Face to face with the Swedish security police in the interrogation room:
The interrogation techniques, the questions asked and their efficacy

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Abstract

In Sweden, one of SÄPO's tasks is counterespionage. Once a suspect has been arrested for a crime in chapter 19 of the Criminal Code, crimes against Sweden security, they are the ones conducting the interrogations. These interrogations may be the difference between a guilty spy walking free or not. It's also a situation where information of the extent of damages to national security as well as clues for more spies can be found. In short, interrogations are of great importance, and they are thus an important tool to protect national security.

This is the first study investigating how these interrogations are carried out by SÄPO. Specifically what interrogation methods, in the form of techniques and question types, are used. The study introduces a new construct to dynamically evaluate how these methods relate to relevant information gain and the suspects assistance or resistance to help the investigator reach this goal.

The results indicated that the interrogator at SÄPO mainly use accusatory techniques. In addition, they use a mix of recommended and not recommended question types. Some support was found that there's a negative correlation between accusatory techniques and presenting evidence on the interrogation outcome. Perhaps most notable was that rapport and relationship building was only indirectly correlated to interrogation efficacy, contradicting previous research.

Keywords: SÄPO, Swedish security police, interrogation, taxonomy of interrogations, Sweden, intelligence

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1 INTRODUCTION

Recruited in the 1940s, Stig Wennerström's career as a Soviet spy lasted for 23 years, until he was arrested in 1963 (Agrell, 2019, p. 168). The first clues appeared in 1947, however, the investigation did not start until late 1950s (Sundelin, 1999, pp. 192–193). Once arrested, he submitted enough information for a conviction in the early interrogations (Agrell, 2019, p. 174). However, the interrogations continued as there were many questions needing an answer (Agrell, 2019, p. 185). What information had been exposed? How was he recruited? Were there more spies? Only Wennerström knew, and so a long line of interrogations began.

The Wennerström case brings up one of the key areas of interrogation research. He was interrogated by two different agencies and they both used vastly different interrogation styles (Agrell, 2019, p. 174). The military pressured Wennerström to quickly provide information while the Swedish security police (SÄPO) interrogations resembled friendly conversations. Notably, after having been presented with the charges and Wennerström promptly denied, the SÄPO's interrogator Bror Lindén asked him to freely recall his contacts with foreign diplomatic personnel (Sundelin, 1999, pp. 286–287). Specifically, he asked Wennerström to start from the beginning, to be thorough and not leave out any details. These two paragraphs relate to two of the foundational questions within police research, "What do they (the police) do?" and "What works?" (Brodeur, 2010, p. 150)

2 BACKGROUND

While only around 16 cases in the last decades, there's been an increase in cases of crimes against Sweden security (Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2023). An increased need for intelligence by foreign powers may be one explanation (*Säkerhetspolisen 2022-2023*, 2023). Apart from counterespionage, SÄPO also conducts investigations of crimes against Sweden security, terrorist crimes and crimes against persons in the central government (Säkerhetspolisen, 2023). In 2017 a network of 60 "military overly interested people", was uncovered by SÄPO (*DN.se*, 2021). Many of these have been charged with unauthorized handling of secret information. They gathered and traded secret information on a forum about military facilities. SÄPO took part in these investigations and conducted the interrogations.

2.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Interrogations are one of the most important phases in a criminal investigation (Hagsand *et al.*, 2023, p. 352), and an essential part of intelligence collection process (Ehrman, 2009, p. 22). Considering the consequences illustrated by the Wennerström case, it is of upmost importance that the interrogations are conducted with best methods to achieve the best possible information yield. In Swedish police education, an information-gathering method, PEACE, is promoted (Kronkvist, 2021, p. 33). Aggressive styles, are discouraged (Kronkvist, 2021, p. 62). While guidelines are in progress (Juridik, 2020), none currently exist, leaving it up to the interrogator choosing method (Granhag and Magnusson, 2021, p. 297). This is problematic since research has shown police interrogators to employ guilt-presumptive methods (Nyberg, 2010, p. 63). Confessions alone do not carry much weight on their own in the Swedish court system, they must be accompanied with facts about the event and tie the suspect to the crime beyond reasonable doubt. (Kronkvist, 2021, p. 98). In the information-gathering approach and considering time-constraints, success could be defined as to how effective the interrogator is in obtaining relevant information. Currently, no such metric exists for archival studies. Developing one, by consulting the literature, is the first purpose of this study. It will include both theoretical and operational definitions.

2.2 RESEARCH PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS

If little research has been conducted on how interrogations are conducted in Sweden (Granhag *et al.*, 2021, p. 297), then this is certainly true regarding intelligence agencies. Currently, research on SÄPO's interrogations in the present is absent. Interrogation protocols as a source of empiric material in intelligence studies has largely been overlooked (Coulthart *et al.*, 2019, p. 75). This may be surprising since it is a direct lens into the agencies which is otherwise a hard to access area (Coulthart et al., 2019, p. 2). While subject to presumption of confidentiality and often partly masked, they're publicly available (Agrell, 2020, p. 314). In this study I intend to perform a quantitative analysis and use those interrogation protocols of recent prosecutions, which leads to the second purpose of the study. To fill the gap of this knowledge deficiency and evaluating its efficacy by answering the following two research questions:

Regarding interrogations conducted by SÄPO's counterintelligence department:

- *What do they do?*
- *What works?*

In the method section, these questions will be operationalized into a series of statistical tests, illuminating many perspectives.

2.3 CONTRIBUTION AND DELIMITATION

This thesis will contribute by expanding knowledge of how interrogations are conducted by using empirical material from the Swedish security police interrogation protocols. It will also introduce a construct to analyze outcome effectiveness, and supply an operationalization procedure, which currently is missing. In addition, it will situate Sweden in the international intelligence research. Finally, the results may illuminate potential issues which are important to policy makers.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Searching for research on interrogations conducted by Swedish intelligence returns slim results. It's commonly mentioned as something that happened. For instance, researching Swedish counterintelligence during the second world war, Suonpää (2021, p. 426) concludes that intelligence was obtained during an interrogation. In another study, of the same era, Petersson (2006, p. 609) mentions that Thede Palm, head of the Swedish intelligence agency T-kontoret at the time, led interrogations. But details of how are sparse. As an exception to the rule, Agrell (2021, chap. 3) describes the Wennerström interrogation in great detail.

Fortunately, differences between methods used in criminal investigation and intelligence gathering are modest (Vrij *et al.*, 2017, p. 929). The former is more focused on the past while the latter also has interest in the presence and future. As far as interrogation in intelligence studies, most have been focused on terrorism.

45 days after 9/11, the US congress passed the PATRIOT Act which gave intelligence and security personnel more powers to gather information (Meissner *et al.*, 2017, p. 439). With this followed torture; waterboarding, sleep deprivation, isolation for prolonged time in cold rooms (Vrij *et al.*, 2017, p. 927). The methods have been given support by top politicians and intelligence directors, claiming it was necessary in finding Osama bin Laden (Vrij *et al.*, 2017, p. 928). As a result of this, the High-value detainee interrogation group (2016), was created in 2010 to find methods more congruent with American values. More than one hundred peer-reviewed publications have been commissioned by this project.

3.1 USE OF METHODS IN SWEDEN

While research on interrogations conducted in Sweden is sparse, what exists points out several issues (Granhag *et al.*, 2021, p. 297). There are indications of a lack of research-based knowledge leading to inconsistence between interrogations (Pettersson *et al.*, 2022, p. 13). For instance, when lacking guidelines, police officers conduct interrogations differently, and not always according to best practice (Hagsand, Pettersson, *et al.*, 2022, p. 21). Hagsand et al. found intoxicated suspects to be subjected to more confrontational techniques than sober (Hagsand, Zajac, *et al.*, 2022, p. 17). In contrast, Swedish Migration Agency agents mainly use research-based methods. (Van Veldhuizen *et al.*, 2017, p. 3). Magnusson et al. (2021, p. 10) found that Swedish interrogators often interrogate both perpetrator and victim, which may lead to a stronger involvement and subsequent resentment of the suspect. A correlation was found between feelings of anger and aggressive tactics as well as confession seeking.

3.2 Methods, what are they, and do they work?

Rapport is founded on three components; mutual attention, positivity and coordination (Collins and Carthy, 2019, pp. 20–21). These components were analyzed by Nunan et al. (2022, p. 12) in a quantitative study. A significant positive correlation with information yield was identified, but only for attention and coordination. Alison *et al.* (2013, p. 411) found personal traits to be related to information yield. Positive factors were being frank, modest, and supportive in contrast to competitive, disengaged, and distrustful. The positive factors have also been related to diminish the employment of counter-interrogation tactics (Alison *et al.*, 2014a, p. 421). Brimbal et al. (2019, p. 108) investigated factors that could lead to rapport. They found that increasing affiliation with the suspect increased rapport, however, decreasing the affiliation between the suspect and their co-offenders did not. Rather, it decreased the amount of information revealed.

There are many interrogation methods that are based on rapport. PEACE is an acronym for planning and preparation; engage and explain; account; clarification; challenge, closure; evaluation (Clarke *et al.*, 2011, p. 150). In the mid-1980s, a search for evidence-based interrogations began after a series of police scandals in England and Wales. Interrogations were recorded and analyzed by researchers (Granhag and Magnusson, 2021, p. 295). PEACE, the result, was introduced in 1993. It guides the interrogator for how the interrogations should be conducted and what methods to use. It emphasizes establishing rapport and using question types promoting accurate memory recollection and long statements (Landström and Magnusson, 2021, p. 241). Another memory-enhancing method is the cognitive interview, which meta-analyses have shown to be effective in generating accurate information (Akca *et al.*, 2021, p. 74). In an adaptation for suspects, Noc et al. (2022, pp. 177–178), the method provided 29% more details compared to the control group.

On the other spectrum there are the accusatory methods, where the Reid technique is the most famous (Granhag and Magnusson, 2021, p. 289). These are guilt presumptive and seek confessions (Miller *et al.*, 2018, p. 461). The interrogator establishes control and utilizes psychological manipulation. The questions are closed-ended and confirmatory. In a study of human intelligence gathering, Evans et al. (2013, p. 87) found accusatory methods to provide less details while also making innocent appear more nervous. Accusatory methods have shown to induce false confessions (Leo, 2009, p. 333). While a meta study found information-gathering leading to a similar result of true confessions as accusatory, the latter resulted in significant more false confessions (Meissner *et al.*, 2014, p. 481).

3.3 THE TECHNIQUES UNDERLYING THE METHODS

With the taxonomy of interrogations, a theoretical framework, Kelly et al. (2013, p. 167), introduced researchers with tools to analyze the specific techniques used, rather than overarching methods. Kelly et al. (2015, pp. 185–186) found a negative relationship between rapport and accusatory techniques as well as presenting evidence. Adding tools to analyze interrogations over time, Kelly et al. (2016, p. 302) revealed differences in techniques used when the suspect had confessed. They also added an outcome variable, cooperation, which illuminated the interaction between the interrogator and the suspect. To complement the techniques used, Kelly and Valencia (2021, pp. 45–46), contributed by adding a variable for question types, Appropriate question differential (AQD). This theoretical framework and analytical tool help researchers analyzing more parts of the interrogation than just one variable. As noted, researchers often focus on, for instance rapport, but exclude the impact of question types. Perhaps they focus on the presentation of evidence in an experimental research project but do not consider spurious variables.

4 INTERROGATION THEORY

The theoretical assumption is that the usage of techniques and question types is not static, but rather varies in a complex way over time in a game of questions by the interrogator and responses from the suspect. In order to find out what works, the suspect's behavior must also be considered. A measure of what methods SÄPO utilizes when conducting interrogations is needed as well as one that can measure what works to achieve the desired effect.

4.1 DOMAINS

The taxonomy of interrogation was developed by Kelly et al. (2013, p. 167), on the assumption that interrogators do not limit themselves to techniques from one method. Reviewing the literature, they created six theoretical constructs, domains, with conceptually similar techniques. With these domains, one can measure what happens in the interrogations in the "real world." Two of the constructs have rarely been used due to the need of good video recordings (Context manipulation) and because it has rarely been found to be used (Collaboration). The others (table 4.1) are Rapport and relationship building (RRB), Emotional provocation (EP), Confrontation/competition (CC), and Presentation of evidence (PE). I advise the reader to consult the literature review for more context on the techniques used. The domains are based on the techniques found in previous research.

Table 4.1 Domains from the taxonomy of interrogations

Domain	Definition
Rapport and relationship building	Techniques used to establish rapport and create a bond between the interrogator and the suspect. The interrogator is respectful and empathic. Contains techniques from PEACE.
Emotional provocation	Using psychologic manipulation, the interrogator targets the suspect's raw emotions to, for instance, induce fear and anxiety and then provide relief when the suspect is cooperating by inducing hope and pride.
Confrontation/Competition	Emphasizes dominance and compliance. The interrogator uses aggression to gain power and control over the suspect. Contains many accusatory techniques.
Presentation of evidence	Confronting the suspect with evidence of various kinds. Includes confronting contradictions in the suspect's statement.

(Kelly *et al.*, 2013, pp. 169–173).

4.2 QUESTION TYPES

The type of question has a large impact on the information yielded (Landström and Magnusson, 2021, pp. 237–238). Free recall allows the suspect to tell their story without interruptions, for instance, "describe what happened." This is usually done in the initial phase of an information-gathering interrogation and have a high reliability. They stimulate the suspect's memory. The phase may be followed up with open-ended questions; the who, when, where, what, why, and how, inspire longer responses. Closed questions, where a valid response is yes or no, are only to be used for clarifications. Reliability is much lower than the other two. There are many question types not to be used; leading questions, questions with negations, forced choice, and hypothetical. Any question that is suggestive or that limits the range of responses should be avoided. Active listening is when the interrogator uses small phrases, active listening responses (ALs) to encourage the suspect to continue their statement (Simon, 2018, p. 50). These may be "Ok, please continue", "Mhmm", and "I see". They also function to build rapport as they show the interrogator to be attentive.

5 INTERROGATION EFFICACY

Kelly et al. (2016, p. 299) introduced a variable for coding interrogation outcome, "Cooperation". This allowed for a dynamic measuring over time rather than the more common analysis over the whole interrogation. However, there are some issues with the Cooperation construct. While the recommended methods are rapport-based, it relies its measure on accusatory methods. For instance, confession and admissions are considered cooperative and denying charges as resistant. This is congruent with a confession-seeking approach which is prone to false confessions. Another cooperative indicator is information. However, this is not defined. It could thus include lies and speculation.

A new approach is needed for evaluating outcome, which discards the accusatory goal and emphasizes the information-gathering interrogator's measure of triumph. It needs to be grounded on previous research and have clear and precise definitions. It must define what the interrogation intends to accomplish, and what signifies the difference between success and failure.

As for interrogations in Sweden, the purpose of an interrogation is to gather accurate and complete information (Landström and Magnusson, 2021, p. 236). The information can help advance the investigation and be used for hypothesis-testing or evidence evaluations. Confessions, on their own, does not hold much weight in Swedish courts (Kronkvist, 2021, p. 98). The interrogator is confronted with three challenges; the choice of the right techniques to gain cooperation of a resistant suspect, avoiding techniques that negatively affects memory, and be able to evaluate the accuracy of the information (Vrij *et al.*, 2017, p. 929). In this context, an *interacting* suspect assist the interrogator achieving their goal by supplying them with accurate and relevant information while a *counteracting* suspect tries to prevent it. By combining these two dichotomous elements, a measure of interrogation efficacy can be constructed. However, the concepts must first be described.

5.1 INTERACTING SUSPECTS

One way to measure to what extent a suspect is interactive, is by the amount and quality of information provided. In interrogation research, details are often used as a metric for both the extent of it and its accuracy. In witness research, specific types of details are used to quantify memory. A common set used in cognitive interview research are identifiable actions, objects, locations and persons (Holliday, 2003, p. 448; Stein and Memon, 2006, p. 600). Details may include both those that identifies and describes them, i.e., "my car" and "the blue car." Other

sets also include temporal details (Phillips *et al.*, 2012, p. 48; Nunan *et al.*, 2022, p. 10). Unlike in archival studies, the definite number of details in these experimental studies are known.

For accuracy, the quantity of details condition from the Criteria Based Content Analysis (CBCA) has shown to be a reliable criterion (Amado *et al.*, 2016, p. 205). Contextual information is another criterion with slightly less reliability. Reality monitoring (RM), which is based on cognitive theories, states that experienced memories contain more sensory, spatial and temporal information than fabricated ones. (Strömwall, 2021, p. 363). These findings has found support in meta studies (Gancedo *et al.*, 2021, p. 107). Another supported method is the Verifiability Approach (VA) which states that truthful people more often include verifiable details; witnesses, digital and physical traces, for instance being caught on CCTV or a receipt (Verschuere *et al.*, 2021, p. 380; Vrij *et al.*, 2022).

There's a debate on when evidence should presented, ranging from early to late (Walsh *et al.*, 2016, p. 128). Strategic use of evidence (SUE) is a strategy as well as a practical tool (Hartwig *et al.*, 2006, p. 616). The interrogator asks the suspect to describe a circumstance of which there is some level of evidence. A confirmatory question, ensuring the interrogator understood it correct, locks the statement. Potential contradicting evidence is then presented of which the suspect must explain. Discrepancies between statement and evidence is then used to evaluate the truthfulness of the person and the value of the evidence.

5.2   COUNTERACTING SUSPECTS

When a suspect wants to obstruct the interrogator from obtaining accurate and complete information, they may employ counter-interrogation tactics (CIT). Not all techniques found in the literature can be used. For instance, it's not possible to quantify "Reveal most of the information held", a tactic reported by subjects in an experimental study by Rantamäki et al. (2020, p. 201). However, they also found; 'withholding' (being quite or give brief answers), 'avoid' details (not revealing detailed information, give vague or overarching information), 'add alternatives' (give several alternatives, one of them being the right one), and 'naivety' (seem unsure about the correctness of the information revealed). Alison *et al* (2014a, p. 424) identified five counter-interrogation tactics when reviewing relevant literature, terrorist manuals and interrogations. Of those the following were usable for this study; passive (refusing to look at interviewers, remaining silent), passive verbal (monosyllabic response, claiming lack of memory), retraction of previous statements, and no-comment.

The "not remembering" criteria have several issues and warrants an in-depth discussion. Both event related and person related factors may inhibit the ability in obtaining the memory

(Loftus, 1996, pp. 50–51). External information as well as thoughts may distort a memory during the retention interval (Loftus, 1996, pp. 86–87). Finally, related to the interrogation itself, the type of questions asked and their wording as well as who's asking them, affect what information that can be retrieved. Not remembering may thus be fully natural and not a CIT.

However, three different perspectives need to be explored. The following statement will illustrate the issue: "The car was blue, or perhaps red, I think it was blue, but I don't really remember." For an investigator, such information is hardly useful, and the vagueness cannot make it fulfill the accuracy criteria. In deception research, like CBCA where two criteria are admissions of lack of memory or doubts of its accuracy, this could indicate that the person is truthful (Strömwall, 2021, p. 360). As a counter-interrogation tactic, it would instead be an indication of an intentional lie. To differentiate between the potential honest and deceptive statements, Alison et al. (2014b, p. 172) identified clusters and look at context rather than single utterances. While subjective, in their study, their inter-reliability was very high, most above 90%.

5.3   WHAT IT MEASURES

With information in the form of details on one end and the utilization of counter-interrogation tactics on the other, interrogation efficacy measures how well the interrogator conducts the interrogation over time. Therefore, while the use of counter-interrogation tactics may have been decided on forehand, the interrogator can affect how much they are used (Alison *et al.*, 2014a, p. 421). Similarly, the extent of information revealed can also be related to the interrogator. Some question types stimulate memory retrieval more than others (Akca *et al.*, 2021, p. 74).

By counting the relative differences of detail revealed by the suspect over time, it can indicate increases and decreases in information disclosure. Certain question types, those limiting the extent of responses, can then be predicted to relate to a lower interrogation efficacy. Similarly, rapport-based techniques would relate to an increase in interrogation efficacy. While the interacting variable measures the level of information, it does not provide a full picture of the concept of interrogation efficacy. The interrogator's methods can also increase or decrease a suspect's will to disclose information. Using counter-interrogation tactics, the suspect has initiated a conscious strategy to avoid revealing information. This is a factor which has been shown to relate to the interrogator's behavior (Alison *et al.*, 2013, p. 427). Combined, interacting and counteracting gives a dynamic measure which allow interrogation efficacy to be evaluated over the course of the interrogation.

However, it is important to remember that the interaction variable does not measure to what extent the information is complete. That is not possible. Instead, it measures the relative increases or decreases for that particular suspect. Similarly, counter-interrogation tactics is not an indicator of deception. It only measures to what extent known such tactics are employed. As a final note, efficacy, as defined here, is an abstract concept and thus not objectively measurable. By grounding the concept in theory and empirical research, it should provide the best conditions to measure what it is intended to measure.

6 MATERIAL

Åklagarmyndigheten's (2023) website was searched for press releases for guilty verdicts regarding crimes against Sweden security, chapter 19 Brottsbalken (BrB). No public database with search by crime type is available, and so this method may have not found all cases. The twelve cases found was ordered from their corresponding district courts. Several were removed for the following reasons; fully classified (2), identifiable individual due to only person committing the specific crime (1), and protocols not sent despite repeated requests (1). This left eight cases, of which two were dual prosecutions, resulting in ten unique individuals. These corresponded to four different crimes; espionage = 1 (19:5), aggravated espionage = 2 (19:6), unauthorized handling of secret information = 1 (19:7) and aggravated unauthorized handling of secret information = 8 (19:8). One individual had been found guilty for both 19:5 and 19:7. At the time of the interrogations, all individuals were suspected of the crime and later convicted of it.

The protocols had a total of 76 interrogations ranging from 2018 to 2023. Of these, some could not be used because of; summarizations (20), introductory only presenting charges (4), seizure hearing (2) and, interrogations not conducted by SÄPO (1). Forty-eight interrogations remained, however, of those three were a mix of transcripts and summarizations but deemed usable.

When research cases are few, strategical selection can increase generalizability (Teorell and Svensson, 2007, p. 150). Interrogations were both strategically and randomly selected. For a better comparison between the two crimes, eight were selected from each. In addition, any individual should be included at least once. The average length was 130 minutes (sd 88, min = 19, max 319) and the average number of *sequences*, a question-response turn, were 225 (sd = 164, min = 16, max = 547). Three individuals had confessed at the time of the interrogation. Two utilized interpreter and they were both two of those who had confessed.

All the protocols were masked to some extent (text covered by black squares). This included the interrogator's identity, words or parts of paragraphs and even whole pages in a few cases. Sequences with anything masked were not included since they would affect reliability when coding. Neither were presentation of charges and other formal information. Sequences involving the legal presentation commenting were also excluded. This reduced the number of sequences from 3615 to 3168.

Once coding was complete, the identities were removed, and data aggregated into a numeric dataset. No particular statistic found can be linked to any individual, which should protect the suspect's privacy from a very exposed moment in their lives.

7 METHOD

Most research within the field of legal psychology is quantitative (Ask and Strömwall, 2021, p. 449). While qualitative research is conducted, it would not be feasible for this research. First, in interrogations, the suspects and witnesses are in a very exposed situation. Consent would be required for ethical reasons if analyzing case by case as suspects could be identified (Fakultetsstyrelsen, 2023). The interrogators identities are masked, making interviews difficult. While narrative and other discourse methods are possible, they are more time intensive and for the limitations of this study it would not be possible to gain a broad view of SÄPO, required by the first main research question. However, the strongest argument for a quantitative study is the continuation of previous quantitative studies' results which increases the scientific contribution.

7.1 OPERATIONALIZATION

The techniques and question types employed by SÄPO will be quantified using the Taxonomy of Interrogation and a scheme of question types. This operationalization aims to capture their actions in the interrogation room to the extent possible based on transcript analysis. The interrogation efficacy construct will then operationalize the suspect's responses to measure the extent to which they assist the interrogator in achieving their goal. A series of statistical tests, described last in this chapter, will then provide various perspectives on how SÄPO conduct their interrogations and to what extent they are efficient.

Every variable was first counted at the sequence level, *sequence* level, a question-response turn. However, some of the operationalizations require different intervals which I will explain below.

7.1.1 Cluster interval

Three artificial boundaries had to be set for the construct without much guidance. One was for the number of sequences that would signify a cluster. Kelly et al. (2016, p. 300) who, rather than sequences, have used 5-min intervals based on a timeline from video recordings. Since no timeline was available in the transcripts, the number of sequences that would fit into a 5-min interval of each interrogation was calculated. The mean number was eleven, however, the variation was large (SD = 9) and not much of use for advice. There needed to be enough to capture a cluster, yet not too many as it would reduce the number of cluster intervals. In the end, the number was decided to be six. When sequences for any interrogation was not evenly divisible by six, the last one would be extended if the remaining was two, otherwise a final

interval would be added containing the last ones. The 3168 sequences resulted 525 cluster intervals.

7.1.2 Time-blocks

To analyze the interrogations domains over time in a comparable metric between them, researchers have used a 0-2 scale, indicating domain emphasis (Kelly *et al.*, 2016, p. 300). Hagsand et al. (2022, p. 8) evaluated both a subjective and a calculated approach and found a strong congruity between them. While still subjective, the current study utilized a heatmap for guidance. For the other variables, AQD and interrogation efficacy, the mean value is used.

Block	Summed values				Manual estimation			
	RRB	EP	CC	PE	RRB	EP	CC	PE
Beginning	164	6	168	174	2	0	2	2
Middle	203	30	60	152	2	0	1	2
End	87	47	108	220	1	1	1	2
Beginning	0	0	104	39	0	0	2	1
Middle	12	0	94	81	1	0	2	1
End	0	0	18	73	0	0	1	1
Beginning	270	0	30	69	2	0	0	1

7.1.3 Domains

Every sequence was coded for the presence of the domain's techniques. When more than one technique of domain was found, only the first one was included. The coding would have become much more complicated otherwise. Use audio/visual aids was incorporated with confront suspect with evidence of their guilt since it was not possible to see how it was presented.

Please see appendix A for a table of all the 62 techniques and appendix F for a description of them. All credits to Kelly et al. (Kelly *et al.*, 2013) for creating the taxonomy and Hagsand et al. (Hagsand, Zajac, *et al.*, 2022) for constructing the table and the descriptions (available at https://osf.io/yqn9v/?view_only=3b7260c8900d437bafa4d4977e58a296)

7.1.4 Question types

The coding scheme for questions was based on Griffith's question map (GQM) (Griffiths and Milne, 2013, pp. 182–183). Most schemes are similar, however, GQM differentiates between subtypes of closed questions. In most studies, all closed questions are considered unproductive. However, they are needed for confirming statements. Active listening responses were added since they are important for eliciting longer statements. Question type was coded for each sentence. See Appendix B for the coding table.

Kelly and Valencia (2021, p. 46) introduced an appropriate question differential (AQD) which is used to obtain one unified value for question quality. It requires a cluster of sequences and uses the cluster interval. It results in a continuous variable between -1 and + 1 and is calculated as:

(Appropriate – Inappropriate) / (Appropriate + Inappropriate)

7.1.5   Interrogation efficacy

Artificial boundaries had to be set for the efficacy variables. For interaction, a maximum of four detail types were available. The calculation was separate for each interrogation. For all cluster intervals where a detail had been revealed, the mean was counted as well as the maximum details uttered in any of the clusters. No details = 0, less than or equal to average = 1, and more than average = 2. For counteraction, the ranges were set to 0-1 = 0, 2-3 = 1, and 4-6 = 2. There's obviously no right choice here, and its impact must be considered, but it seemed like a fair tradeoff. Three would mean every other response would be a tactic, two every third. More than that would count as very resistant and less was to be seen as negligible.

Consequently, the scale of both variables were 0-1-2. These were then collapsed into a 1-5 scale indicating interrogation efficacy following a procedure by Kelly et al. (2016, p. 300). CIT/Details: 2/0 = 1, 2/1 or 1/0 = 2, both equal = 3, 0/1 or 1/2 = 4, and 0/2 = 5. In short, the lower value the stronger emphasis on counter-interrogation tactics and the higher value, the stronger emphasis on provided details. See table appendix C for coding table.

7.2   STATISTICAL PROCEDURE

After coding, various tests will be conducted, all in RStudio (RStudio Team, 2020) to illuminate SÄPO's methodology and their relation to interrogation efficacy. Researchers have previously explored how static factors, such as crime, affect interrogation methods (Kelly *et al.*, 2021, p. 1171). A t-test will analyze differences in RRB and CC between the two crime types, two domains revealing displayed kindness and dominance.

Interrogators have been found to use significantly more accusatory techniques on suspects who have confessed, and in turn, they have been found to be significantly more cooperative (Kelly *et al.*, 2016, p. 302). Consequently, separate correlation tests will be conducted for each group, analyzing relations between all variables. Additionally, a t-test will be conducted to detect such differences in the interrogation efficacy and CC variables. Such differences would make interpreting results where it is the dependent variable difficult to interpret (the next test).

Correlation tests does not account for possible spurious variables. Ordered logistic regression (OLR) can analyze how different variables are able to predict changes in an independent variable (*UCLA*, 2023). An insignificant result suggests no correlation or an indirect relationship. A positive beta value predicts a positive change; a negative value implies

a potential negative change. Sequences within each interrogation are associated with each other. The Sandwich package in R was used to account for this (Zeileis and Lumley, 2023). Finally, one-way ANOVA tests will be used to test for differences over the three time blocks for each variable.

8 RESULT

8.1 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF INTERROGATORS

See appendix D for the result of the separate techniques. The most common rapport and relationship building technique was active listening (239) whereas the rest occurred less than 40 times each (table 8.1). Appealing to the suspect's self-interests (22) and interrogating while suspect experiences stress (30) was very similar. Suspects were confronted with accusations of guilt or guilty knowledge 135 times in total and questions were repeated 79 times. The suspects were asked to guess, and the interrogator expressed impatience around 50 times. Evidence was presented 441 times and pointed out contradictions in the suspects story 100 times.

Almost every other question asked was appropriate and most of them were ALs (table 8.1). Open-ended and appropriate closed were used an equal amount. Among the inappropriate the most common were opinion statements followed by leading questions. The interrogator only asked questions in two thirds of the sequences, the rest were opinion statements (325) and neutral statements (855). Overall, all interrogations, AQD was positive.

Table 8.1 Descriptive statistics of the question types and domains found in the sequences

	N	Proportion
Question type		
Appropriate	1472	46%
Inappropriate	841	27%
Statement	855	27%
Total	3168	100%
Domains		
RRB	383	12%
EP	61	2%
CC	393	12%
PE	568	18%
Total	1405	100%
AQD*	0,27	

AQD = Appropriate question differential, RRB = Rapport and relationship building, EP = Emotional provocation, CC = Confrontation/Coercion, and PE = Presentation of evidence.

Counts for question type and domain, and their respectively proportion. *AQD is calculated using appropriate and inappropriate questions from all interrogations.

8.2 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF SUSPECTS

The Withholding group contained 75% of all the CITs, or 8% of all sequences (table 8.2a). In that group, the response "No comment" was most common and represented 59% of all counter-interrogation tactics and 6% of all sequences. Avoid details (11%) and Naivety (14%) were only used by the suspects in 2% of all sequences.

Table 8.2a Counts for the counter-interrogation tactics found in sequences

Group	Condition	CIT	Proportion CIT	/	sequences
Evasive	No comments	185	59%	/	6%
	Don't remember	19	6%	/	1%
	I don't know	31	10%	/	1%
Ambiguous	Don't know exactly	13	4%	/	0%
	Vague	22	7%	/	1%
Uncertain/ Disagreeing	Claim ignorance	31	10%	/	1%
	Challange statement	13	4%	/	0%
		314	100%		10%

The most common details were those describing objects (42%) and context (40%) (table 8.2b). Together, these were found in 21% of the responses. Verifiable details and confirmatory responses were found in 5% of the sequences.

Table 8.2b. Counts for details found in the sequences.

Condition	Details	Proportion details	/	sequences
Verifiable	71	9%	/	2%
Object	339	42%	/	11%
Contextual	322	40%	/	10%
Confirmatory	82	10%	/	3%
	814	100%		26%

Indications of interaction was found in the majority of the cluster intervals compared to counteraction, which was only found in 12 % (table 8.2c).

Table 8.2c. Interrogation efficacy in cluster interval

Score	Interaction	Counteraction	Proportion Interaction	Counteraction
2	60	17	11%	3%
1	249	48	47%	9%
0	216	460	41%	88%

8.3 DIFFERENT TREATMENT DEPENDING ON CRIME TYPE

A Welch Two Sample t-test was conducted to test for differences of treatment for the two crime types. No significant differences were found for either rapport and relationship building (t = -1.45, p=.147) or confrontation/competition (t = -0.50, p=0.610).

8.4 CORRELATION BETWEEN VARIABLES

Two separate Spearman correlation tests were conducted to assess relationship between the variables for each group, those who had confessed and those who had not. Correlation effect size are considered small when ranging from 0-0.2, medium 0.2-0.5 and large when above 0.5 (Salkind and Shaw, 2020, p. 250).

Efficacy correlated significantly and positively with appropriate questions, AQD and RRB. Conversely, negative and significant relationships were found with EP, CC, PE and neutral statements. RRB had significantly positive relationships with AQD and appropriate questions while negative with CC, PE, inappropriate questions and neutral statements. The relationship with RRB and AQD was expected since both include active listening responses. CC and PE correlated in similar ways, although PE had stronger relationships with neutral statements rather than questions. Most significant relationships were on the border between small and medium effects. The question related variables had significant and often large effects. However, these are naturally related in the way they are coded. Those values should be interpreted with caution.

Table 8.4a. Correlation test for suspects who did not confess

	Inappropriate	AQD	RRB	EP	CC	PE	Statement	Efficacy
Appropriate	-.39***	.70***	.31***	-.12*	-.16**	-.32***	-.66***	.19***
Inappropriate		-.86***	-.16**	-.03	.17***	.11*	-.34***	-.07
AQD			.25***	-.04	-.18***	-.22***	-.06	.13**
RRB				.11*	-.22***	-.34***	-.19***	.18***
EP					.13**	.01	.15**	-.15**
CC						.13**	.06	-.25***
PE							.28***	-.20***
Statement								-.18***

Spearman correlation coefficients with pairwise deletion. * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001
AQD = Appropriate question differential, RRB = Rapport and relationship building, EP = Emotional provocation, CC = Confrontation/Competition, and PE = Presentation of evidence

Before the second correlation test with those who confessed, a Welch Two-sample t-test was conducted to assess whether interrogation efficacy and CC was greater among those who had confessed. The Welch test was used since, the assumptions of the Pearson t-test was not

fulfilled. Results indicated that both interrogation efficacy (t = 10, p<0.01) and CC (t = 1.68, p<.04) were significantly greater. Correlations in this group were different in many ways. There were no significant relationships found with the efficacy variable. The relationship between CC and PE was positive and significant with a large effect. Both also related positively to inappropriate questions while negatively to appropriate questions and RRB. Unlike CC, EP were positively related to statement with a large effect.

Table 8.4b. Correlation test for suspects who did not confess

	Inappropriate	AQD	RRB	EP	CC	PE	Statement	Efficacy
Appropriate	-.90***	.97***	.23*	-.01	-.46***	-.53***	-.39***	.09
Inappropriate		-.98***	-.30**	-.14	.50***	.55***	.02	-.05
AQD			.28**	.10	-.49***	-.54***	-.20	.07
RRB				.20*	-.30**	-.39***	.07	.01
EP					-.02	.00	.26*	-.06
CC						.57***	-.04	-.05
PE							.08	.09
Statement								-.17

Spearman correlation coefficients with pairwise deletion. * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

AQD = Appropriate question differential, RRB = Rapport and relationship building, EP = Emotional provocation, CC = Confrontation/Competition, and PE = Presentation of evidence

8.5 ORDERED LOGISTIC REGRESSION

Since previous tests indicated significantly greater efficacy for those who had confessed, those three interrogations were not included in this test. According to the results, CC and PE were the only variables that could predict a change in interrogation efficacy. The prediction is negative, meaning that an increase in CC or PE can predict a reduction in interrogation efficacy. No other significant results were found, indicating that the significant correlations previously observed only had an indirect effect. In short, RRB and AQD do not directly affect interrogation efficacy.

Table 8.5. Ordered logistic regression predicting the domains and AQD's effect on interrogation efficacy. Controlled for associations within interrogations.

Domain	beta	Robust SE	p	95% CI
RRB	0.17	0,12	0.17	[-0.01, 0.35]
EP	-0.21	0,15	0.16	[-0.55, 0.13]
CC	-0.39	0,11	<0.001	[-0.58, -0.20]
PE	-0.17	0,08	0.04	[-0.33, -0.01]
AQD	0.09	0,21	0.65	[-0.23, 0.42]
Cluster interval	-0.01	0,01	0.14	[-0.02, -0.00]

RRB = Rapport and relationship building; EP = Emotional provocation; CC = Confrontation/competition; PE = Presentation of evidence; AQD = Appropriate question differential

beta is the direction of the prediction. A positive value means that an increase of one unit in the independent variable has a probability to increase the dependent variable. Robust SE indicating

8.6 VARIATION OF VARIABLES OVER TIME

A one-way ANOVA was conducted for each variable with the three time-blocks as groups. These tests did not include those who had confessed since the large differences between the groups would make interpretation difficult. This test would detect differences between the time-blocks, indicating significant changes. However, no results were significant. All domains but emotion provocation hovered around 1, with a non-significant increase in the middle block (figure 8.6a). A non-significant increase in AQD at the end of the interrogation can be noted, as well as a non-significant decrease for interrogation efficacy (figure 8.6b).
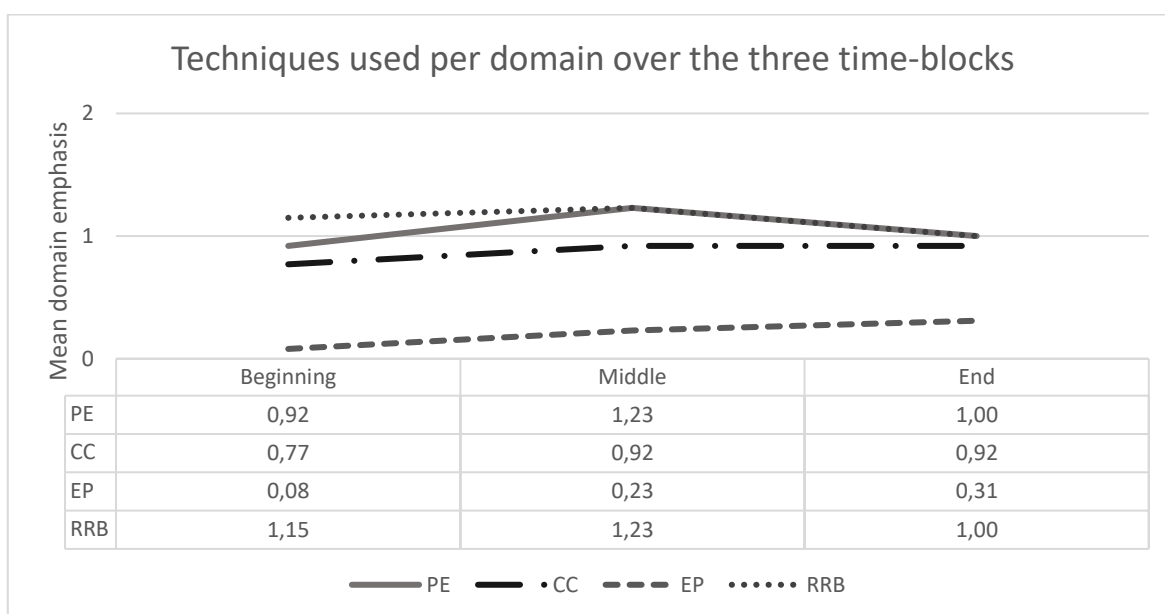

Figure 8.6a. Domains used over the three time-blocks for suspects who denied charges.

Efficacy and AQD over the three time-blocks

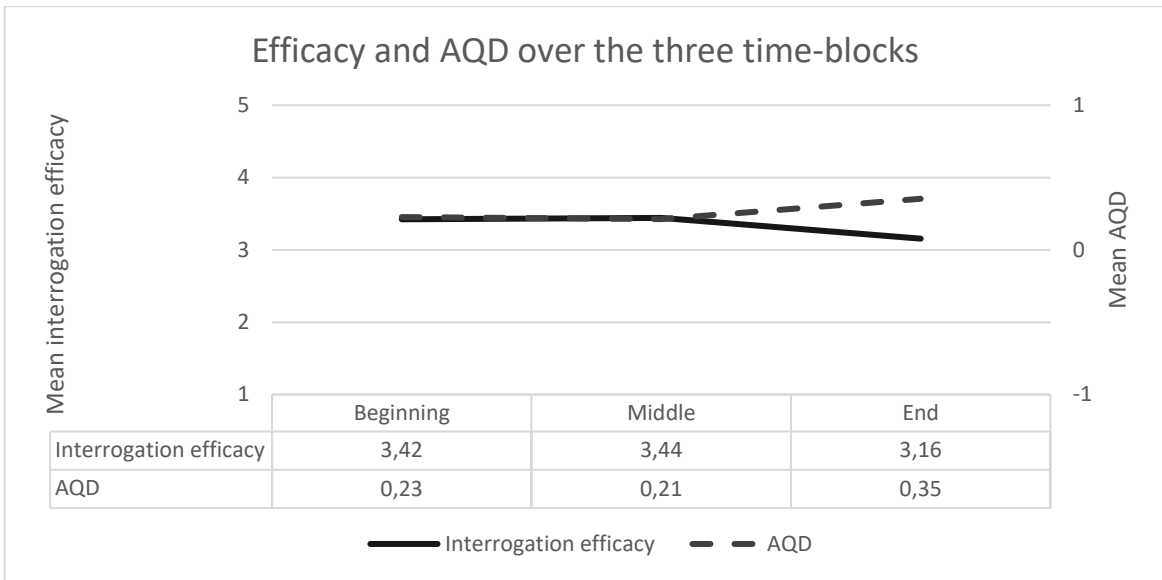|	Beginning	Middle	End
Interrogation efficacy	3,42	3,44	3,16
AQD	0,23	0,21	0,35

——— Interrogation efficacy — — AQD

Figure 8.6b. Efficacy and AQD over the three time-blocks for suspects who denied charges.

9 DISCUSSION

9.1 WHAT THEY DO

9.1.1 Summary descriptive statistics

Overall, the results showed that the interrogators used an equal amount of rapport-based and confrontational techniques, while presenting evidence most common. The majority of questions were appropriate. However, inappropriate and neutral statements equated to more than half the questions asked. The suspects revealed details in a fifth of the sequences of which 80% referred to objects and events. When sequences were clustered six and six, details were found in more than half. In these clusters, counter-interrogation tactics were used every tenth sequence. Most common were the suspects explicitly stating they did not want to answer the question.

9.1.2 Techniques

In Swedish police training rapport based methods are promoted (Kronkvist, 2021, p. 33). As a first study of SÄPO's interrogation techniques and question types, one can conclude that these methods are not fully utilized. The confrontational techniques were used an equal amount. With the small number of cases and the interrogators' identity being masked, it's not possible to exclude that there were individual differences and that some use the scientifically supported methods while others those that are not. However, this illuminates how much the operational definitions affect the result. The coding scheme used was a refined version by Hagsand et al. (2022, p. 8) of the original developed by Kelly et al. (2013, pp. 170–171).

By adding active listening techniques to rapport and relationship building, simple utterings like "mhmm" would count as a technique used. In the current study, those accounted for more than 60 % of those techniques. Using the scheme by Kelly et al. (2013, pp. 170–171), the results would have been considerable different. The remaining techniques of the rapport and relationship building domain, may seem negligible, only utilized in less than 5 % of all sequences. While active listening is an important component of establishing rapport, it clouds the analysis as they overshadow the other rapport-based techniques. It becomes unclear to what extent "playing the role of the student and the suspect the teacher," used forty times, relates to information yield. Interestingly, techniques from this domain used were largely what Hagsand et al. (2022, p. 12) found in their research. In that study, the crimes were low-stake and regarded intoxicated suspects. Active listening was the second most common in that study and asking for free account were the most common. Since these are the only two studies where active

listening has been included in rapport and relationship building, it is hard to draw any conclusions other than that comparability to other previous research may not give an accurate picture. Unfortunately, their study did not include any correlational analysis.

The use of the techniques in the emotion provocation domain were used very rarely and it's hard to draw any conclusions. However, it is uncertain how often the interrogator needs to "appeal to the suspect's selfinterest". It might be a very effective technique when used at the right moment. In the confrontation/competition domain, accusing the suspect of being involved in the crime or having guilty knowledge were the most common. This technique is not unproblematic to code. The coding scheme provided by Hagsand et al. (2022, p. 8) simply states "You did X, Y, and Z". Accusations may be subtle, for instance stating that someone were at a certain location at a certain time. If the accusation is that the person was the only one there, it would be an implicit accusation, but not specifically the crime by name. The latter was counted in this study, but such ambivalence in coding schemes may distort results a lot. Unlike video recordings, using protocols, techniques like "express impatience, frustration, or anger" are hard to interpret. While researchers within a study can agree on how to interpret a criterion for their material, it may cause issues with comparability across studies. Other criteria are more straight forward, for instance "asking the same question repeatedly" and "prompt speculation". Both were commonly used in this domain.

In the presentation of evidence, "Confronting the suspect with evidence of their involvement" was the most common technique. It accounted for almost a third of all techniques used. Since half of the interrogations involved people who had been active on an internet forum, perhaps the evidence were substantial. Another common technique in this domain was "identifying contradictions within the story". This technique is reminiscent of the method strategic use of evidence, where exposing contradiction is one of its main purposes.

Overall, most techniques used were related to evidence and the suspect's involvement. Such techniques accounted for half of those found in the protocols. However, rapport and relationship building, confrontation/competition and presentation of evidence were used not far from equally much.

9.1.3 Question types

Among the appropriate question types, active listening responses was included. These were thus counted as a technique in the rapport and relationship domain as well an appropriate question. While they may have had a large impact on the domain statistics, they were less so in the question categories. They only accounted for 12 % of the appropriate questions and 5 % overall. Neutral statements are a category for sequences not containing questions. It may thus

contain many utterances with different meanings and potential effects on the suspect's response. They accounted for a third of the total sequences. It may include many of the domains, everything from presenting evidence and accusations of the crime to caring a friendly conversation or appealing to the suspect's selfinterest.

The use of inappropriate questions was fairly even spread, apart from opinion statements which was counted twice as many times. These are a part of the Reid technique toolkit (Granhag and Magnusson, 2021, p. 289). This is a cause of concern since suggestive questions influence the suspect's response (Landström and Magnusson, 2021, p. 237). They also stimulate confirmation bias. Unfortunately, while techniques describe the content in a question, the question themselves are only the vehicle of information. If neutral statements are a necessity, the main conclusion is that overall, the question types used by SÄPO are appropriate.

9.1.4 Treatment of suspects committing different crimes

Two pairs of seven cases were compared in order to see if interrogators treated suspects of two different crimes differently. The test found no such difference. Differences measured with only fourteen interrogations could have been found different for many other reasons. This could be an indication that the suspects were not treated differently. On average, the methods seemed very similar if isolating the rapport- and accusatory based techniques.

The main reason behind this question was to see if there indeed was a large difference, where suspects from one crime, unauthorized handling of secret information, would be treated with more friendly methods. They were not. It may very well be that, for the interrogators, the type of crime was of little consideration. The previous research identifying more aggressive methods used depending on what the suspect was suspected of, involved far more emotionally distressing crimes. For SÄPO, crimes against Sweden security are one of their responsibilities. Whether the motivation was money or passion may be of little interest. Branded under a different name, the effect is the very similar. The contempt for ideological spies in the McCarthy era and for those motivated by monetary means today, is not very different (Knight, 2007, p. 252; Olson, 2019, p. 191). For the research question of what they do, they don't allow themselves to be affected by type of crime, despite a potential difference in how these crimes are viewed.

9.2 WHAT WORKS

9.2.1 Those who confessed

There was a significant difference in the use of accusatory techniques and in how the suspects supplied the interrogator with information when they had confessed. This was in line with the findings of Kelly et al. (2016, p. 302). The correlation test provides some additional insight, contributing to their findings. It suggests a complex interaction between accusatory techniques, presentation of evidence and interrogation efficacy. While accusatory techniques and presentation of evidence had a strong correlation, they did not have any significant covariation with efficacy. In fact, no variable had a significant relationship with interrogation efficacy for those who confessed. This is very different from those who did not confess where there were significant, but small, relationships between most variables and interrogation efficacy. It's important to consider that there were only three interrogations where the suspects confessed. What can be said is that the direction of the relationship was the same for both groups. Perhaps the lower number of cluster intervals was the cause of no significant relationships being found.

The use of inappropriate questions by the interrogators were used in relation to accusatory techniques and presentation of evidence. However, this effect was much lower for those who denied. By its construction, interrogation efficacy is a combination of supplying information and the dichotomous utilizing of counter-interrogation techniques. With a significant larger interrogation efficacy, it indicates that those who confessed supplied information regardless of techniques used. Research has shown that questioning is a challenging part of the interrogation (Akca *et al.*, 2021, p. 80). Listening to a response while preparing the next question is demanding. If the suspect is providing information without more complex questioning, it may be reasonable to employ more straightforward techniques. However, such reasoning requires a more in-depth study.

9.2.2 Those who did not confess

For those who did not confess, the correlations were much in line with previous findings (Kelly and Valencia, 2021, p. 47). In most cases the directions were the same. Differences were found in emotional provocation. However, that domain was only representing 2 % of all techniques identified. Relative to the other variables, it had the proportionally least significant correlations. The main difference in results with the study of Kelly and Valencia (2021, p. 47), is that they found no correlation between inappropriate questions and accusatory techniques.

The results revealed a positive relationship between appropriate questions, rapport-based techniques, and a positive outcome of the interrogation. This gives further support to the use of

methods like PEACE. In addition, it also showed that accusatory methods are inefficient when it comes to obtaining the goal of interrogations according to the measure of interrogation efficacy. However, all suspects were convicted. This is then somewhat contradictory. Naturally, it may very well be that there were ample evidence in such a high-stake crime (Hagsand *et al.*, 2023, p. 362). In the case of most of the unlawful handling of secret information, they were all tied to an online forum. With electronic traces, such evidence may have been sufficient for a conviction.

9.2.3   Spurious variables

In the ordered logistic regression analysis, the use of rapport-based techniques was not able to predict efficacy. This is contrasting previous research (Kelly *et al.*, 2016, p. 304; Kelly and Valencia, 2021, p. 48; Hagsand *et al.*, 2023, p. 359). It may be explained by that rapport is not an instantaneous effect, it develops and must be maintained over time (Nunan m. fl., 2022, p. 12). Moreover, the narrower definition of information could very well have accounted for this. Rapport and relationship may simply be an overall requirement for investigation relevant information and thus not directly correlated. In addition, the responses when rapport and relationship techniques are used may be entirely different. For instance, "showing concern for the suspects situation" may not lead to a big revelation of important information. Rather, it could instead lead to the suspect explaining the anxiety related to the interrogation and worries about the future. Similarly to cooperation for Kelly and Valencia (2021, p. 48), AQD was not related to interrogation efficacy. They argued that for obtaining information, cooperation is a necessary, but not sufficient variable. However, this logic is puzzling considering that information was a criterium for their construct *cooperation*. That said, it may depend on *what* information is obtained and what information is an indicator for information. If the goal is investigative relevant information, perhaps the information criteria for cooperation should mainly be such information that is revealed when rapport is being established. In other words, the presence of rapport-related information would predict cooperation and cooperation would predict investigative relevant information. This would explain why interrogation efficacy was not predicted by either rapport or AQD in this study. Those variables would perhaps have been able to predict rapport-based information. Something to include in future studies.

However, this leaves a curious question. If neither rapport-based technique and appropriate questions are directly and positively related to efficacy, then what is? Clearly, accusatory techniques and presenting evidence are not the answers, they all predicted a reduction. One can consider spurious variables not yet identified in previous research. However,

it seems like a far-fetched speculation considering the magnitude of research conducted in this area.

One possibility is the operationalization. For both AQD and efficacy, six sequences were combined into one cluster interval. It's therefore not possible to distinguish exactly what techniques and questions that were related to efficacy. Once those who confessed were removed, only 430 clusters remained. They may not have been enough to provide the precision needed. Also, in the way the two dichotomous categories are combined, the use of counter-interrogation tactics and details would equalize each other. AQD is calculated the same way, an equal number of appropriate and inappropriate questions would result in a neutral null. This shows that the benefit of having one metric does have its limitations. Perhaps they don't hold validity when it comes to identifying relationships. Kelly and Valencia (2021, p. 50) suggests AQD to be a useful metric for evaluating interviewer performance and perhaps that is where its strength lies. For interrogation efficacy, I still argue that it's a good metric for, just like AQD, measuring a performance. However, in hindsight, parts of the analysis would have benefited from separating the counter-interrogation tactics from the information yield. At the same time, operationalizing reality down to its finest details is a futile attempt and statistical analysis will always suffer in validity.

9.3 LIMITATIONS

9.3.1 Case selection

It can be argued that this study all but breached the limitation on what is possible regarding time resources. However, the whole interrogation, all parts of the methods, the suspects behavior, are important to consider. While methods like PEACE have been given scientific support, such support must repeatedly be tested. Suspects may learn methods of verbal deception detection and adapt. For instance, by simply changing from what happened to what they saw happen would indicate truthful statements according to reality monitoring. In this study, interrogation efficacy would have been increased with such measures.

The number of interrogations in this study were few. They resulted in 3168 sequences and 525 cluster intervals, and are both more and less than in other similar studies; 168 5-min intervals (Kelly and Valencia, 2021, p. 46), 519 5-min intervals (Kelly *et al.*, 2016, p. 306), and 2938 sequences (Hagsand *et al.*, 2023, p. 355). It was found that on average, a 5-min interval would contain eleven sequences, and clusters contained sex, the 5-min number above can be

doubled. These coding-complex quantitative interrogation studies suffer from limitations in number of cases.

While the case selection was in part randomized, the initial process was strategic in order to obtain results from a broad spectrum of the interrogations. Other strategic decisions may have provided more relevant results. Perhaps a greater number, but shorter interrogations would have ironed out differences within each interrogation. The possibility of the individual interrogator's interrogation style affected the result cannot be ignored. Another consideration would be to leave out those who had confessed. Due to significant differences, they were left out regardless in the analysis where interrogation efficacy was used. This is a setback since it was an important part of the study. They were included in the descriptive statistics. While a representation of techniques and question types used, differentiating between the two groups would have given a more accurate result. Any research combining confessors with non-confessors should interpret their result with caution.

However, with so few suspects and interrogations available, the representation of SÄPO would have been diminished. A better strategic would have been to embrace the difference and divide the two groups based on confession rather than different crime type as was done here. This, in combination of selecting more, but shorter interrogations, would have given both research questions more substance. When asking what they do and what works, it's important to consider many perspectives, and confession status was one very important one. A more in-depth analysis of the differences would have given great insight in SÄPO's interrogations. In short, the empirical material set serious limitations on the study.

9.3.2   Coding

The coding process was both complex and time consuming. For each sequence there was a total of seventy conditions to consider. Sixty-two techniques, eight question types, four types of details and three counter-interrogation tactics (however, they were split into seven sub tactics). With a total number of 3168 sequences, this left a staggering 243 936 conditions to consider for the whole coding process. While not included in this study, initially the cooperation construct by Kelly (Kelly *et al.*, 2016), was used. However, after several attempts it was finally acknowledged that it didn't measure what it needed to measure for this study, and it was unsure what was to be included in the information criteria. In addition, the "confessing to the crime" criteria was unclear whether it should be explicitly or implicitly interpreted. Apart from time consuming, the coding process was cognitively demanding. Since there was only one coder, and there was no time for intra-reliability testing, the results validity must be considered with reservations. Any inter-reliability testing was outside of the scope of this study.

However, the results were in line with previous research regarding correlation and the differences between suspects who had confessed or not (Kelly *et al.*, 2016, p. 302). Confrontational/competitive and presentation of evidence domains did predict a reduction in efficacy which is in line with the similar construct cooperation used by (Kelly *et al.*, 2016, p. 303). The main difference to previous research was the rapport and relationship's inability to predict interrogation efficacy. However, as noted previously, the difference between the interrogation efficacy and its narrower definition of information and that of cooperation, may explain this. Therefore, while the coding process was demanding, it may not have impacted the result by a large part. Unless SÄPO's interrogation and the suspects behavior is vastly different from those previously examined in studies, that is.

9.3.3 Masking

It is impossible to know if the techniques, questions, or responses were vastly different from the unmasked sequences. One factor that could have had a big impact is that masked text, especially the responses, may have contained a lot of details. This could then have affected the interrogation efficacy variable. Unless waiting for the classification to be removed, which is seventy years (Agrell, 2020, p. 314), this limitation is difficult to circumvent. Unfortunately, these cases may be largely irrelevant for other than historical research by then. Interrogation methods will likely have evolved.

9.4 CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

To my knowledge, this was the first study using the taxonomy of interrogations with empiric material from an intelligence agency's interrogations. Regarding SÄPO and what they do in the interrogation room, no specific method can be identified. Rather, both rapport- and accusatory techniques are used. While they use active listening responses, rapport-based techniques are far fewer. However, most techniques involved the presentation of evidence. While they were significant and positive correlations between interrogation efficacy and variables such as appropriate question types and rapport, they were not directly related. In short, an answer for what works was not provided by the study. However, it could conclude that accusatory techniques and presentation of evidence reduced interrogation efficacy.

It's been 60 years since Bror Lindén and Wennerström had their "friendly conversation". Interrogations now, just as then, are a very important part of counterespionage and for the protection of national security. It is important that they are conducted with best possible methods. In this regard, the implementation of national guidelines may stimulate a use of

evidence proven methods at SÄPO. That said, all the suspects in this study were found guilty. To what extent the interrogations affected the outcome is unknown. However, what may be revealed in an interrogation may be the unexpected. Perhaps the suspect new of another spy.

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11 APPENDIX A – TAXONOMY CODING TABLE

Rapport and relationship building	Emotion provocation	Confrontation/ competition	Collaboration
1. Find common ground or shared experiences	1. Appeal to the suspect's selfinterest	1. Emphasize authority or expertise over the suspect	1. Offer basic rewards for cooperation
2. Identify and meet basic needs	2. Appeal to the suspect's conscience	2. Challenge the values of the suspect	2. Bargain with the suspect
3. Present self in another role or as another persona other than interrogator	3. Appeal to the suspect's religion	3. Threaten the suspect with consequences of non-compliance	3. Appeal to the suspects sense of cooperation
4. Touch suspect in a friendly manner	4. Interrogate while suspect is experiencing a high level of stress	4. Express impatience, frustration, or anger	4. Allow the suspect to regain or assert control over the situation
5. Be a lifeline to the suspect	5. Offer rationalizations	5. Use deception	5. Offer intangible rewards for cooperation
6. Show concern for the suspect's situation	6. Capture chock	6. Obscure the fate of the suspect	6. Present a scenario where the interrogator represents the suspect as innocent or helpful
7. Use similar language	7. Appeal to the suspect's positive feelings for individuals or organizations	7. Do not allow denials	**Evidence presentation**
8. Employ active listening techniques	8. Appeal to the suspect's negative feelings for individuals or organizations	8. Do not speak to the suspect until the suspect initiates conversation (silent)	1. Confront suspect with evidence of their involvement
9. Straight forward honesty	9. Identify and exaggerate the suspect's fears	9. Insult the suspect	2. Identify contradictions within the story
10. Depersonalize the situation	10. Attempt to reduce the suspect's fears	10. Good cop/bad cop	3. We know all
11. Non-crimerelated conversation	11. Flatter the suspect	11. Directly accuse the suspect with being involved in a crime or having some guilty knowledge	4. Present statements from witnesses or cosuspects
12. Play the role of the student and the suspect the teacher	12. Instill hopelessness	12. Disparage or dismiss the information provided by the suspect	5. Use audio/visual aids
13. Ask for free account	13. Perception of self	13. Accuse the suspect of being something he's not	6. Refer to the suspect's criminal history
14. Use humor to defuse tension	14. Analogous story	14. Touch the suspect in an unfriendly manner	7. Summarize the evidence
	15. Taunting/provoking (new technique from previous archival studies)	15. Prisoner's dilemma	
		16. Use the suspect's own words in a manner that misconstrues or alters the intent	
		17. Ask a series of questions quickly and do not allow the suspect to answer	
		18. Ask the same question repeatedly	
		19. Ask unexpected questions	
		20. Prompt speculation	

All credits to Kelly et al. (Kelly *et al.*, 2013) for creating the taxonomy and Hagsand et al. (Hagsand, Zajac, *et al.*, 2022) for constructing the table and the descriptions (available at https://osf.io/yqn9v/?view_only=3b7260c8900d437bafa4d4977e58a296)

12 APPENDIX B – QUESTION TYPES CODING TABLE

Table 7.1 Coding scheme for question types.

Type	Description
Appropriate questions	
Inappropriate closed	Questions where formulation inhibit longer responses ("do you know what happened" rather than "what happened?".
Leading questions	Questions with a suggestive information. "Was the car driving fast?"
Multiple questions	Several different question after another. "What color was the car? What model was it?"
Forced choice questions	The question contains a limited number of options for the reply. "Was it red or blue?"
Inappropriate questions	
Inappropriate closed	Questions where formulation inhibit longer responses ("do you know what happened" rather than "what happened?".
Leading questions	Questions with a suggestive information. "Was the car driving fast?"
Multiple questions	Several different question after another. "What color was the car? What model was it?"
Forced choice questions	The question contains a limited number of options for the reply. "Was it red or blue?"
Opinion statements	The interrogator clearly states an opinion of an event
Neutral statement	
Statement	Sequences containing nothing of the above.

Adapted from Griffith and Milne (2013, p. 182), with the more common terminology by Landström and Magnusson (2021, p. 238) and added active listening responses (Simon, 2018, p. 50).

13 APPENDIX C – INTERROGATION EFFICACY CODING TABLE

Table 7.2. Interrogation efficacy and the two variables interaction and counteraction and their description.

Interaction	Description
Objects	Identity of an object (person, vehicle, websites, items) and descriptions of their attributes. Attributes must refer to an identified object.
Events	Descriptions of an event, the time they took place, where they took place, what objects were present and what actions they took.
Verifiable details	A detail that likely can be verified. For instance, photos of an event, text messages sent and witnesses
Confirmatory responses	A clear yes or no statement on a detailed question

Already disclosed information is not counted. Suggestive questions by the interrogator should be interpreted with caution. Only count when the suspects reveal other information than what was implied.

Counteraction	Description
Evasive	Short responses.
	"I have no comments."
	"I don't remember."
	"I don't know."
Ambiguous	"I don't know exactly" when not asked for exact information and is likely to have some information.
	Longer responses with added uncertainty and many alternative explanations, leading to statements without any substance.
Uncertain/Disagreeing	Unsure of the accuracy of evidence presented or disagreeing with the interrogator's statements. Not when a valid explanation is given.

Only to be considered when found in clusters since isolated they are all normal responses.

14 APPENDIX D – DOMAIN RESULTS

Rapport and relationship building	Times coded
Find common ground or shared experiences	6
Identify and meet basic needs	3
Show concern for the suspect´s situation	29
Use similar language	15
Employ active listening techniques	239
Straight forward honesty	19
Play the role of the student and the suspect the teacher	40
Ask for free account	28
Use humor to defuse tension	4
Total	383
Emotion provocation	
Appeal to the suspect´s selfinterest	22
Appeal to the suspect´s conscience	2
Interrogate while suspect is experiencing a high level of stress	30
Identify and exaggerate the suspect´s fears	1
Flatter the suspect	2
Instill hopelessness	2
Taunting/provo king (new technique from previous archival studies)	2
Total	61
Confrontation/Competition	
Emphasize authority or expertise over the suspect	40
Challenge the values of the suspect	7
Express impatience, frustration, or anger	54
Obscure the fate of the suspect	13
Insult the suspect	2
Directly accuse the suspect with being involved in a crime or having some guilty knowledge	135
Disparage or dismiss the information provided by the suspect	16
Ask the same question repeatedly	79
Prompt speculation	47
Total	393
Presentation of evidence	
Confront suspect with evidence of their involvement	441
Identify contradictions within the story	100
We know all	12
Present statements from witnesses or cosuspects	10
Summarize the evidence	5
Total	568
Summed total	1406

15 APPENDIX E – STATISTICAL TEST OUTPUT

8.3 Different treatment depending on crime type

RRB: Espionage – unlawful handling of secret information
> with(Crime_type, t.test(X19.5.6_RRB, X19.7.8_RRB, alternative='two.sided', paired=TRUE))

```
            Paired t-test
data:  X19.5.6_RRB and X19.7.8_RRB
t = -1.4515, df = 917, p-value = 0.147
alternative hypothesis: true mean difference is not equal to 0
95 percent confidence interval:
 -0.056367846  0.008437563
sample estimates:
mean difference
   -0.02396514
```

CC: Espionage – unlawful handling of secret information
> with(Crime_type, t.test(X19.5.6_CC, X19.7.8_CC, alternative='two.sided', paired=TRUE))

```
            Paired t-test
data:  X19.5.6_CC and X19.7.8_CC
t = -0.50897, df = 917, p-value = 0.6109
alternative hypothesis: true mean difference is not equal to 0
95 percent confidence interval:
 -0.03702784  0.02177729
sample estimates:
mean difference
  -0.007625272
```

8.4: If interrogation efficacy and CC was greater among those who had confessed.

> t.test(confessed_group_efficacy$Efficacy, denied_group_efficacy$Efficacy, alternative = "greater")

```
            Welch Two Sample t-test
data:  confessed_group_efficacy$Efficacy and denied_group_efficacy$Efficacy
t = 10.806, df = 192.78, p-value < 2.2e-16
alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is greater than 0
95 percent confidence interval:
 0.6756667      Inf
sample estimates:
mean of x mean of y
 4.200000  3.402326
```

> t.test(confessed_group_CC$CC, denied_group_CC$CC, alternative = "greater")

        Welch Two Sample t-test

data: confessed_group_CC$CC and denied_group_CC$CC
t = 1.6898, df = 115.73, p-value = 0.04687
alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is greater than 0
95 percent confidence interval:
 0.004797482   Inf
sample estimates:
mean of x mean of y
0.9578947 0.7023256

8.6 Time-blocks ANOVA tests

TB_RRB <- aov(RRB ~ Block, data = TB_denied)
> summary(TB_RRB)
        Df Sum Sq Mean Sq F value Pr(>F)
Block   2 0.359 0.1795   0.462 0.634
Residuals 36 14.000 0.3889

TB_PE <- aov(PE ~ Block, data = TB_denied)
> summary(TB_EP)
        Df Sum Sq Mean Sq F value Pr(>F)
Block   2 0.359 0.1795   1.077 0.351
Residuals 36 6.000 0.1667

TB_CC <- aov(CC ~ Block, data = TB_denied)
> summary(TB_CC)
        Df Sum Sq Mean Sq F value Pr(>F)
Block   2 0.205 0.1026   0.364 0.698
Residuals 36 10.154 0.2821

TB_PE <- aov(PE ~ Block, data = TB_denied)
> summary(TB_PE)
        Df Sum Sq Mean Sq F value Pr(>F)
Block   2 0.667 0.3333   0.696 0.505
Residuals 36 17.231 0.4786

TB_Efficacy <- aov(Efficacy ~ Block, data = TB_denied)
> summary(TB_Efficacy)
        Df Sum Sq Mean Sq F value Pr(>F)
Block   2 0.67 0.3352   0.711 0.498
Residuals 36 16.96 0.4711

TB_AQD <- aov(AQD ~ Block, data = TB_denied)
> summary(TB_AQD)
        Df Sum Sq Mean Sq F value Pr(>F)

Block   2 0.1546 0.07731   0.977 0.386
Residuals   36 2.8483 0.07912

16 APPENDIX F – TAXONOMY DESCRIPTIONS

16.1 RAPPORT & RELATIONSHIP BUILDING [RRB]

1. **Find common ground or shared experiences.**

Demonstrating to the suspect that the interrogator can better understand the suspect's background/social status/culture/experiences, including being a father, being from the same or similar neighborhood, financial situations, etc.

2. **Identify and meet basic needs.**

Offering water, food, use of the restroom, or adjusting the temperature in the interrogation room are examples of meeting the suspect's basic needs. This is not necessarily unprompted and can be in response to a request made by the suspect. If the suspect asks, "May I have a glass of water?" and the interrogator at least attempts to meet that need without any request for reciprocation, it qualifies as this technique.

3. **Present self in another role or as another persona other than interrogator.**

There seems to be some deception here, possibly, though not necessarily the confrontational kind. For instance, a police detective could call himself a "behavioral specialist" or "behavioral analyst" in order to create the rapport. **We may not be able to know this from a video**. Other, more subtle techniques may also present themselves (akin to teacher-student role, which would be coded as #3).

4. **Touch suspect in a friendly manner.**

Putting a hand on the suspect's shoulder is clear, but a handshake may also qualify.

5. **Be a lifeline to the suspect.**

An interrogator presents a situation where the suspect is alone in his predicament and that only the interrogator can help. It can be a case where the suspect is somehow threatened on the outside, physically or metaphorically, including legally, and that the interrogator is offering his assistance to the suspect.

6. **Show concern for the suspect's situation.**

The interrogator demonstrates to the suspect that he is empathetic, (though this may be feigned) and can state that he wants to help the suspect in some way. **This is somewhat different than being a lifeline (#6), as it does not present the interrogator as the only one who can help.**

7. Use similar language.

Although related to #1, using similar language (slang, for instance) can be a distinct and purposeful act on the part of the interrogator to build rapport with the suspect. Code this when interrogator uses exactly the same term or phrase as suspect or if it is very obvious that interrogator adapts their language in general to fit the suspect.

8. Employ active listening techniques.

These include: body posture and gestures that indicate to the suspect that the interrogator is hearing what the suspect is saying (e.g., head nodding), and repeating the suspect's words in order to ensure the interrogator understood the message correctly (also when referring to previous interrogations). Could also be coded when referring to previously mentioned details not directly related to the crime, "You mentioned before that you and your wife had some problems". This could also include explicit statements of "I'm listening." More than one confirming word.

9. Straight forward honesty.

When an interrogator wants to "be real," he may say things like, "I'm just going be honest with you," "I'm going to shoot straight with you," or "Here are my cards laid out in front of you." This may actually be feigned, though coders might not know that. Another indicator of this is where the interrogator gives the suspect an idea of what to expect out of the criminal justice process. For instance, it could be a hypothetical timeline about seeing a judge, setting bail, and earning pretrial release and beyond. It is **not** the same as threats of incarceration or other punishments. Not said in a threatening way but friendly or neutral. Otherwise, code as threaten. Also, code this for transparency with investigation, when sharing details from the investigation in a friendly tone.

10. Depersonalize the situation.

The interrogator wants to convince the suspect that he is not going after the suspect on a personal level, just a professional one: "I'm just doing my job," or "I have a job to do."

11. Non-crime-related conversation.

At the outset of an interview, the interrogator may attempt to get to know a little bit about the suspect personally. Any information gathered here may be used later in the course of other techniques. For instance, the interrogator may ask if the suspect has children or where he's from, preferred hobbies or favorite sports team similar to any two strangers having a get-to-know-you conversation. That information may be of use later should the interrogator want to

find common ground (RRB 1) or emphasize positive feelings toward others (EP 7). However, this information (and hence, technique) can be employed later in an attempt to redirect the conversation to something more familiar and less stressful, perhaps in an effort to reestablish some rapport after tense moments. OR any non-crime-related topic can be used in a similar fashion and should be coded as well. No ulterior motive.

12. **Play the role of the student and the suspect the teacher.**

Possible phrases: "Teach me / Show me / Tell me…" or "Pretend I don't know anything." These do not necessarily entail elaborate role-playing scenarios, but any request by the interrogator about specialized knowledge that the suspect possesses should be coded here.

13. Ask for free account.

Common in the practice of investigative interviewing. In the Cognitive Interview for Suspects, CIS (Gieselman, 2012)**,** as well as the PEACE model, the suspect is encouraged to share a lot of information before the interrogator challenges the story. While the primary aim of free recall is information gathering it can also be part of establishing an open and tolerant atmosphere in the initial phase of an interrogation.

14. Use humor to defuse tension.

Code when the interrogator attempts to create a friendly atmosphere during the interrogation by using humor (not in a sarcastic manner or making fun of the suspect). This can result in them both laughing or a playful banter during the interrogation.

16.2 EMOTION PROVOCATION [EP]

1. Appeal to the suspect's self-interest.

The interrogator here would remind the suspect that there are consequences for not talking to the interrogator or benefits to "telling his side" of the story. The phrases, "help yourself out," "this is serious stuff", or "you could be in big trouble," may be used in this manner. The self-interest is often specific to legal consequences.

2. Appeal to the suspect's conscience.

This is where the interrogator may refer to feelings of guilt or remorse for having done something wrong, bad, or illegal; it could be discussing the impact of the alleged crime on the victim(s) and/or the victim's family; getting some piece of information "off [the suspect's] chest." The interrogator may refer to redemption in some fashion as well. Another example is referring to the suspect's specific gendered identity, most likely masculinity, such as, "Be a

man," or "Take it like a man" or "man up" or "Act like a man." Lastly, the interrogator may refer to the suspect's **lack** of criminal history, involvement in crime, or criminal capabilities.

3. Appeal to the suspect's religion.

Related to the technique above, it is just more specific to the suspect's possible religiosity or metaphysical consequences for non-compliance, including references to heaven and hell, or an unburdening of guilt through confession ala Catholic penance.

4. Interrogate while suspect is experiencing a high level of stress.

This is much more of a reciprocal dynamic where the interrogator is reacting to a disposition of the suspect, and there is no more specific technique than "interrogate."

5. Offer rationalizations.

The interrogator states that the suspect did what he did due to drug abuse, financial need, that the victim was deserving of harm, or some other reason that the crime or harm it caused was somehow justified or at least mitigated due to some other factor. Another indicator of this is an "alternative question," where the interrogator offers two competing reasons that the suspect did what he did and asks the suspect to choose one. Additionally, this is similar to what could be called "suggest scenario" where the interrogator creates a more complete story about the events surrounding the suspected crime, including (but not limited to) such details as the suspect's motivations or background, how the crime was committed, and the events that followed the crime. Lastly, this technique could be used in the form of a question or elicitation, such as, "Can you give me a reasonable explanation why…" or "There must be a reasonable explanation for why you did it…"

6. Capture shock.

Similar to many of the Context Manipulation techniques, this may be difficult to discern from the videos alone, but it could be observed through the interrogator's words or notes that refer to the temporal proximity of arrest/detention and the actual interrogation.

7. Appeal to the suspect's positive feelings for individuals or organizations.

Typically, this would refer to the suspect's family, though it could also be friends, coworkers, etc. Can be coded together with appeal to conscience.

8. Appeal to the suspect's negative feelings for individuals or organizations.

In a criminal context, it is likely referring specifically to the victim (or in the case of a gang investigation, a rival gang or gangs), though co-suspects may also be discussed in this fashion. Can be coded together with rationalization if referring to victim.

9. Identify and exaggerate the suspect's fears.

The act of identifying and repeatedly returning to a specific fear the suspect has is much more specific than the dispositional characteristics of how we may commonly understand "fear up." For instance, this technique could refer to the suspect's fear of incarceration (or all that the loss of freedom it entails) and keeps reminding the suspect of it should he continue to be non-compliant during the interrogation.

10. Attempt to reduce the suspect's fears.

Likewise, "Fear Down" may be an inappropriate tag, as the technique refers to something specific that the suspect is afraid of. Instead of raising anxiety over identified fears, the interrogator works to lessen anxiety. The interrogator may also back off previous, more severe crimes for which he is asking about and talk about less serious crimes. Can also be leading away from difficult topics by non-crime related conversation.

11. Flatter the suspect.

"You're a smart/funny/reasonable/etc. guy". Different from encouragement in a rapport building context.

12. Instill hopelessness.

The interrogator here is indicating to the suspect that he has no options (or is running out of options), nothing can be done to save himself, or that everyone has given up on him, including friends, family, etc. Similar to 9) "fear up". It might help to ask the question if interrogator is trying to make suspect feel disheartened or desperate.

13. Perception of self.

The interrogator appeals to how others may perceive the suspect which is contrary to how the suspect perceives himself. Questions such as, "What are your friends/family/wife going to think when they find out?" or more broadly, "What do you think the public will think" or "How will the media/press portray you based on the evidence?" Can be coded together with appeal to religion or conscience if used in a way to instill cognitive dissonance.

14. Analogous story.

The interrogator tells the suspect of a different crime (real or fabricated) that is intended to draw parallels to the case under investigation. The interrogator can be explicit about the parallels, or they can be implied.

15. Taunting/provoking.

In this technique, the interrogator identifies topics, utterances or behaviours that seem to provoke the suspect and uses them in attempts to incite or enhance feelings of anger and/or frustration.

16.3 CONFRONTATION/COMPETITION [CC]

1.   Emphasize authority or expertise over the suspect.

The interrogator refers to the power/experience he has an officer of the law and how little power/experience the suspect has as a result. Both an explicit remark by the interrogator or more of an undertone.

2.   Challenge the values of the suspect.

The interrogator identifies a custom, norm, lifestyle, or some other value the suspect identifies closely with and then tells him it's wrong, bad, or otherwise disparages it. This could refer to the suspect's religion as well.

3.   Threaten the suspect with consequences of non-compliance.

In a criminal context, threats of imprisonment are perhaps the most likely in this technique, but it could also refer to physical threats or harm (perpetrated by the interrogator **or** others), loss of material possessions, employment, friends, family, respect, etc. Threats may often come in "if-then" statements such as, "If you don't start talking, (then) you'll go to prison for life."

4.   Express impatience, frustration, or anger.

This can be identified by the interrogator's tone of voice, particularly raised volume, but it can be done in a calmer manner as well. A sigh by the interrogator or a slump/slouching of the shoulders could also indicate frustration. Further, the interrogator could state his feelings of impatience, frustration, or anger, without actually demonstrating physical manifestations of those feelings.

5. Use deception.

Although clearly in line with the definition of this domain, the use of deception, like other techniques above, may not be directly observable in the recordings. The coder may not have any sense that the interrogator is trying to deceive the suspect. However, if deception is known (and not inferred), this is the technique to code.

6. Obscure the fate of the suspect.

As opposed to threatening the suspect with specific consequences (#3), this is where the interrogator may state that he does not know exactly what the outcome of the interrogation may be and allow the suspect to infer the consequences. Or the interrogator may present a number of possible outcomes without being specific as to which is most likely.

7. Do not allow denials.

Statements to this effect could include, "Don't bother denying it," "Stop lying to me" etc. This could be a specific response by the interrogator after the suspect denies an accusation OR it could be a declaration made by the interrogator that he will not allow denials.

8. Do not speak to the suspect until the suspect initiates conversation (Silent).

This technique can be used throughout the course of an interrogation, particularly when the interrogator may want to "reset" or when he is dissatisfied with the direction the interrogation is taking. It is not simply a pause in the dialogue between interrogator and suspect, and it can be indicated by the interrogator simply waiting for the suspect to begin speaking.

9. Insult the suspect.

The interrogator calls the suspect derogatory names or casts negative judgments against him (e.g., you're worthless).

10. Mutt and Jeff / Good cop, bad cop.

As an approach, this is something that can be apparent throughout an interrogation and not isolated as a discrete technique within a single coding interval. In this case, it could be captured in the open-ended description of the interrogation. However, it should likely be retained as a technique in the event that a second interrogator enters the room (as coded above in CM) or that the second interrogator who had been largely silent takes on the opposite persona of the primary interrogator at some point in the middle of the session.

11. Directly accuse the suspect with being involved in a crime or of having some guilty knowledge.

"You did X, Y, and Z."

12. Disparage or dismiss the information provided by the suspect.

"That's bullshit and you know it," "Everything you just said is wrong/stupid/a lie," "No, I don't believe you, tell me the truth." Could be coded with Do not allow denials.

13. Accuse the suspect of being someone he's not.

This could be done by accusing the suspect of being a more serious offender or, in terms of the hierarchy of criminal organizations, higher up in the pecking order; alternately, downplaying the suspect's status in society or a criminal organization.

14. Touch the suspect in an unfriendly manner

15. Prisoner's Dilemma.

This technique is when the interrogator 'plays one suspect off another.' That is the interrogator either infers or explicitly states that a co-suspect has or plans to tell all. Accompanying this could be the inference that the suspect would be better off if s/he spoke first; however, this aspect is not necessary to mark this technique as present.

16. Use the suspect's own words in a manner that misconstrues or alters the intent.

This is where the suspect thinks he is making a denial or otherwise challenging the interrogator's claims, but the interrogator finds a way to interpret that statement into something incriminating.

17. Ask a series of questions quickly and do not allow the suspect to answer.

Similar to "Rapid Fire" of the Army Field Manual, the interrogator attempts to overwhelm the suspect with topics and questions in order to challenge/confuse him.

18. Ask the same question repeatedly.

The same question asked over and over again may be used when either the suspect is choosing not to answer the question, evading the substance of the question, or where the interrogator is dissatisfied with the answer or does not believe the suspect is being truthful. Unlike the definition in the Army Field Manual, the repeated question(s) do not necessarily have to come one after the other. In other words, the interrogator can ask a question or series of questions that the suspect does not answer to the interrogator's satisfaction, moves onto other topics/techniques, but then returns to the questions that had already been asked. Same question

three times OR two times but very similar questions have been asked before, or they are phrased exactly the same and follow directly after each other. Don't code the first time that the question is asked.

19. Ask unexpected questions.

Such questions are intended to keep the suspect off balance by changing the subject or going in a completely new direction of inquiry than the interrogator had previously been on. Unexpected questions can take on the tone of an accusation or even be of an offensive nature though tangentially related to the suspected crime, such as, "Have you ever cheated on your wife?" or "Are you gay?"

20. Prompt speculation (new technique from previous archival studies).

In this technique the interrogator asks or demands that the suspect speculates about what might have happened, often accompanied with the explicit notion that if the suspect themselves did not do it, they must be able to provide a plausible alternative explanation. It can be phrased as "If you are innocent, you must have speculated about who could have done it". Not providing an alternative explanation is then often interpreted by the interrogator as a sign of guilt. In the specific case of drug-related crimes the interrogator can ask the suspect to speculate about the results of the drug-test. This puts the suspect in a position where they either have to admit or risk contradicting the evidence. This is another form of prompt speculation.

16.4 PRESENTATION OF EVIDENCE [PE]

21. Confront suspect with evidence of their involvement. (+ not just introduction)

This specifically refers to physical/forensic evidence that the interrogator states have been collected as a result of the investigation.

22. Identify contradictions within the story or between the story and the evidence.

"But earlier you said…"

23. We Know All.

Reveal evidence to the suspect, demonstrating that he can offer no additional useful information, or make statements to the effect of claiming to know everything or most there is to know.

24. Present statements from witnesses or co-suspects.

The repeating of an incriminating statement made against the suspect by the interrogator should be differentiated from the "Prisoner's Dilemma" technique in the Confrontation/Competition domain. In that, there is a competitive or zero-sum element to what, in particular, a co-suspect has said or might say to compel the suspect's cooperation;

in this technique, it is simply an evidentiary or accusatory statement made by another person to make the suspect think that the police have enough evidence for conviction. The statements in this technique have been given directly to the police and relayed to the suspect.

25. Use audio/visual aids.

Telephone recordings, audio/video recordings of other suspect or victim/witness interviews, photos from the crime scene, maps or other charts for the suspect to see what the interrogators have as evidence. The interrogator can have his notes or other papers containing evidence but must show them to the suspect for this to be coded. In these instances, PE 1 above may also be coded, but there can be instances where other visual aids used that are not evidence, but this should be coded as well. An instance of bringing another suspect/witness into the interrogation room is another example of this technique.

26. Refer to suspect's criminal history, including past suspected crimes.

This is done in the context of implying that the suspect's criminal past can be used as evidence against him for the current suspected crime in establishing a pattern of behavior (whether legally admissible or not is irrelevant).

27. Summarizing the evidence.

Per Walsh & Bull (2010), one of the best predictors of full disclosure and/or confession is when the interrogator periodically summarizes the evidence and the accounts given by the suspect. This is not simply repeating discrete pieces of evidence brought up earlier in the interrogation.