateerd te zijn aan de verschillende fases van het verdachtenverhoor. De fases die in dit proefschrift onderscheiden worden zijn: 1) inleidende acties en ‘social talk’; 2) formulier invullen; 3) de cautie (de agent wijst de verdachte op zijn recht om te zwijgen); 4) sociaal verhoor; 5) zakelijk verhoor; en 6) ‘exit’ activiteiten. Tijdens deze verschillende fases worden er verschillende handelingen uitgevoerd. Bijvoorbeeld, gedurende de ‘social talk’ leren de verdachte en agent elkaar kennen. Bij het invullen van het formulier lopen de agenten een gestandaardiseerde lijst met vragen af en er wordt gevraagd naar feiten zoals naam, leeftijd en woonadres. Gedurende het zakelijke verhoor wordt er juist gevraagd naar het delict waarvoor de verdachte is aangehouden. Deze verschillende fases hebben verschillende doelen en veronderstellen dan ook een andere oriëntatie op het praten en het typen. Bijvoorbeeld, tijdens het invullen van het formulier zijn de vragen en antwoorden kort en er zijn gestandaardiseerde invulvelden. De vragen die gesteld worden tijdens het zakelijke verhoor vereisen vaak langere en complexe antwoorden. Het gaat hier over ‘waarheidsvinding’; er staat veel op het spel voor zowel de verdachte als de agent.

De analyses in dit proefschrift laten zien dat gedurende het sociale en zakelijke verhoor het typen een structurerende rol kan spelen in het verhoor. Door het typen tussen het praten te werpen en door de beurt te houden middels het typen, kunnen de agenten niet alleen controle uitoefenen op de interactie, maar ook op de inhoud en structuur van het proces-verbaal. Dat verdachten rekening houden met het typen blijkt uit de oriëntatie op de voorgeschreven toekenning van beurten en activiteiten. Ook zien we dat verdachten antwoorden ‘ten behoeve van het typen.’ Het typen vergroot daarmee de asymmetrische rol die er al bestond tussen de verdachte en agent.

Samenvattend maakt dit onderzoek inzichtelijk hoe processen-verbaal interactioneel geconstrueerd worden. Specifiek laat het onderzoek zien hoe verhalen in de verhoorkamer uitgelokt, verteld, getransformeerd en opgeschreven worden binnen deze institutionele setting van het politieverhoor. Daarnaast biedt de gedetailleerde analyse van het typen en praten tijdens het verhoor inzichten in de manier waarop participanten zich oriënteren op multi-tasking. De activiteit van het typen speelt een structurerende en controlerende rol in het verdachtenverhoor en beïnvloedt daarmee niet alleen de beurtwisseling tussen verdachte en agent maar uiteindelijk ook het proces-verbaal.

Om een completer beeld te krijgen van intertekstualiteit in het juridische proces zou toekomstig onderzoek meer fases kunnen onderzoeken waarin het verhaal geconstrueerd en gereconstrueerd wordt. Hiertoe behoren bijvoorbeeld de fases waarin de verdachte zijn of haar verhaal vertelt in interactie met vrienden, maatschappelijk werkers en de rechter-commissaris. Bovendien zijn er verschillende documenten die een rol spelen in de constructie van het verhaal van de verdachte. Toekomstig onderzoek op het gebied van multitasking in interactie zou baat hebben bij video-opnames en ‘keylogging’ software. Analyses aan de hand van videobeelden kunnen veel nauwkeuriger aangeven hoe blikrichting, lichaamshouding, gebaren en andere multi-modale aspecten een rol spelen in interactie. ‘Keyboard logging’ zou inzicht kunnen bieden in hoe gespreksdeelnemers hun aandacht verdelen tussen praten en andere activiteiten die zij op de computer verrichten.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Tessa van Charldorp was born in Leidschendam on March 24, 1981. She completed her Junior Certificate in Limerick, Ireland and her International Baccalaureate Diploma in Oegstgeest, the Netherlands. After receiving a Bachelor degree (cum laude) in Communication Studies from Boston University, US, she studied Linguistics in the Research Master program at VU University, Amsterdam. Following her Research MA degree she received a VSB scholarship to conduct research on HIV and AIDS communication in Pretoria, South Africa. She started her PhD project at the Language and Communication department at VU University in 2007. She currently works there as an assistant professor.

In the Netherlands a police record is constructed by one or two police officers in an interrogation room and is based on the interaction that takes place between the police officer(s) and the suspect. Therefore, the construction of a police record is accomplished through interaction. The officer generally asks questions and the suspect generally answers the questions. While interrogating, the officer types up the record on his or her computer. How this record is constructed cannot be seen from the written version of the document. Questions are often left out and negotiations have no trace in the written document. Most police records are presented as first-person narratives but they are not always written in the words of the suspect. This thesis, which is based on unique material collected at a police station, makes the interactional origin of the written police record visible. The similarities between the talk and the text, but also the alterations, additions and deletions and how they came about, are thoroughly investigated in this thesis.