Open data: Yes
Open materials: Yes
Open and reproducible analysis: Yes
Open reviews and editorial process: Yes
Preregistration: Yes

Edited by: Rickard Carlsson
Reviewed by: Streamlined peer-review
Analysis reproduced by: Lucija Batinović
All supplementary files can be accessed at OSF:
https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/GX3BK

The Use of the Term Rapport in the Investigative Interviewing Literature: A Critical Examination of Definitions

David A. Neequaye
University of Gothenburg

Erik Mac Giolla
University of Gothenburg

Abstract

Researchers typically note that there is much divergence about how rapport is defined in the investigative interviewing literature. We examined the scope of this divergence, the commonalities of extant definitions, and how the current state of affairs impacts the scientific investigation of rapport. We obtained 228 publications that discussed rapport in an investigative interviewing context. Only Thirty-two publications (14 %) explicitly defined rapport. Twenty-two of those definitions were unique. All of the definitions implied that rapport centers on the quality of the interviewer-interviewee interaction. However, the definitions ascribed different attributes when describing more specifically how rapport relates to the quality of interpersonal interactions. A thematic analysis revealed six major attributes by which rapport could be characterized. The attributes were communication, mutuality, positivity, respect, successful outcomes, and trust. These attributes were disparately distributed across the definitions. Based on the considerable disparity in its definitions, we question the theoretical and practical value of the term rapport. The current situation creates ambiguity about the meaning of rapport and impedes its objective assessment. To avoid further ambiguity, we believe the field must collectively determine a finite set of attributes to denote the term rapport. Until those attributes are determined, stakeholders should stop indiscriminately using the word rapport to describe any collection of attributes of the interviewer-interviewee interaction.

Keywords: definitions, rapport, investigative interviewing, source, suspect, victim, witness

A critical examination of rapport

"Before we inquire into origins and functional relations, it is necessary to know the thing we are trying to explain (Asch, 1952, reprinted in 1987)"

This work examines the use of the term rapport in the extant investigative interviewing literature. Here, an investigative interview refers to a social interaction in which human interviewers solicit information from human sources (i.e., interviewees) for security reasons or legal purposes. It is generally accepted that rapport is important for conducting successful—that is, ethical and effective—[1]interviews (e.g.,Vrij et al., 2017). However, existing literature reviews note that there is much divergence about how rapport is defined (Abbe & Brandon, 2013, 2014; Gabbert et al., 2020 2; Val-

---

[1]Effective denotes the interviewer achieving the goals of the interview.

lano, Schreiber Compo, 2015; Vanderhallen & Vervaeke, 2014). Our aim is to systematically explore the extent of such variance, the commonalities shared by extant definitions, and how this state of affairs may influence the scientific investigation of rapport.

The Value of Rapport

The extant investigative interviewing literature univocally suggests that rapport is a critical component of successful interviewing. For example, the importance of rapport has been described in the following ways: "a necessary condition for a successful interview" (Abbe & Brandon, 2013, p. 241); "the cornerstone of any attempt to elicit information from an uncooperative source" (Kelly et al., 2013, p.169); and "the heart of a good interview" (St-Yves, 2006, p. 92). Moreover, researchers credit the successful inclusion of rapport in an interview with benefits such as the following: children's plentiful and accurate disclosures of details about sexual abuse (e.g., Hershkowitz et al., 2015; Sternberg et al., 1997); adult witnesses' improved recall and cooperativeness (e.g., Collins et al., 2002; Kieckhaefer et al., 2014; Nash et al., 2016; Duke et al., 2018); and crime suspects' tendency to engage with interviewers and disclose information (e.g., Alison et al., 2014; Alison et al., 2013; Kelly et al., 2016; Walsh & Bull, 2012).

In light of these advantages, the excellence of investigative interviews in the field (as opposed to laboratory experiments) are often judged, in part, by the extent to which interviewers are able to establish rapport in an interview (see, e.g., Clarke & Milne, 2001; Schreiber Compo et al., 2012). Major interviewing regulations recommend that interviewers build and maintain rapport with interviewees throughout interviews. These regulations include the PEACE model[2] (see, e.g., Bull & Milne, 2004; College of policing, 2013), and the Achieving Best Evidence (ABE) guidelines (Home Office, 2011)—commonly implemented in the United Kingdom; The Cognitive Interview (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992); the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development protocol (NICHD; Lamb et al., 2007), and the Army Field Manual (AFM 2-22.3; Department of the Army, 2006)—commonly applied in the United States.

Problems in Defining Rapport

Although stakeholders endorse rapport univocally, there seems to be uncertainty about what rapport entails or should entail. For example, Abbe and Brandon (2014, p. 207) note that the extent to which rapport has a similar meaning across different countries and interviewing contexts is unclear. Vallano and Schreiber Compo (2015, p. 86) mention that the existing work is unable to provide a clear and consistent definition of rapport. Vanderhallen and Vervaeke (2014, p.77) note that the term rapport is conceptually weak in the literature. Saywitz et al., 2015, p. 383) found that research has not defined the critical elements of rapport clearly. Sauerland and colleagues (2018, p. 269) write that definitions (and operationalizations) of rapport are vague and varying.

Typically, defining a construct is a pre-requisite to its operationalizing and analysis. Inadequate definitions and operationalizations obstruct the measurement of a construct, obscuring the inferences one can draw (Shadish et al., 2002). In any body of work, a reference point that defines the fundamental aspects of a construct is central to measuring the construct coherently and comprehensibly.

Kripke's (1972) work on *reference-fixing* in stipulative definitions further highlights the importance of establishing definitions with a common reference point. Kripke describes a peculiar type of stipulative definition whereby one introduces a term (e.g., a name) using a description that tells the audience what the speaker is referring to by the term. For example, Joanne Rowling (i.e., the term) is the author of the Harry Potter novels (i.e., the description). In the current example, the speaker's description is not synonymous with Joanne Rowling. The description fixes a reference indicating what the speaker means when saying, Joanne Rowling. The reference, in the pertinent aspects, is now univocal and clarifies what the speaker is saying. However, such reference-fixing, according to Kripke, is also contingent, pending further insight that may lead to revising the reference. For example, Joanne Rowling is the author of the Harry Potter and Fantastic Beasts novels.

A term like Joanne Rowling is rigid; the name Joanne Rowling is always the name Joanne Rowling. Conversely, fixing the term's (i.e., the name's) reference can be non-rigid. One can describe Joanne Rowling in many different ways (see also Gupta, 2015 on Kripke, 1972). Problems with reference-fixing arise when users of the same rigid designator, use the term without sufficiently explaining how their use builds on or relates to previous uses. Such an explanation is required so that Joanne Rowling, author of the Harry Potter and Fantastic Beasts novels, is not confused with another, identically named Joanne Rowling—who happens to work at a chocolate factory. In order for two people to have an unambigu-

---

[2]PEACE is an acronym representing the following five interview stages. Planning and preparation; Engaging and explaining; asking an interviewees' Account of events; Closure; and Evaluation. Walsh and Bull (**WALSH**2015) mention that Australia, Canada, and New Zealand also adopt the PEACE model.

ous conversation about Joanne Rowling, they must be referring to the same person.

Applying Kripke's musings to rapport definitions, we can infer that across the investigative interviewing literature, the term rapport is a rigid designator. However, as mentioned, there is great uncertainty about how the reference for the term rapport is fixed. This reference-fixing issue creates ambiguity about the meaning of rapport across the literature. For two people to have an intelligible conversation about Joanne Rowling, they need to know that they are referring to the same person. Similarly, to systematically research the construct rapport, researchers need to know that they are referring to the same construct. Ideally, this would require some univocal baseline description, or reference point, of rapport in investigative interviewing contexts. By reviewing the extant definitions of rapport, we hoped to identify such a reference point.

Method

Search Strategy. We aimed to gather a comprehensive list of definitions of the term rapport within the academic literature (in English) on investigative interviewing. A literature search was carried out on the PsycINFO database. The primary search word was Rapport, which was combined with terms specifying the field of investigative interviewing. We searched full texts, not just abstracts or keywords, to allow us flag any literature that fits the scope of the review. That is, literatures that examine rapport as a main and/or secondary investigation within the investigative interviewing context.

The formal search strategy was: "Rapport" AND "Investigative interview*" OR "Suspect*" OR "Eyewitness*" OR "Police" OR "Interrogation" OR "Cognitive interview" OR "PEACE model" OR "Intelligence gathering" OR "NICHD"

We complemented the formal search strategy with an informal search of relevant review articles, official documents, and publication lists of key researchers in the field. We preregistered the parameters of our review here: https://osf.io/5zha3/

Identification of Definitions. We reviewed the selected literature to identify the extant unique definitions of rapport by examining each publication's entire text. The first criterion for determining definitions was the authors' explicit, or sufficiently clear, indication that by a certain sentence, or parts of the sentence, they are bringing a reader to know the meaning they (i.e., the authors) have assigned to the term rapport. Using this rule, we extracted as definitions the predicates of sentences whose subjects resemble the following forms. Rapport is *defined as, refers to, indicates, regarded as, conceptualized as, described as* something—and some-

thing is the predicate. In some cases, the word rapport was not necessarily the subject of a sentence from which we identified a potential definition. Here, we determined the authors' intention to provide such a rapport definition from the immediately surrounding discussion. The second criterion for identifying definitions was the possibility to fully decipher the meaning of rapport the authors intend from the text provided. Thus, we disregarded potential definitions whereby authors describe the nature of rapport by referring to anecdotes about a particular investigative interview whose content cannot be verified thoroughly or objectively.

Thematic Analysis

We thematically analyzed the definitions following Braun and Clarke's (2006) recommendations. We began by familiarizing ourselves with the definitions and followed this with an initial coding phase where codes closely represented the data. Based on these initial codes, we created broader and more interpretative attributes of the definitions. These broader attributes were then compared to the initial codes for fit and altered accordingly. Figure 1 illustrates the attributes in the specific definitions. For a detailed explanation of how each code relates to each definition, see the supplemental figure (https://osf.io/qxw2r/). We strongly encourage a reading of the supplemental figure as it demonstrates the intricacies of the thematic analysis.

Overview. The search obtained 228 relevant publications, and we analyzed all the articles; none were excluded. Approximately 86 % of these publications did not provide a definition of rapport. That is, authors invoked the term without any clear definition or without explaining in detail how the current invocation is consistent or different from prior uses of rapport. An inevitable consequence of this finding is that this article's reference list does not contain publications that did not define rapport. One can find a comprehensive reference list at the following link: https://osf.io/5zha3/

Of the 32 publications that defined rapport, we identified 22 unique definitions. Six of the definitions were proxied by the authors from other sources but met our inclusion criteria. Thematic analysis of the 22 definitions uncovered one overarching reference point and six subordinate attributes of rapport. The overarching reference point was that all definitions referred in some way to *the quality of the interviewer-interviewee interpersonal interaction*. However, the six subordinate attributes showed considerable variance across definitions. No single attribute was common to all the definitions. Table 1 includes a detailed list of all the definitions and a chart of the corresponding attributes. The table provides a quick snapshot of the variance in

attributes. The most common attribute was "positivity"—that rapport implies a positive interaction—was mentioned in approximately 68 % of definitions. The remaining attributes were mentioned in less than 40 % of definitions. This finding suggests that there is considerable variance in how rapport is defined in the investigative interviewing literature, with the caveat that most propose that rapport in part refers to a positively valenced interaction. The subsequent paragraphs describe each main attribute in turn.

Positivity. This attribute captured definitions, which held that rapport implied a positive interpersonal interaction. That is, an interaction, which an interviewer or interviewee might consider desirable. This categorization included definitions that invoked concepts such as a working relationship, warmth, and harmony. Additionally, the positivity attribute captured definitions advocating that to induce rapport an interviewer should display behaviors that would increase an interviewee's positive perceptions of the interaction. These behaviors include expressing sympathy, interest in the interviewee's welfare, and acceptance of the interviewee. Fifteen of the twenty-two definitions included positivity.

Mutuality. This attribute captured definitions containing a focus on the shared characteristics between the interviewer and interviewee. This designation, thus, includes mentions such as shared understanding, shared attention, common ground, and communicative alliance. Mutuality was a component of nine of the twenty-two definitions.

Communication. This attribute captures definitions that emphasize the role of communication in facilitating rapport. Furthermore, we assigned this attribute to definitions, indicating that interviewers should be genuine in their dealings with an interviewee. Seven of the twenty-two definitions included the attribute of communication.

Successful Outcomes. This attribute captures definitions where rapport comprises a successful interview. Such success stipulations include increasing the interviewee's cooperation, willingness to talk, as well as the productivity or amount of intelligence (viz., information) obtained from the interaction. Successful outcomes were included in seven of twenty-two definitions.

Trust. This attribute captures definitions that explicitly mention that trust is a component of rapport. Additionally, we assigned this attribute to definitions that emphasize that rapport should increase an interviewee's confidence in an interviewer. Trust was a component of five of the twenty-two definitions.

Respect. This attribute captures definitions, which explicitly mention that respect is a component of rapport. Also, we include definitions mentioning that inducing rapport consists of emphasizing an interviewees' autonomy through an unforced interaction. Two of the twenty-two definitions included the attribute of respect.

Reliability Analysis. We subjected the thematic analysis to a reliability check. A coder was assigned to independently replicate our thematic analysis using the descriptions of the six attributes. Specifically, the coder, who was blind to the research question, rated the presence or absence of the six attributes in each of the 22 definitions. We subsequently examined the consistency between the coder's ratings and the results of our thematic analysis. There was a 91.7 % agreement between the coder's rating and our own, k = .81, SE = .06, 95 % CI [.70, .92]. The most consistent minor disagreement arose when some attributes of a definition appeared in an adjective qualifying a noun. An example is a definition including the phrase *mutual respect*. Here, the coder designated the attribute denoted by the noun only (i.e., respect). But we assigned the attribute denoted by both the adjective and the noun (i.e., mutuality and respect). The reliability analysis coding can be accessed here: https://osf.io/5zha3/

Influential Descriptions of Rapport Without Explicit Definitions. There were some noteworthy descriptions of the meaning of rapport that featured in the literature but did not necessarily fit our inclusion criteria. This section, thus, focuses on describing influential lines of rapport research that do not provide an explicit definition of the term. Unlike the examinations that hardly offered definitions, these expositions explain what rapport means in various ways, but we could not delineate the exact definitions of rapport the authors intended.

The Observing Rapport-Based Interpersonal Techniques (ORBIT) framework is a notable example (see, e.g., Alison et al., 2013; Alison et al., 2014; Christiansen et al., 2018). Here, the researchers suggest that Motivational Interviewing is a useful tool to evoke rapport. Miller and Rollnick (2009), for example, define Motivational Interviewing (MI) as a collaborative, person-centered form of guiding to elicit and strengthen motivation for change. Exponents of the ORBIT framework seem to interpret the MI definition as one suggesting that rapport means 'creating a collaborative atmosphere'. That is, an interaction conducive to open communication between an interviewer and interviewee (see Alison et al., 2013, p. 413; Alison et al., 2014, p. 2). Nonetheless, it was unclear whether the ORBIT framework implements the interpretation of MI, just described, as a rapport definition. Or the framework adopts the exact MI definition; namely, the definition by Miller and Rollnick (2009).

Other research has implemented the concept—the

Table 1

Definitions of rapport in the investigative interviewing literature and their corresponding attributes

Definition	Source	Proxied source	Positivity	Mutuality	Communication	Successful Outcomes	Trust	Respect
						Attributes		
A working relationship between operator [an interviewer] and source [an interviewee] based on a mutually shared understanding of each other's goals and needs that can lead to successful intelligence or information.	Kelly, Miller, Redlich, & Kleinman (2013); Redlich, Kelly, & Miller (2014); Meissner, Surmon-Böhr, Oleszkiewicz, & Alison, 2017	No	X	X		X		
A shared understanding and communication between the interviewer and interviewee.	Risan, Binder, & Milne (2016)	No		X	X			
A working relationship in which progress is made, the interviewee simply being willing to talk, the development of trust, and mutual respect.	Russano, Narchet, Kleinman, & Meissner (2014)	Derived from a synthesis of practitioners' definitions	X	X		X	X	X
The relationship between [an] interviewer and interviewee.	Vallano & Schreiber Compo (2015)	No						
A positive or negative relationship involving trust and communication.	Vallano, Evans, Schreiber Compo, & Kieckhaefer (2015)	Derived from a synthesis of practitioners' definitions	X		X		X	
The bond or connection between an investigative interviewer and interviewee.	Vallano, Evans, Schreiber Compo, & Kieckhaefer (2015)	No	X					
A relationship that results from interaction between people and provides participants with a warm feeling, is harmonious and natural (unforced), offers trust, and stimulates cooperation.	Vanderhallen, Vervaeke, & Holmberg (2011)	No	X			X	X	X
A positive and productive affect between people that facilitates mutuality of attention and harmony.	Vrij et al. (2017); Walsh & Bull (2012)	Bernieri & Gillis (2001), who sourced their definition from the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1995)	X	X		X		
Ensuring a working relationship and effective communication throughout an interview.	Walsh & Bull (2015)	No	X		X			
Developing a harmonious relationship with another person and conveying understanding and acceptance towards that person.	Wright, Nash, & Wade (2015)	No	X	X				
A harmonious, sympathetic connection to another.	Childs & Walsh (2017); Collins, Lincoln & Frank (2002); Kieckhaefer, Vallano, & Schreiber Compo (2014); Vallano & Schreiber Compo (2011); Villalba (2014); Nash, Nash, Morris, & Smith (2016)	Newberry & Stubbs (1990)	X					
Developing a positive relationship with others using an inviting approach.	Klein, Klein, Lande, Borders, & Whitacre (2015)	No	X					

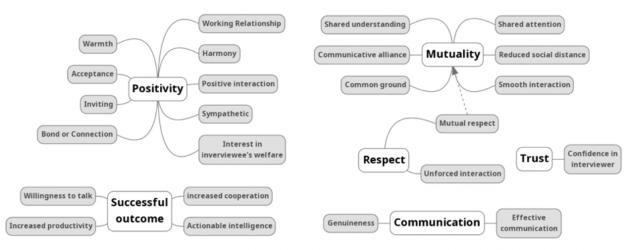| Definition	Source	Unique definition	Notes					
The process of establishing a harmonious and productive working relationship between an interviewer and interviewee.	MacDonald, Keeping, Snook, & Luther (2017)	No		X			X	
The quality of an interaction that allows individuals to communicate effectively.	Matsumoto & Hwang (2018)	No				X		
A smooth and positive interpersonal interaction.	Abbe & Brandon (2014)	No			X			
A state of communicative alliance.	Abbe & Brandon (2013)	No			X	X		
The interpersonal relationship or connection between [an] interviewer and interviewee established over the course of their interaction.	Alison & Alison (2017)	No				X	X	
The establishment of a relationship in which the people involved in the interaction understand each other and have good communication.	Collins, Doherty-Sneddon, & Doherty (2014)	No	The authors credit Bernieri (2005). Nonetheless, we could not ascertain the exact definition from the paper by Bernieri (2005). Thus, we have included it as a unique definition.		X	X		
A psychological state in which social distance is reduced and trust increased [through the establishment of shared topics, interest, background, and other factors].	David, Rawls, & Trainum (2018)	No			X	X		X
A harmonious, positive, and productive relationship between an interviewer and interviewee.	Ewens et al., (2016)	No	The authors credit the following sources (Evans, Houston, & Meissner, 2012; Walsh & Bull, 2012). The definition is not exactly identical to that mentioned in Walsh & Bull (2012). Evans et al. (2012) do not provide a rapport definition.			X	X	
Being genuinely open, interested, and approachable, as well as being interested in the interviewee's feelings or welfare.	College of policing, United Kingdom (2019)	No		X	X	X		
A condition established by the HUMINT collector [i.e., interviewer] that is characterized by source [i.e., interviewee] confidence in the HUMINT collector and a willingness to cooperate with him.	AFM 2-22.3, Department of the Army, United States (2006)	No		X	X			X

Figure 1. Overview of attributes inherent in the rapport definitions

working alliance[3]—to proxy rapport. Similar to MI, the concept originates in the counseling and therapy literature (see, e.g., Bordin, 1979; Martin et al., 2000). We could not trace a specified definition of the working alliance in the investigative interviewing literature drawing on the concept (viz., Vanderhallen, Vervaeke, & Holmberg, 2011; Vanderhallen & Vervaeke, 2014). Bordin (1979)—whose work has informed the current adaptions of the notion—describes the nature of the working alliance as including three features: *'An agreement on goals, an assignment of a task or a series of tasks, and the development of bonds.'* Vanderhallen et al. (2011, p. 114) argue that Bordin's (1979) description emphasizes agreement and an emotional bond between an interviewer and interviewee (i.e., interactants). The authors do not explicate the role task assignment plays to evoke rapport in investigative interviewing contexts. Thus, we could not ascertain precisely how Bordin's (1979) stipulations map onto the meaning of rapport, as advocated by Vanderhallen et al. (2011) and Vanderhallen & Vervaeke (2014). That is, are certain aspects of the working alliance enough to evoke rapport? Or must an interaction include all the three features of the working alliance to sufficiently induce rapport?

Another popularly implemented description of elements that constitute rapport is one offered by Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990). The work examines the nonverbal correlates of rapport. Here, the authors do not explicitly offer a rapport definition but describe its nature as consisting of three dynamic components—mutual attentiveness, positivity, and coordination (Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal, 1990). It is noted that the influence of the three components may vary in evoking an instance of rapport due to rapport's dynamism in interpersonal interaction. Tickle-Degnen and Rosen-

thal (1990) propose that the temporal stage of interaction significantly contributes to a constituent's import. Specifically, early interactions rely more on positivity and mutual attentiveness. Coordination and mutual attentiveness come to bear on late interactions. It is thus unclear whether—at a minimum—the three elements are required to instantiate rapport. Or the influence of a component entirely depends on the stage of interaction.

Investigative interviewing research drawing on Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's (1990) theorizing similarly do not explicitly define rapport (see, e.g., Collins & Carthy, 2018; Driskell et al., 2013; Holmberg & Madsen, 2014). Moreover, such work provides little a priori specifications about whether the three elements are required at a minimum or whether the significance of rapport's elements is solely derived from the temporal stage of an interview.

Duke et al. (2018) have developed scales to measure interviewees' perceptions of rapport (RS3i). The RS3i examines the extent to which an interviewee experiences rapport in an interview by measuring specific perceptions of an interviewer. That is, the interviewer's attentiveness, trustworthiness and respectfulness, professional competence, cultural similarity (to the interviewee), and connected flow. Here, connected flow indicates the ease with which the interviewee perceived their interaction with the interviewer. These perceptions were drawn from a literature review that sought to identify the components of rapport (see Duke, 2013; Duke et al., 2018, p. 65). In the exposition, Duke et al. (2018) allude to two prior descriptions of rap-

---

[3]We have maintained the phrasing—the working alliance—throughout this paper because exponents of the concept describe it as such.

port (viz, Kleinman, 2006; Neuman & Salinas-Serrano, 2006). However, the authors do not offer a working definition nor explain how the prior descriptions they mentioned, encapsulate the dimensions of the RS3i. For instance, it is not entirely clear whether inducing a single dimension of the RS3i (e.g., attentiveness) is sufficient to create an instance of rapport—or whether all the elements must be present to evoke rapport

Discussion

We examined the existing definitions of rapport in the investigative interviewing literature. A formal search obtained 228 publications that discussed rapport in an investigative interviewing context. Only Thirty-two publications (14 %) explicitly defined rapport. Twenty-two of those definitions were unique. A thematic analysis of the definitions revealed six major attributes. The attributes were communication, mutuality, positivity, respect, successful outcomes, and trust. However, these attributes were disparately distributed across definitions, demonstrating considerable differences in how rapport is defined. This pattern has created a literature replete with different definitions of a term univocally seen as a fundamental part of an effective interview.

Consider the following examples. It is not apparent whether the "mutually shared understanding of goals and needs" on which Kelly et al. (2013) base their definition is equivalent to "effective communication" as proposed by Matsumoto and Hwang (2018). Additionally, it is not clear if "the relationship" Vallano and Schreiber Compo (2015) refer to is one where actors can understand each other's goals (Kelly et al., 2013), communicate effectively (Matsumoto & Hwang, 2018), or both (Kelly et al., 2013; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2018). Moreover, it remains unknown the extent to which "a state of communicative alliance" (Abbe & Brandon, 2013) equals a "smooth, positive interpersonal interaction" (Abbe & Brandon, 2014). And it is unclear whether such a positive interpersonal interaction must include trust (e.g., Vallano et al., 2015), respect (e.g., Vanderhallen et al., 2011), or both (e.g., Russano et al., 2014).

The ambiguity about the meaning of rapport is also evident when considering definitions posited by the major investigative interviewing guidelines. We believe that discussing the variance between those guidelines is warranted for practical reasons. Furthermore, researchers often invoke the importance of rapport by noting that at least one of the major interviewing guidelines endorses it. Researchers do not necessarily examine whether potential differences in the meanings of rapport impact the generalizability of research across jurisdictions using the different regulations (see, e.g., Meissner et al., 2015; Walsh & Bull, 2012, Vallano &

Schreiber Compo, 2015). In our opinion, the reasons outlined suggest that even when research works highlight subtle definitional differences, rapport is still assumed to be identical across the major interviewing guidelines. Significant variations, however, exist.

According to the AFM, rapport is a condition established by an interviewer that is characterized by an interviewee's confidence in the interviewer and willingness to cooperate (AFM 2-22.3; Department of the Army, 2006, p. 141). The definition includes the themes trust and successful outcomes as delineated in this research. This AFM definition is markedly different from the one posited in the PEACE model. PEACE describes rapport as a property of the interviewer being 'genuinely open, interested, and approachable, as well as being interested in the interviewee's feelings or welfare' (College of policing, 2013). The PEACE model definition centers on the themes of positivity and communication. From the AFM perspective, rapport does not necessarily derive from congeniality (viz., positivity) as suggested by the PEACE model. In fact, the AFM indicates that rapport could be based on friendliness, mutual gain, or even fear (p. 141). To our knowledge, the Cognitive Interview, the NICHD Protocol, and the ABE guidelines do not provide specific rapport definitions but recommend behaviors by which interviewers can create rapport. Without specified definitions, it is not possible to examine the meanings and value of rapport for these guidelines. It is not possible to ascertain whether one behavior is sufficient to induce rapport. Or whether an interviewer has to enact several behaviors to induce rapport.

How Did We Get Here?

Definitional issues plague the systematic research of the term rapport. We believe these definitional issues have arisen because researchers have attempted to define rapport at the wrong level of analysis. The extant definitions have defined rapport by its potential constituent parts—such as trust, friendliness, or respect. In contrast, we argue that rapport is a higher order concept, and as such requires a higher order definition. A proposal for this higher order definition can be gleaned from the common reference point we identified on which all extant rapport definitions build. Specifically, *that rapport refers to the quality of the interviewer-interviewee interaction*. This reference point suggests that the term rapport is axiomatic: since all interviews require interpersonal interaction, rapport refers to a necessary and self-evident aspect of any investigative interview. Confusion on the definition of rapport has arisen because when defining the term researchers have focused on different aspects of the quality of this inter-

action.

A comparison can be made with the term "personality" within trait psychology. Like rapport, personality is a higher order term: It refers to one's relatively stable pattern of behaviors, cognitions, and emotions (Cloninger, 2009). How many traits there are and how they relate to each other is an empirical question. Importantly, whether one believes there are three (Eyesnck & Eysenck, 1984), five (Goldberg, 1990), or six traits (Ashton et al. 2004), does not change the definition of personality as one's relatively stable pattern of behaviors, cognitions, and emotions. Similarly, whether one believes the important attributes of rapport are friendliness, trust, or respect, does not change the higher order definition of rapport as the quality of the interviewer-interviewee interaction. As with personality, what constitutes the attributes of rapport, is an empirical question. It may be that the attributes of rapport are the six subordinate attributes we identified. It may be that there is only one overarching good-bad dimension of rapport. We do not know. An answer to this question will require rigorous empirical analysis.

This distinction between the higher order axiomatic definition of rapport and the lower order attributes of rapport has important consequences for how we research and discuss the term. For instance, by defining rapport as the quality of the interviewer-interviewee interaction, many catchall statements invoking the importance of rapport become tautological or vacuous. Consider the statement "rapport is important for the outcome of an interview". This amounts to little more than saying, "the quality of the interaction between interviewer and interviewee is important for the outcome of an interview". All things being equal, surely this must be the case. Such statements are of little interest to either the researcher or practitioner.

Instead, researchers should focus on the specific attributes of the interviewer-interviewee interaction. Consider for instance the hypothetical finding that a more trustful and respectful interaction increases an interviewee's disclosure. This finding is of both theoretical and applied value. However, the value of this finding is lost if the terms trust and respect are replaced by the umbrella term rapport. This is because the field has no agreed upon finite set of attributes of what rapport encapsulates. As long as researchers continue to define the attributes of rapport in different ways, claiming that "rapport increases an interviewee's disclosure" could mean any number of things. Until the field can agree upon such a finite set of attributes, we strongly recommend that stakeholders stop indiscriminately using the word rapport to describe any collection of attributes of the interviewer-interviewee interaction.

Moving Forward

If the field wishes to continue using the term rapport without the ambiguity and associated problems we currently see, the field must collectively determine this finite set of attributes. Here the field can draw inspiration from other areas of inquiry that have dealt with similar concerns. Again, we can draw inspiration from trait psychology. Early assessments of personality traits included scales that all nominally measured personality—but, in fact, measured different attributes of personality (John & Srivastava, 1999). Personality researchers eventually reached a consensus by centering their pursuit on their common ground—the lexical hypothesis. That is, the idea that descriptions of significant entities, such as personality, eventually become part of people's language (Ashton & Lee, 2005).

In brief, by scouring dictionaries, personality researchers identified comprehensive lists of adjectives describing traits. Insofar as only significant entities will enter our language, they argued that these lists should comprise all meaningful ways in which personality can be described. For over five decades, these lists were subjected to rigorous analysis by the research community (Allport & Odbert, 1936; Goldberg, 1990). In broad strokes, they had people rate themselves and others on these trait adjectives. Goldberg (1990), for example, had people make ratings on a list of over 1400 adjectives. By subjecting these ratings to exploratory factor analyses, the underlying structure of personality could be uncovered. These efforts ultimately yielded the Big Five personality structure (McCrae, 1989).

An adapted lexical approach may also be applicable in investigating the attributes of rapport as defined as the quality of the interaction between an interviewer and interviewee. In this work, we have provided an exhaustive list of the extant rapport definitions. This list can serve as a point of departure. That is, researchers can complement the current list of definitions with additional descriptors of the quality of interpersonal interactions. The ultimate goal of the compilation being to identify all meaningful ways in which such interactions can be described. Similar to research on the structure of personality, these lists can then be used to rate the quality of interpersonal interactions in investigative interviews. Such ratings can be conducted by the interviewer, the interviewee, or even by external observers. Researchers can then use factor analyses to empirically determine the constituent components and underlying structure of what the field wants to call rapport.

A project of this scale will likely require collaboration at the level of the research community—for example, a multi-lab study. The collaboration must involve practitioners and experts in the field. The potential rewards

are vast, as the field will take a large stride toward answering the question, "what is rapport in investigative interviewing?".

Metascientific Discussion: Comments and Responses

Since our first submission, we have received eight independent reviews, from two different journals, on this text. Some were positive of the paper; others were highly critical of its value and conclusions. All of the reviews can be read at https://osf.io/5zha3/. In the following sections we summarize and respond to what we see as the most substantive criticisms of the paper.

A Sermon to the Choir? Several reviewers dismissed this work, arguing that it simply rehashes a well-known issue—namely that rapport is ill defined in the investigative interviewing literature. Consequently, this research is merely convincing the convinced. We partly agree, in that many do acknowledge significant problems in defining rapport (e.g., Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015). However, we believe these observations only emphasize the importance of the present research. By systematically reviewing *all* extant rapport definitions in investigative interviewing, we quantify, and clearly highlight, the extent of the issue. We believe this is a necessary first step to initiate a public discussion by the research community on how the term rapport is defined, should be defined, and used as a psychological concept. Making the issue an open discussion will prevent us from glossing over definitional issues, as is typically the case in the literature. Indeed, in 86% of the articles we reviewed, the term rapport was used, but was not explicitly defined at all.

Defining Psychological Concepts is Challenging—Why Pick on Rapport? Some reviewers highlighted that psychological constructs are generally difficult to define concisely. They argued that our definitional gripe with rapport could be raised with any number of psychological constructs including "anxiety", "love" or "depression". We agree that many psychological constructs are difficult to define. We struggle, however, to see why this should prevent us from addressing definitional issues in our own field of inquiry. This argument amounts to little more than saying, "My backyard is messy, but this is OK because yours is messy too". Instead, the investigative interviewing research community must attempt to discuss the problem and strive to arrive at a unified working definition of rapport. Other areas of psychology do take definitional issues seriously. Indeed, for each of the constructs "anxiety" (Akiskal, 1998; Nyatanga & de Vocht, 2006; Cambre, & Cook, 1985), "love" (Beall & Sternberg, 1995; Fehr, 1988; Fehr & Russell, 1991) and "depression" (Blatt et al., 1982; Haaga et al., 1991), researchers have written extensively about defining these difficult concepts. Others are trying to tidy up their backyards. We must begin tidying too.

Different Strokes for Different Folks? Other reviewers suggested that rapport must have different definitions, since rapport will vary depending on the interview context. Suppose an interviewer questions an innocent and cooperative eyewitness willing to provide information about a crime under investigation. Rapport in this context, it is argued, may differ from rapport when the same interviewer tries to elicit information from an uncooperative suspect accused of committing a crime. As with problems in the definitions of rapport more generally, we believe this criticism confuses the level of analysis. When researchers argue that rapport will vary from context to context, we believe they in fact mean that the importance of rapport's lower-level attributes will vary. For example, effective communication may be of utmost importance when interviewing a cooperative witness. In contrast, trust may be more important when interviewing an uncooperative suspect. In both situations, however, the higher order definition of rapport still refers to the quality of the interviewer-interviewee interaction. By conflating the higher order definition with its lower-level attributes, we worry that researchers will erroneously draw the conclusion that the term rapport will require context-specific definitions.

Even if one grants the view that different contexts require different rapport definitions, in ways, this argumentation only exacerbates the issue. This is because researchers would then be required to outline: (1) their specific definition; (2) the specific context in which their definition of rapport refers to, such as 'cooperative eye witness rapport' or 'uncooperative suspect rapport'; and (3) how their definition differs from other definitions of rapport. This may be a viable way of dealing with definitional issues in rapport. However, by our reading of the literature, it is not the typical way in which researchers use the term.

Definitional Issues, So What? A final critique from some reviewers was that the disparity in rapport definitions in investigative interviewing may be a non-issue. It was questioned whether the disparity is harmful to science if studies consistently find that inducing rapport leads interviewees to disclose more information than no rapport—irrespective of what rapport means. We agree that extant studies may be finding similar results despite definitional disparities. However, if these definitional disparities mean the studies have examined different constructs, any conclusion or understanding one can draw from the studies will be constrained. As an analogy consider the finding that two completely dif-

ferent medications both lead to a reduction in depression. If these different medications were classified, or 'defined', as the same drug, conclusions concerning the utility of the two drugs may still stand, but the science and understanding surrounding them would be significantly flawed. We cannot see a world in where definitional issues with rapport would not undermine its scientific inquiry in a similar way.

Additionally, definitional disparities bring methodological concerns. Without a yardstick to flag what constitutes rapport, it becomes challenging, if not impossible, to objectively assess the extent a given investigation has examined something called rapport. One could measure several attributes of the interviewer-interviewee interaction and arbitrarily decide that some of those attributes (or none) concern rapport, depending on the hypothesis one has predetermined to support. As Flake and Fried (2020) note, ambiguity about a concept's definition presents opportunities for researchers to knowingly or accidentally exploit the ambiguity to engage in questionable measurement practices like the one just described.

Concluding Remarks

We are not claiming that a construct called rapport does not exist or that it has limited utility in improving investigative interviewing. Rather, we have drawn attention to the commonality and the scope of variance in rapport definitions. All the extant definitions imply that rapport centers on the quality of the interviewer-interviewee interaction. Nonetheless, the definitions vary considerably with what they regard as the underlying attributes of rapport. This disparity creates ambiguity about the meaning of rapport and impedes its objective assessment. In the short term, stakeholders should avoid using the word rapport as a cover term to encapsulate disparate collections of attributes relating to the interviewer-interviewee interaction. In the long term, the field should collectively determine a finite set of attributes to denote what we mean by rapport. We believe these suggestions are tractable pathways to reduce ambiguity about the meaning of the word rapport in investigative interviewing, thereby improving both the theoretical and applied value of the term.

Author Contact

David A. Neequaye, 0000-0002-7355-2784
Department of Psychology, University of Gothenburg, Sweden
Erik Mac Giolla, 0000-0002-5285-5321
Department of Psychology, University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

Correspondence to: David A. Neequaye, Department of Psychology, University of Gothenburg. Box 500, 405 30 Gothenburg, Sweden; Email: david.neequaye@psy.gu.se

Conflict of Interest and Funding

Author Contributions

David A. Neequaye: Original Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal Analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Project administration, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing

Erik Mac Giolla: Refining Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal Analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Writing – review & editing

Open Science Practices

The editorial process for this article relied on streamlined peer review where peer reviews obtained from previous journal(s) were moved forward and used as the basis for the editorial decision. These reviews are shared in the supplementary files. The identities of the reviewers are shown or hidden in accordance with the policy of the journal that originally obtained them.

This article earned the Preregistration, Open Data and the Open Materials badge for preregistering the hypothesis before data collection, and for making the data and materials openly available. It has been verified that the analysis reproduced the results presented in the article. The entire editorial process is published in the online supplement.

References

Abbe, A., & Brandon, S. E. (2013). The role of rapport in investigative interviewing a review the role of rapport in investigative interviewing. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, *10*(3), 237–249. https://doi.org/10.1002/jip.1386

12

Abbe, A., & Brandon, S. E. (2014). Building and maintaining rapport in investigative interviews. *Police Practice and Research*, *15*(3), 207–220. https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2013.827835

Akiskal, H. S. (1998). Toward a definition of generalized anxiety disorder as an anxious temperament type. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, *98*, 66–73. https://doi.org/https\://doi.org/10.1111/j.1600-0447.1998.tb05969.x

Alison, L., Alison, E., Noone, G., Elntib, S., Waring, S., & Christiansen, P. (2014). The efficacy of rapport-based techniques for minimizing counter-interrogation tactics amongst a field sample of terrorists. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *20*(4), 421–430. https://doi.org/10.1037/law0000021

Alison, L. J., Alison, E., Noone, G., Elntib, S., & Christiansen, P. (2013). Why tough tactics fail and rapport gets results observing rapport-based interpersonal techniques (ORBIT) to generate useful information from terrorists. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *19*(4), 411–431. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034564

Allport, G. W., & Odbert, H. S. (1936). Trait-names a psycho-lexical study. *Psychological Monographs*, *47*(1), i–171. https://doi.org/http\://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1037/h0093360

Asch, S. E. (1987). *Social psychology (original work published 1952)*. New York Oxford University Press.

Ashton, M. C., & Lee, K. (2005). A defence of the lexical approach to the study of personality structure. *European Journal of Personality*, *19*(1), 5–24. https://doi.org/10.1002/per.541

Ashton, M. C., Lee, K., Perugini, M., Szarota, P., de Vries, R. E., Di Blas, L., Boies, K., & De Raad, B. (2004). A six-factor structure of personality-descriptive adjectives solutions from psycholexical studies in seven languages [Num Pages 356-366 Place Washington, US Publisher American Psychological Association (US)]. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *86*(2), 356–366. https://doi.org/http\://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.86.2.356

Beall, A. E., & Sternberg, R. J. (1995). The social construction of love [Publisher SAGE Publications Ltd]. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *12*(3), 417–438. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407595123006

Blatt, S. J., Quinlan, D. M., Chevron, E. S., McDonald, C., & Zuroff, D. (1982). Dependency and self-criticism psychological dimensions of depression [Place US Publisher American Psychological Association]. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *50*(1), 113–124. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.50.1.113

Bordin, E. S. (1979). The generalizability of the psychoanalytic concept of the working alliance. *Psychotherapy Theory, Research & Practice*, *16*(3), 252–260. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0085885

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Bull, R., & Milne, B. (2004). Attempts to improve the police interviewing of suspects. In G. D. Lassiter (Ed.), *Interrogations, confessions, and entrapment* (pp. 181–196). Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-38598-3_8

Cambre, M. A., & Cook, D. L. (1985). Computer anxiety definition, measurement, and correlates [Publisher SAGE Publications Inc]. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, *1*(1), 37–54. https://doi.org/10.2190/FK5L-092H-T6YB-PYBA

Christiansen, P., Alison, L., & Alison, E. (2018). Well begun is half done interpersonal behaviours in distinct field interrogations with high-value detainees. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, *23*(1), 68–84. https://doi.org/10.1111/lcrp.12111

Clarke, C., & Milne, R. (2001). *National evaluation of investigative interviewing PEACE course*. Home Office, London.

College of policing. (2013). *Investigative interviewing*. Retrieved June 26, 2019, from https%5C://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/investigations/investigative-interviewing/#peace-framework

Collins, K., & Carthy, N. (2018). No rapport, no comment the relationship between rapport and communication during investigative interviews with suspects. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*. https://doi.org/10.1002/jip.1517

Collins, R., Lincoln, R., & Frank, M. G. (2002). The effect of rapport in forensic interviewing. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, *9*(1), 69–78. https://doi.org/10.1375/pplt.2002.9.1.69

de Vocht, H., & Nyatanga, B. (2006). Towards a definition of death anxiety [Number 9 Publisher Mark Allen Publishing]. *International Journal of Palliative Nursing*, *12*(9), 410–413. https://doi.org/10.12968/ijpn.2006.12.9.21868

Driskell, T., Blickensderfer, E. L., & Salas, E. (2013). Is three a crowd? examining rapport in investigative interviews. *Group Dynamics Theory, Research, and Practice*, *17*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029686

Duke, M. C. (2013). *The development of the rapport scales for investigative interviews and interrogations* (Doctoral dissertation) [ISBN 9781303164224 Publication Title ProQuest Dissertations and Theses]. The University of Texas at El Paso. United States - Texas. Retrieved February 28, 2022, from http%5C://www.proquest.com/docview/1418015989/abstract/8C36CB36043047DEPQ/1

Duke, M. C., Wood, J. M., Magee, J., & Escobar, H. (2018). The effectiveness of army field manual interrogation approaches for educing information and building rapport. *Law and Human Behavior*, *42*(5), 442–457. https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000299

Eysenck, H. J., & Eysenck, S. B. G. (1984). *Eysenck personality questionnaire-revised*. Sevanoaks, Kent, UK Hodder & Staughton.

Fehr, B. (1988). Prototype analysis of the concepts of love and commitment [Place US Publisher American Psychological Association]. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *55*(4), 557–579. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.55.4.557

Fehr, B., & Russell, J. A. (1991). The concept of love viewed from a prototype perspective [Place US Publisher American Psychological Association]. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *60*(3), 425–438. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.60.3.425

Fisher, R. P., & Geiselman, R. E. (1992). *Memory enhancing techniques for investigative interviewing the cognitive interview*. Charles C Thomas Publisher.

Flake, J. K., & Fried, E. I. (2020). Measurement schmeasurement questionable measurement practices and how to avoid them [Publisher SAGE Publications Inc]. *Advances in Methods and Practices in Psychological Science*, *3*(4), 456–465. https://doi.org/10.1177/2515245920952393

Gabbert, F., Hope, L., Luther, K., Wright, G., Ng, M., & Oxburgh, G. (2020). Exploring the use of rapport in professional information-gathering contexts by systematically mapping the evidence base. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, *n/a*. https://doi.org/https%5C://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3762

Goldberg, L. R. (1990). An alternative "description of personality" the big-five factor structure [Num Pages 1216-1229 Place Washington, US Publisher American Psychological Association (US)]. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *59*(6), 1216–1229. https://doi.org/http\://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1037/0022-3514.59.6.1216

Gupta, A. (2015). Defintions. *Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy* (Summer 2015, p. 23). Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University. https%5C://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2015/entries/definitions/

Haaga, D. A., Dyck, M. J., & Ernst, D. (1991). Empirical status of cognitive theory of depression [Place US Publisher American Psychological Association]. *Psychological Bulletin*, *110*(2), 215–236. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.110.2.215

Hershkowitz, I., Lamb, M. E., Katz, C., & Malloy, L. C. (2015). Does enhanced rapport-building alter the dynamics of investigative interviews with suspected victims of intra-familial abuse? *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, *30*(1), 6–14. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11896-013-9136-8

Holmberg, U., & Madsen, K. (2014). Rapport operationalized as a humanitarian interview in investigative interview settings. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, *21*(4), 591–610. https://doi.org/10.1080/13218719.2013.873975

John, O. P., & Srivastava, S. (1999). The big five trait taxonomy history, measurement, and theoretical perspectives. *Handbook of personality Theory and research*, *2*(1999), 102–138.

Kelly, C. E., Miller, J. C., & Redlich, A. D. (2016). The dynamic nature of interrogation. *Law and Human Behavior*, *40*(3), 295–309. https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000172

Kelly, C. E., Miller, J. C., Redlich, A. D., & Kleinman, S. M. (2013). A taxonomy of interrogation methods. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *19*(2), 165–178. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030310

Kieckhaefer, J. M., Vallano, J. P., & Compo, N. S. (2014). Examining the positive effects of rapport building when and why does rapport building benefit adult eyewitness memory? *Memory*, *22*(8), 1010–1023. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2013.864313

Kleinman, S. M. (2006). KUBARK counterintelligence interrogation review observations of an interrogator [Publisher Citeseer]. In I. S. Board (Ed.), *Educing information. interrogation science and art. foundations for the future* (p. 95).

Washington, DC National Defense Intelligence College Press.

Kripke, S. A. (1972). Naming and necessity. In D. Davidson & G. Harman (Eds.), *Semantics of natural language* (pp. 253–355). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-010-2557-7_9

Lamb, M. E., Orbach, Y., Hershkowitz, I., Esplin, P. W., & Horowitz, D. (2007). A structured forensic interview protocol improves the quality and informativeness of investigative interviews with children a review of research using the NICHD investigative interview protocol. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *31*(11), 1201–1231. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.03.021

Martin, D. J., Garske, J. P., & Davis, M. K. (2000). Relation of the therapeutic alliance with outcome and other variables a meta-analytic review. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *68*(3), 438–450. https://doi.org/http\://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1037/0022-006X.68.3.438

Matsumoto, D., & Hwang, H. C. (2018). Social influence in investigative interviews the effects of reciprocity. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, *32*(2), 163–170. https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3390

McCrae, R. R. (1989). Why i advocate the five-factor model joint factor analyses of the NEO-PI with other instruments. In D. M. Buss & N. Cantor (Eds.), *Personality psychology recent trends and emerging directions* (pp. 237–245). Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4684-0634-4_18

Meissner, C. A., Kelly, C. E., & Woestehoff, S. A. (2015). Improving the effectiveness of suspect interrogations. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, *11*(1), 211–233. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-120814-121657

Miller, W. R., & Rollnick, S. (2009). Ten things that motivational interviewing is not. *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy*, *37*(2), 129–140. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1352465809005128

Nash, R. A., Nash, A., Morris, A., & Smith, S. L. (2016). Does rapport-building boost the eyewitness eyeclosure effect in closed questioning? *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, *21*(2), 305–318. https://doi.org/10.1111/lcrp.12073

Neuman, A., & Salinas-Serrano, D. (2006). Custodial interrogations what we know, what we do, and what we can learn from law enforcement experiences. In I. S. Board (Ed.), *Educing information. interrogation science and art. founda-*

tions for the future (p. 141). Washington, DC National Defense Intelligence College Press.

of the Army, D. (2006). FM 2-22.3 (FM 34-52) - human intelligence collector operations.

Office, H. (2011). *Achieving best evidence in criminal proceedings*. London.

Russano, M. B., Narchet, F. M., Kleinman, S. M., & Meissner, C. A. (2014). Structured interviews of experienced HUMINT interrogators interviews of HUMINT interrogators. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, *28*(6), 847–859. https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3069

Sauerland, M., Brackmann, N., & Otgaar, H. (2018). Rapport little effect on children's, adolescents', and adults' statement quantity, accuracy, and suggestibility. *Journal of Child Custody*, *15*(4), 268–285. https://doi.org/10.1080/15379418.2018.1509759

Saywitz, K. J., Larson, R. P., Hobbs, S. D., & Wells, C. R. (2015). Developing rapport with children in forensic interviews systematic review of experimental research developing rapport with children. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, *33*(4), 372–389. https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.2186

Schreiber Compo, N., Hyman Gregory, A., & Fisher, R. (2012). Interviewing behaviors in police investigators a field study of a current US sample. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, *18*(4), 359–375. https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2010.494604

Sternberg, K. J., Lamb, M. E., Hershkowitz, I., Yudilevitch, L., Orbach, Y., Esplin, P. W., & Hovav, M. (1997). Effects of introductory style on children's abilities to describe experiences of sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *21*(11), 1133–1146. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(97)00071-9

St-Yves, M. (2006). The psychology of rapport five basic rules. *Investigative interviewing*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781843926337-15

Tickle-Degnen, L., & Rosenthal, R. (1990). The nature of rapport and its nonverbal correlates. *Psychological Inquiry*, *1*(4), 285–293. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327965pli0104_1

Vallano, J. P., Evans, J. R., Schreiber Compo, N., & Kieckhaefer, J. M. (2015). Rapport-building during witness and suspect interviews a survey of law enforcement rapport-building during interviews. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, *29*(3), 369–380. https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3115

Vallano, J. P., & Schreiber Compo, N. (2015). Rapport-building with cooperative witnesses and criminal suspects a theoretical and empirical review.

Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, *21*(1), 85–99. https://doi.org/10.1037/law0000035

Vanderhallen, M., & Vervaeke, G. (2014). Between investigator and suspect the role of the working alliance in investigative interviewing. In R. Bull (Ed.), *Investigative interviewing* (pp. 63–90). Springer New York. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-9642-7_4

Vanderhallen, M., Vervaeke, G., & Holmberg, U. (2011). Witness and suspect perceptions of working alliance and interviewing style what happens in real-life police interviews? *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling, 8*(2), 110–130. https://doi.org/10.1002/jip.138

Vrij, A., Meissner, C. A., Fisher, R. P., Kassin, S. M., Morgan, C. A., & Kleinman, S. M. (2017). Psychological perspectives on interrogation. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *12*(6), 927–955. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691617706515

Walsh, D., & Bull, R. (2012). Examining rapport in investigative interviews with suspects does its building and maintenance work? *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, *27*(1), 73–84. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11896-011-9087-x

William R. Shadish. (2002). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for generalized causal inference*. Houghton Mifflin.