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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Building and maintaining rapport in investigative interviews

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Research shows that rapport has a number of positive effects on interviewing. Defined here as a smooth, positive interpersonal interaction, rapport can increase the amount of information provided by witnesses and sources, increase trust, and produce more cooperation, and faster agreement in negotiations. Despite the importance of rapport, law enforcement and intelligence interviewers often fail to build rapport adequately. This study identifies seven tactics for rapport building supported by empirical research, such as nonverbal mimicry and self-disclosure. Other considerations for practitioners include potential trade-offs of rapport-building tactics, source resistance, and the use of interpreters. These topics also represent rich areas for future research.

Keywords: rapport; investigative interviewing; mimicry; nonverbal cues; social influence

Introduction

Rapport is central to investigative interviewing, both for law enforcement investigations (Caproni, 2008) and intelligence purposes (Department of the Army, 2006). Many countries include rapport as a component of the investigative interview in their training and professional development for interviewers, including the United States and the United Kingdom. However, the extent to which 'rapport' has a common meaning across different countries and interviewing contexts is unclear. In addition, some methods for rapport, such as neuro-linguistic programming (Sandoval & Adams, 2001), continue to be taught and applied but have not held up under scientific scrutiny (Swets & Bjork, 1990; Wilson, 2010; Witkowski, 2009).

This study reviews research on how to build and maintain rapport. The role of rapport in investigative interviewing has received limited attention in research; therefore, for present purposes, we borrow from theoretical notions of rapport as developed for physician-patient interactions and other therapeutic settings (Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal, 1990). We identify seven tactics for building and maintaining rapport that have received support from experimental research and empirical observation. We identify several other challenges and opportunities for rapport building with particular relevance to investigative interviews, including the issues of source resistance and multiple interviewers.

This article has relevance to different audiences in the field of investigative interviewing. Practitioners can apply the tactics to sharpen their own interviewing skills and

to insure that the initial stages of an interview support the interviewer's goals. The findings presented in this study will help interviewers prepare to establish a positive and productive dynamic between the interviewer and source. Instructors and policy makers can use the findings to help determine whether their interviewing curricula and local policies reflect empirically supported practices. Finally, researchers can test the tactics for their role in effective interviewing and use the theoretical framework to guide the identification of further processes facilitating rapport and source cooperation. There unfortunately remain large research gaps in investigative interviewing, and this study aims to fill some of those gaps by drawing on relevant research from other domains.

Background

> You have to have some empathy when you're dealing with individuals. As least everyone is a human being at one level. Now, some people are way more evil than others, but my goal was to get what I need from the individual. That's what my goal is: to get actionable intelligence, to get information that can help in the investigation, that can help my government in accomplishing its aims and its goals. And if I needed to build a rapport with an individual to do that, I will. But these individuals, like any other human being, have a tendency to really cooperate with you when there is some kind of rapport going on, because I differentiate greatly between compliance and between cooperation. I don't want compliance. I'm not looking for compliance. Compliance means you will tell me whatever I need you to tell me. That's not what I need. I want actionable intelligence. (Former FBI Agent Ali Soufan, Aug 30, 2011, interview with PBS Frontline)

Consistent with the quote above, research confirms that the emphasis on rapport in interview training and practice is warranted, showing that rapport has a number of positive effects on interviewing. Defined here as a smooth, positive interpersonal interaction, rapport can increase the amount of information provided by sources or informants, increase trust, and produce more cooperation (Collins, Lincoln, & Frank, 2002). Despite the importance of rapport, intelligence, and law enforcement interviewers often fail to build or maintain rapport adequately. For example, Walsh and Bull (2010) found that the majority of investigators of fraud cases failed to build rapport adequately early in the interview. Even when assessed at the end of the interview, a substantial portion of interviewers were found to have established no rapport at all with the interviewee (Clarke & Milne, 2001). In another study, police officers consistently reported rapport building to be important, but rapport-building behaviors were not evident in recordings of their interviews with suspects (Hall, 1997, as cited in Clarke & Milne, 2001). Such findings suggest that interviewers would likely benefit from greater training and practice at building and maintaining rapport.

One potential obstacle is that rapport may not be defined and trained consistently. Though research shows that practitioners generally advocate the use of rapport, their interpretations differ in terms of what rapport entails (Borum, Gelles, & Kleinman, 2009; Kelly, Redlich, & Miller, 2012; Russano, Narchet, Meissner, & Kleinman, 2012). For example, in interviews, some practitioners defined rapport in terms of trust or mutual respect, whereas others defined rapport in more pragmatic terms, to mean that the source is responsive to the interviewer (Russano et al. 2012). Walsh and Bull (2011) noted that although practitioners recognize the importance of rapport, they often lose or neglect it in later stages of a suspect interview, suggesting that perhaps some interviewers see rapport as either self-sustaining or only important for the initial stages of the interview.

Different training approaches also seem to lack consensus on what rapport is and how to establish it. Showing empathy and personalizing the interview are recommended methods in the cognitive interview (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992), where rapport is seen as helpful in fostering accuracy in witness recall (Fisher, Milne, & Bull, 2011). Others have emphasized active listening (Milne & Bull, 1999), attentiveness, and friendliness (Collins et al., 2002).

Rapport is also included in the Reid technique, which focuses primarily on suspects (Inbau, Reid, Buckley, & Jayne, 2005). In this approach, rapport is defined as 'a relationship marked by conformity' (Inbau et al., 2005, p. 51) and is established in the interview before proceeding to an accusatory suspect interrogation. Building rapport consists of engaging in 'small talk' or subtle attempts to establish common ground.

In theory emphasizing the nonverbal aspects of rapport, researchers have defined rapport in terms of three components: mutual attention, positivity, and coordination (Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal, 1990). Mutual attention is simply the degree of involvement that interviewer and interviewee experience. Positivity refers to the emotional aspect of the interaction – mutual liking or respect. Coordination refers to the pattern of reciprocal responses between individuals, which may reflect synchrony, complementarity, or accommodation. Of the three, the positivity aspect of rapport seems most highly related to the concept of 'working alliance' that has been adapted from therapeutic interactions to investigative interviewing (Vanderhallen, Vervaeke, & Holmberg, 2011). Duff and Bedi (2010) found that behaviors involving positivity (e.g. compliments, encouraging comments, smiling) were better predictors of working alliance than were attentive behaviors. However, though positivity often receives the most emphasis in discussions of rapport, coordination may be equally important, and is addressed in the section below.

An additional obstacle to rapport building is the often adversarial nature of investigative interviews. Investigative interviews are largely initiated by the interviewer and are often unwelcome, stressful, or threatening from the source's point of view (Vanderhallen et al., 2011). Any ethnic, socioeconomic, or cultural differences between the interviewer and source may become more salient in these interactions, with status or power differences and different communication norms potentially coming into play. These contextual aspects of investigative interviewing add to the challenge of establishing positivity or coordination. In the sections below, we suggest interviewer tactics for rapport building in terms of the three Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990) components, highlighting, where possible the tactics utility in building rapport across group and cultural boundaries.

Tactics and techniques for building and maintaining rapport

As a social phenomenon, rapport requires a responsive partner. It does not emerge as an automatic result of a single party's efforts. However, empirical research suggests a variety of tactics that an interviewer can use to develop rapport with a source. Interviewers may already use some of these behaviors routinely. More skillful interviewers will use them systematically and adapt them to the source's responses.

Immediacy behaviors

Some nonverbal behaviors can be used in an interaction simply to signal attention and engagement (Imada & Hakel, 1977). These immediacy behaviors generally include

leaning forward, orienting one's body toward the source, reducing the physical distance between oneself and the source, and making eye contact. However, these behaviors should be used with consideration for a source's cultural norms. Communicating attention, positivity, and coordination may be accomplished somewhat differently depending on a source's social and cultural background. For immediacy behaviors, the interviewer should signal attention in ways that are nonthreatening. For many interviewees in the U.S., direct eye contact would not be threatening, whereas a violation of proxemics – violating norms for the use of space by getting too close too soon – would be perceived as threatening. In some other cultures, sustaining direct eye contact with an authority would be inappropriate and cannot be used as a cue to attention (nor as a cue to deception, as is often believed).

Active listening

In addition to nonverbal cues, interviewers can also use verbal behavior to signal attention to a source by engaging in active listening. A variety of responses can demonstrate the interviewer's interest and engagement, including backchannel responding (brief affirmative responses, such as ok, yes, uh-huh) and occasionally paraphrasing back what the source has said. Other active listening responses found to be useful in crisis negotiations include repeating back, summarizing, or labeling what is said by the other person (Vecchi, Van Hasselt, & Romano, 2005). Referring to the source by name or preferred title may also be helpful in personalizing the conversation and communicating the interviewer's focus on the source.

Mimicry

Research has found that mimicking a conversation partner is a powerful and consistent rapport-building behavior. Mirroring nonverbal behavior, speech rate, or linguistic patterns helps to establish both coordination and positivity in the interaction (Drolet & Morris, 2000). In negotiation and social dilemma exercises, mimicry was found to improve trust (Maddux, Mullen, & Galinsky, 2008; Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002; Scissors, Gill, & Gergle, 2008).

The timing of mimicry is important to attain its benefits. Mimicry should be somewhat subtle to avoid detection, as it is not beneficial if the source is aware of it. Research has shown a delay of four seconds is ideal for insuring that mimicry has an impact (on persuasion, for e.g. Bailenson & Yee, 2005), but is unlikely to be detected (Bailenson, Beall, Loomis, Blascovich, & Turk, 2004). In addition, mimicry that occurs early in an interview will likely be more beneficial than later mimicry. In negotiations, mimicking in the early to middle stages was found to lead to better outcomes for the mimicker, whereas late mimicry led to decreased trust and poorer outcomes (Swaab, Maddux, & Sinaceaur, 2011).

Mimicry is another aspect of rapport with cultural implications. Research has shown that a failure to coordinate nonverbal behavior can have a greater impact on some groups than others. In one study, Latino males performed worse when interviewed by an Anglo interviewer if that interviewer failed to engage in nonverbal mimicry (Sanchez-Burks, Bartel, & Blount, 2009). These Latino interviewees were more anxious and perceived to be less competent with a nonmirroring interviewer, whereas Anglo interviewees were unaffected. Thus, mimicry may be particularly important to building rapport with interviewees from certain ethnic groups.

Contrast

In some situations, exhibiting complementary behavior rather than mimicking a source's behavior may be more effective in building rapport. Specifically, behavior related to status and control tends to invite complementary responses (Markey, Funder, & Ozer, 2003). In contrast, behavior related to liking and affiliation tends to be reciprocated with similar behavior. Research has shown that when an individual exhibits either dominant or submissive posture, an interaction partner feels greater comfort and liking when complementing that posture rather than mirroring it (Tiedens & Fragale, 2003). An interviewer may want to mimic at times and contrast at others; convergent and complementary behavior may be used at different stages of the interview to achieve different relational goals. For example, if trying to establish a power differential, an interviewer may want to show dominant behavior. If the interviewer wants to establish more of a peer-to-peer dynamic, mimicry may be more appropriate.

Another way to develop rapport is the use of emotional contrast. In a negotiation exercise, participants formed more positive impressions of a partner who showed emotional transitions from anger to happiness than of one who showed a consistent emotional state (Filipowicz, Barsade, & Melwani, 2011). These emotional transitions not only have positive effects on impressions, they also enhance social influence (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991). Thus, in an interview, showing impatience, or anger may have stronger impact on a source, when preceded by friendly or respectful behavior. A source may perceive emotional transitions as gains or losses in the source's relationship with an interviewer, whereas constant emotions may be perceived simply as aspects of the interviewer's personality, unrelated to the source. The contrast technique is sometimes used with two interviewers, with one interviewer displaying positive emotion and a second interviewer displaying negative emotion[1].

Both types of contrast were used in the interrogation of a suspect in the U.S. embassy bombing in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1998 (Intelligence Science Board, 2009, p. 105). In a series of interviews, New York City Police Detective Wayne Parola attempted to enhance the suspect's dislike of him in order to provide a greater contrast to Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Special Agent Stephen Gaudin, who had established a positive relationship with the suspect by showing interest in his prayer rituals and sharing food with him. This relationship allowed Gaudin subsequently to use anger in the interview to great effect, confronting the suspect with evidence of inconsistency and deception in his story, but without reversing the relationship they had established.

Self-disclosure

Research indicates that disclosing personal information, such as biographical details and preferences, can increase positivity in an interaction (Collins & Miller, 1994), representing one indicator of liking and trust. Self-disclosures can help personalize the interaction, building a relationship between interviewer and source. In witness interviews, using self-disclosure to build rapport resulted in less inaccurate and misinformation being reported by the witness (Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2011). In negotiation research, a getting-to-know-you phase of disclosure (unrelated to the topic of negotiation) increased the number of agreements reached (Moore, Kurtzberg, Thompson, & Morris, 1999). British police officers' use of self-disclosure confirms its utility in practice (Stokoe, 2009), with officers often using self-disclosure to affiliate with the suspect and to relate using social identities other than the obvious investigator-suspect identities.

To enhance liking, the disclosures should be appropriate to the context, should favor depth over breadth of information about the self and should be sensitive to the source's response. Inappropriate disclosures could undermine the status of and the source's respect for the interviewer. In addition, unreciprocated or premature disclosures can easily backfire, requiring subsequent recovery.

Common ground

In addition to personalizing the interaction, self-disclosures can establish common ground – highlighting overlapping interests or identities between interviewer and source. In one study, researchers found that self-disclosure prior to negotiation produced a higher sense of shared identity, which resulted in better negotiation outcomes for both parties (Swaab, Postmes, van Beest, & Spears, 2007). In other research, participants showed less resistance to a persuasive message, when the influencer was similar to the participant (Silvia, 2005). Common ground is not persuasive in itself, but rather, it helps to set the conditions for influence by prompting a source to pay attention and process information more actively (Platow, Mills, & Morrison, 2000).

The similarities can be meaningful ones, such as shared values, but even superficial or incidental similarities can have an impact, such as sharing a birthday (Miller, Downs, & Prentice, 1998), academic major (Platow et al., 2000), or university (Mackie, Worth, & Asuncion, 1990). It is important to identify potential areas of common ground in advance when possible. Of course, common ground can be difficult to find when information about a source is limited or when similarities seem few. The less you have in common outside the interview context, the more you may have to rely on immediate context for commonality – for example, as when talking with new acquaintances about the weather. Over the course of an interview or multiple sessions, opportunities to identify other similarities may naturally emerge, as long as a source continues to engage.

Contact and persistence

The more exposure someone has to a person or object, the more positive their evaluation becomes over time, assuming that their initial reaction was either neutral or positive (Bornstein, 1989; Moreland & Zajonc, 1982). Thus, continued contact with a source should generally be beneficial to rapport, unless the relationship dynamic is consistently negative or becomes disrupted for other reasons. The available research does *not* imply that the interviewer and source will necessarily like each other as contact increases, but instead that, from the source's perspective, continuing to interact with the *same* investigator or interviewer over time would be preferable to interacting with a new one.

Opportunities and challenges for building rapport

In this section, we present further considerations for building and maintaining rapport that are particularly important for investigative interviewing. As noted previously, rapport is a necessary, but insufficient means to a successful investigative interview. It does not protect against some pitfalls – for example, false memories or false accounts. In one case, rapport was identified as a contributing factor to a homicide conviction being overturned in Norway due to the procedures used to elicit a confession (Fahsing & Rachlew, 2009)[2]. Mimicry in particular carries some risks. Although it may enhance

rapport, mimicry can undermine credibility assessment (Stel, van Dijk, & Olivier, 2009) and, in negotiations, may be more beneficial for lower status than for higher status individuals (Curhan & Pentland, 2007). Thus, mimicry is not universally beneficial, and its costs must be weighed against its contribution to rapport.

The role of interviewer personality

Interviewer personality is another area for which both opportunities and challenges exist. Research suggests that some individuals may find it easier to establish rapport than others, due to certain traits and predispositions (Vanderhallen et al., 2011). For example, individuals higher in extraversion – those who are generally talkative, sociable, and cheerful – tend to elicit more positivity from their interaction partners than do introverts (Eaton & Funder, 2003). It may take more time to build rapport with highly introverted sources. Introverts or individuals low in emotional expression may offer fewer behavioral cues to detect, interpret, and respond to in social interaction (Friedman, Prince, Riggio, & DiMatteo, 1980; Funder, 1995).

Empathy may also facilitate rapport building (Norfolk, Birdi, & Walsh, 2007; Walsh & Bull, 2011). Empathy has been linked to mimicry, in that empathic individuals are more likely to mimic the nonverbal behavior of others (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999). The reverse causal relationship is also true: mimicry can induce empathy (Stel & Vonk, 2009). Due to the two-way nature of mimicry, this can be an unintended consequence: an interrogator or interviewer who mimics a source to *show* empathy as a way of establishing coordination may end up actually *feeling* more empathy.

Perspective taking is a skill related to empathy – the ability to take on the cognitive rather than emotional states of others. Although empathy can assist in rapport building, perspective taking may be even more helpful. Research on negotiations has shown that perspective taking, more than empathy, enhances negotiators' ability to find mutually beneficial solutions (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin, & White, 2008). This research suggests that where hearts and minds are concerned, it may be better to focus on the mind than the heart.

Although some traits are influential for rapport even if shown by only one of the interacting parties, for other traits, the *similarity* between interviewer and source may be more important (Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999; Mannix & Neale, 2005; Taber, Leibert, & Agaskar, 2011; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989). The benefit of similarity seems to hold regardless of whether the interacting parties recognize it. Thus, although explicitly establishing common ground, as discussed above, is helpful, an interviewer and source do not necessarily have to be aware of personality similarities in order to benefit from them. For example, an interviewer and source who have congruent levels of positive emotion or assertiveness may communicate in ways that are similar, making it easier to achieve coordination than for incongruent interviewer-source pairs. There may also be an attraction element at work, whereby it is easier to achieve positivity in an interaction with someone who is similar and thereby more immediately likable. Personality congruence may be especially helpful, when the interviewer and source otherwise seem dissimilar, such as from differing ethnicities. If feasible and if sufficient information is available, it may be helpful for supervisors to select an interviewer similar to the source[3].

Risks associated with mutuality

Theory has emphasized the mutual nature of rapport; rapport develops when attention, positivity, and coordination occur and are reciprocated in an interaction. This

characteristic of rapport can present challenges for less experienced interviewers who attempt to mimic the behavior of or develop positivity with a source. Accommodations to a source that are not reciprocated can put the interviewer at a disadvantage. If this pattern continues over multiple interactions, it may result in a situation, where an interviewer is more likely to be influenced than the source. An example where this process may have occurred is the former soldier Terry Holdbrooks who served in a Military Police company at Guantanamo Bay. After several months of interaction with detainees there, Holdbrooks converted to Islam, having shown no apparent interest in Islam prior to his military service (Newsweek, 2009).

Over-rapport

A related risk is the problem of *over-rapport* (Miller, 1952), in which the interviewer over-identifies with the target. In over-rapport, the interviewer allows his or her relationship with the source to become the primary focus of the interaction. Over-rapport has been identified as a challenge for interviewers seeking to maintain objectivity, while gaining access to and trust of participants (Hodkinson, 2005). In investigative interviewing, over-rapport may be a risk, when an interviewer has repeated contact with a source who is engaged and seemingly cooperative, but may be providing little information of value. Supervisors should be aware of the risks of mutuality and over-rapport for their subordinate interviewers and investigators.

Source resistance

Although witnesses to and victims of a crime are sometimes willing and cooperative interviewees, many sources in investigative interviews are not. As noted by others, source resistance may be best viewed in the plural (Intelligence Science Board, 2009), or perhaps as multifaceted. It is unlikely that a single 'breaking point' (Department of the Army, 2006, pp. 8–9) exists that marks a clear boundary between resistant and cooperative. Resistance may arise sporadically, only for certain topics or lines of questioning.

The issue of resistance represents a significant research gap in the literature on investigative interviewing. Empirical research has not directly addressed the potential role of rapport in reducing source resistance, but suggests rapport building may provide at least a 'foot in the door.' Rapport may be particularly helpful in enabling an interviewer to use persuasion approaches that sidestep or disrupt resistance (see Knowles & Linn, 2004). These tactics can be used either instead of or in addition to the theme development methods often used in suspect interrogations in the United States (Blair, 2005).

Some rapport-building behaviors, such as active listening, require a participating partner who is at least talking. Others can be used with a source who is initially more resistant. For example, an interviewer can attempt to first engage the source by using immediacy behaviors or can attempt to establish some positivity through mimicry or mere contact and continued presence. Some speculations for appropriate behaviors to use at varying levels of source resistance are depicted in Figure 1.

Rapport beyond the interviewer source dyad

One limitation of research on rapport is that it has focused primarily on dyadic interactions in medical and health intervention settings. As a result, some topics important to
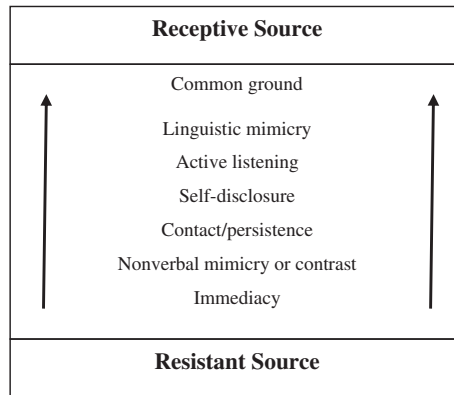
Figure 1.   Rapport-building tactics for different levels of source resistance.

investigative interviewing have been unaddressed. Among those topics is the issue of the transfer of rapport from one interviewer to another. When multiple interviewers interact with the same source, some aspects of rapport may transfer, while others do not. Positivity may transfer, whereas attention and coordination likely have to be established first hand. If there are opportunities to include new interviewers in the interactions between the initial interviewer and source, then the new interviewer may be able to mimic the behavior patterns established previously to facilitate rapport.

The transfer of rapport may also be an issue when using interpreters. In mediated communication, interpreters may either be a help or a hindrance in establishing rapport. The communication delays associated with interpreter-mediated interactions may inhibit rapport between the interviewer and the source. However, the interpreter can also be a resource, especially if the interviewer has taken the time to establish rapport with the interpreter in advance. An interpreter may be more likely to share social identities with the source that the interviewer does not and can certainly communicate more smoothly with a source in his or her own language (although the interviewer should of course be aware of and try to avoid mismatches between the interpreter and source's ethnic or religious identities that may be problematic). Rapport between the interviewer and interpreter may then facilitate rapport with the source.

Conclusions

Despite the dearth of research specifically addressing rapport in investigative interviewing, the available research suggests several conclusions for practice. One conclusion is that the coordination component of rapport is often overlooked. Instruction and discussions of rapport often emphasize the positivity aspect of rapport, when coordination may actually be more important in interviewing. Coordination goes beyond being friendly or attentive and aligns with the Inbau et al. (2005) definition of rapport as 'a relationship marked by conformity' (p. 51). Coordination can be developed either in combination with or prior to positivity and can serve as a cue to an interviewer that a source may be receptive to influence.

A second implication of the research is that there are relatively few rapport-building behaviors that are effective across all situations. Some behaviors must be used with caution. Nonverbal mimicry, establishing dominance, and self-disclosure are examples of

behaviors that are beneficial, but can also have unintended side effects or trade-offs under certain circumstances.

Third, research indicates that rapport is a two-way phenomenon. As such, it is important to keep in mind that just as an interviewer can build rapport with a source for investigative purposes, a source can also build rapport for his or her own goals. Using rapport to develop an effective working relationship between source and interviewer requires each party to be responsive to the other. In addition, the investigator should monitor rapport throughout the interview and not assume that rapport established in the initial stages of an interview will be self-sustaining.

Finally, the available research suggests that rapport is not an approach or an influence tactic on its own. Rather, rapport lays the foundation for influencing a source to cooperate and gathering information from a source's knowledge. Rapport should be developed and maintained in a way that supports the goals of an investigative interview. Explicitly considering techniques for building rapport as part of the planning and preparation process can enhance the utility of rapport for effective interviewing.

In this study, we have identified seven tactics that interviewers can use and often already use, for building rapport, and we framed these in terms of Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's (1990) theory of rapport. In addition, we have presented several opportunities and challenges for building rapport that interviewers should consider as they prepare for investigative interviews. These considerations are also useful for supervisors responsible for assigning, evaluating, and developing interviewers or investigators.

The considerations presented here may also provide researchers with important avenues for future research into the role of rapport in investigative interviews. Although rapport has emerged in recent research as a central focus area (Vanderhallen et al., 2011; Walsh & Bull, 2011), further gaps remain. We identified several areas where research is suggestive, but does not directly address the investigative interviewing context, such as overcoming source resistance, establishing rapport with sources of different backgrounds than the interviewer, and rapport in mediated or other multiparty interviews. Given the rich body of recent research on nonverbal mimicry and emerging research on the working alliance in interviews, we are optimistic that future research will have more to contribute to the practice of rapport in investigative interviews.

Acknowledgment

Notes on contributors

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Notes

1. This is the technique referred to as 'good cop, bad cop' or Mutt and Jeff (Department of the Army, 2006).
2. In this case, forensic experts considered the interviewer's therapeutic approach to rapport building to have contributed to a false confession, in combination with isolation and the ruse of constructing a fictional narrative (a movie script) that was subsequently transformed into a confession by the interviewer.
3. During World War II, the leadership of a strategic interrogation program known as *MIS-Y* seems to have understood this important facet of rapport-building. When a new prisoner-of-war arrived for interrogation, a considerable effort was made to identify an interrogator within the cadre that was most similar in demographics, personal history, and even personality to the prisoner in the belief that such similarities would lead to a more effective (i.e. information-producing) relationship.

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