# An Integrated Framework of Macro and Micro Skills in Forensic Psychological Interview: Improving Information Quality Through Strategy and Communication

Dr. Manikanta Muruli
*Scientific Officer and Forensic Psychologist, Forensic Psychology Section, State Forensic Science Laboratory, Bengaluru*

***Abstract*—Forensic psychological interviewing is a multifaceted science/legal decision-making task that demands thoughtful combination of strategic approaches and interpersonal skills. This paper presents an interview as a macro-micro phenomenon with macro skills as the starting point which gives structure and direction and with micro skills as the starting point which is used to communicate in real time, for example, in empathy, active listening and open questioning. The review is based upon evidence from cognitive psychology, communication theory, and research on procedural justice and suggests that instead of separating, they interact to create effective interviewing. It also points to rapport as a pivotal facilitator between strategy and communication and improving the quality of information. Based on the findings of this paper, it is concluded that integrated interviewing practice enhances accuracy, cooperation, ethical issues and diminishes error and suggestibility in forensic settings.**

***Index Terms*—Forensic psychological interviewing, Macro Skills, Micro Skills and Structured interviewing.**

## I. INTRODUCTION

Each forensic interview is a unique and complicated process of psychological science and legal decision-making. The goal of investigators and forensic psychologists is always to obtain an accurate, complete, reliable and legally defensible state of facts with regards to witness, victim, suspect and vulnerable persons irrespective of their status.

In the past the interviewing process was almost always considered as an investigative process. The success of the arrest was often judged by whether or not a confession was secured or a case solved. The view has, however, taken an important turn with the progress of psychological research. Research on the topics of false confession, eyewitness memory and suggestibility, trauma and communications has proven that interview quality is highly dependent upon how an interview is conducted as well as what is asked (Gudjonsson, 2018; Kassin et al., 2010). This has led to the emergence of the structured interviewing approaches (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Milne & Bull, 1999; Lamb et al., 2018). These guides give direction at the macro level of the planning, sequencing, disclosure of evidence and obtaining of information in interview sessions.

Concurrently, there is considerable research that consistently shows that the interviewer's communication style has an impact on the outcome of the interview.

Rapport-building, active listening, identifying with the target, asking open-ended questions, paraphrasing, and summarization impact upon memory retrieval, disclosure, cooperation, and perceptions of procedural justice (Abbe & Brandon, 2013; Vallano & Compo, 2015).

Although literature in both subject areas exist, there is little research addressing either area in detail alone, or in combination. This separation leads to an incomplete picture of practice for forensic interviewing, as frameworks should be complemented by communication skills and communication skills should be supported by a strategic framework. Thus, an integrated approach is required.

In the present review, forensic interviewing is explored in terms of a micro-macro model, and it is claimed that appropriate forensic interviewing is the result of a combination of strategic interviewing techniques and interviewing abilities related to communication.

## II. CONCEPTUALISING MACRO AND MICRO INTERVIEWING SKILLS

Interviews are among the most popular techniques for gathering information in many fields of work, such as psychology, health care, counselling, education, human resources, law enforcement, and forensic investigations. Interviews may look easy, but there are many advanced interpersonal, cognitive, communicative, and procedural skills that go into conducting an interview effectively. There is growing evidence that successful interviews rely on how both the questions are asked and how the interviewer conducts the interview, frames the communication process, and responds to the verbal and non-verbal behaviours of their interviewee (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Milne & Bull, 1999; Powell et al., 2010; Oxburgh et al., 2016).

In the interviewing field, these interviewing skills become part of two different forms of competencies that work together to conceptually describe interviewer competency: macro and micro interviewing skills. This is to understand the complexity of the processes which underlie effective information gathering. Macro Skills are skills related to the overall strategy, organisation and procedure of an interview. These involve, amongst others, creating an interview plan, designing the interview objectives, organising the phases, maintaining rapport with the interviewee, developing strategies to accommodate interviewee characteristics and assessing the information presented during the interview (Milne & Bull, 1999; Griffiths & Milne, 2006; Walsh & Bull, 2015). However, macro skills then guide the sequence/architecture of an interview, and influence the levels of success of the interview goals.

Micro interviewing skills, on the other hand, are the communication behaviors exhibited by the interviewer on a ‘choreograph' of a knowledge transaction, moment-to-moment. These encompass listening, questioning, reflection, paraphrasing, summarising, empathy, attending, verbal encouragers and non-verbal communication (Ivey et al., 2018; Rogers, 1957; Egan, 2019). These abilities help to create the immediate interactional climate of the interview and directly impact the quality, accuracy and completeness of information that is disclosed by interviewees. There is consistent evidence that interviewers who excel at micro-level communication skills will be more successful in extracting co-operation and will find it easier to get richer, more reliable accounts, and to help recall information (Memon et al., 2010; Oxburgh et al., 2010; Alison et al., 2013).

Changes in theory of communication and interviewing work are reflected in the distinction between macro and micro skills. Theories of communication focus on both group-level intentions and relational strategies, as well as specific relational behaviours occurring in the here and now (Burgoon et al., 2016). Likewise, modern approaches to investigative and forensic interviewing theory suggest that we can have the best intentions and strategies in place, but they are ineffective unless there is an appropriate interpersonal set of skills in place to execute them (Hartwig et al., 2014; Walsh et al., 2017). The key then is to regard macro and micro interviewing skills together because they are interdependent aspects of the entire interviewer competency. There are two main types of skills: macro and micro skills. Macro skills are the larger, strategic skills used during interviews and micro skills are the smaller, skills that are defined by how macro skills are carried out in actual communication.

Homocystic Tasmania has further reinforced the need for integration of both skill domains through recent advancement in the practice of evidence-based interviewing. Ethical and professional practices within interpersonal interviewing skills and strategic planning are central to approaches like the PEACE model, cognitive interviewing and rapport-based interviewing, and are designed to achieve optimal information gain (Clarke and Milne, 2001; Fisher and Geiselman, 2010; Gabbert et al., 2021). It has therefore come to the fore that the interaction of macro- and micro skills of interviewing are central to the processes of training in interviewing, assessing interviewing skills and creating best-practice interviewing protocols in professional contexts.

Rethinking the concept of interviewing using the macro and micro skills is therefore, a holistic approach to how interviewers' effectiveness can be understood. The strategic direction and structure of the interview process (macro skills) enable the interpersonal communication exchanges that elicit, clarify and assess information (micro skills). The two are complementary and serve as the building blocks of great interviewing ability, providing valuable elements

to the accuracy, reliability and ethical nature of information-gathering exchanges.

Macro Interviewing Skills

Macro interviewing is used to describe the broader, strategy and organisational abilities that lead the overall direction and effectiveness of an interview. Macro Skills are the planning, structure, objectives, decision making processes and management strategies for the interview play a significant part in shaping the interview from start to finish (Milne and Bull, 1999; Griffiths & Milne, 2006). These skills are the building blocks that interviewers use to collect information, establish rapport, understand credibility to support the interviews and to meet their assignments whilst upholding ethical and professional standards.

Successful interviews require more than questions this is the idea behind macro interviewing skills. Effective interviewers should carefully plan the interview, have clear goals, know about the qualities of the interviewee, be aware of issues the interview may raise, and adjust their focus throughout the interview (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Powell et al., 2010). Overall, research from various fields, such as forensic, clinical, and counselling and healthcare interviews, has found that the interviewer's ability to strategically manage the entirety of the interview process, rather than individual communications earned within it alone, has a strong impact on interviews results (Memon et al., 2010; Oxburgh et al., 2016).

These are usually considered to be a cluster of skills namely, interview planning and preparation, setting interview goals, creating information collection strategies, designing interview phases, managing rapport during the interview, adjusting to interviewee attributes, assessing emerging information, and making decisions about the progression of the interview involved in macro interviewing skills (Milne & Bull, 1999; Clarke & Milne, 2001; Walsh & Bull, 2015). These skills enable interviewers to stay on track for goals even though there are unanticipated events. Macro skills serve in this way as a roadmap for the interviewer's actions during the interview.

In investigative and forensic interviewing, macro skills come into play. Along with the PEACE model, other modern approaches to evidence-based approaches call for careful strategic planning and management of the following stages: prepare and plan; engage and explain; elicit accounts; closure; and evaluate (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Bull, 2014). Research has demonstrated that an interviewer who can successfully practice these macro-level competency areas will be able to gather more accurate, comprehensive, and reliable information, and will least likely elicit bias, coercion and false confessions (Hartwig et al., 2014; Meissner et al., 2014; Gabbert et al., 2021).

In all contexts other than forensic, macro interviewing skills are of equal importance in organizational, healthcare and counselling contexts. It has been found that the facilitator of an interview, if he or she takes time to arrange the interview, set goals and create a positive environment, is able to contribute to increased disclosure, cooperation and engagement of the interviewee (Rogers, 1957; Egan, 2019; Silverman et al., 2016). The results indicate that the macro skills may affect personal information as well as interpersonal relationship that is formed as a result of the interview process.

Theoretically, macro interviewing abilities are consistent with more general communication and decision-making models that focus on the planning, goal setting, and expertise factors for effective interpersonal communication (Burgoon et al., 2016; Klein, 2017). Experienced interviewers continually assess both the flow and the responses of the individual being interviewed and adjust what they do based on contextual needs and/or the success of the interview. Macro interview skills then can be viewed as combinations of cognitive, interpersonal, and procedural knowledge that enable meaningfully and ethically obtaining information.

The interviewing skills process has shifted to more evidence-based, rapport-building methodologies and macro interviewing skills have grown in importance for interviewer training and development. They lay the strategic foundation upon which effective interviewing relies, and make sure that interviews are structured, goal-oriented, flexible, and ethical. Students must, therefore, have a grasp of these abilities and be able to apply them in a variety of settings for an interview, both in theory and in practice.

Micro Interviewing Skills

Although it is important that the interview be well planned and written, the key to a successful interview is how the interviewer and interviewee interact from

moment to moment. These interactional behaviours are often referred to as micro interview skills the specific communicative behaviors that foster the exchange of information, connection, disclosure and understanding during the interview process (Ivey et al., 2018; Egan, 2019). Micro skills are the interpersonal component of interviewing, and a sense that these are the practical tools used to accomplish larger interviewing goals.

Micro interviewing skills have emerged from a number of systems mainly from counselling psychology and helping professions, where emphasis has been placed with the importance of observable communication behaviours in facilitating effective interpersonal interactions between people (Rogers, 1957; Ivey, 1971). Over many years, these skills have been applied and adapted to a variety of professional settings such as clinical assessment, healthcare communication, organizational interviewing, and investigative interviewing to forensic practice. A theme that runs common to all applications is that interviewees are more likely to give detailed, meaningful, and accurate information when they feel heard, understood, and respected (Miller & Rollnick, 2013; Silverman et al., 2016).

Micro interviewing skills involves the use of verbal and nonverbal communication behaviours such as: active listening, attending behavior, empathy, minimal encouragers, effective questioning, reflection of content and feelings, summarisation, clarification, and use of silence (Ivey et al., 2018; Egan, 2019). These skills are useful in making the interviewee feel safe, show interest, and invite the interviewee to expand details and feelings. Micro skills are not separate skills but they will perform dynamically and interactively and affect the quality of the communication process throughout the interview.

Micro-level Communication Behaviours have repeatedly been shown to have a significant impact upon the result of the interview. Earlier, active listening and empathic responding are linked with higher levels of trust, cooperation, and information sharing in a clinical, counseling, and investigative setting (Rogers, 1957; Weger et al., 2014). Similarly, it has been found that the use of Open Questioning techniques also brings more information that is rich, accurate and reliable than Closed/Linguistic Questioning or Leading Question, especially in Forensic and Investigative interviewing (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Oxburgh et al, 2010; Lamb et al, 2018). Research also shows that the use of reflections, summaries, and clarifications serves to check useers' information, minimize misinformation, and elicit clearer accounts from people being interviewed (Miller & Rollnick, 2013; Silverman et al., 2016).

Micro interviewing skills have a great value in light of current investigative interviewing practices. The PEACE model, and the Cognitive Interview (Milne & Bull, 1999), highlight behaviours of the interviewer that support the rapport, active listening and cycled, non-coercive acquisition of information. The literature indicates that the interviewer who is able to best use these communication skills receives more detailed and accurate accounts and fewer distortions, suggestibility and resistance (Memon et al., 2010; Alison et al., 2013; Gabbert et al., 2021). For this reason, micro skills are becoming more common in the literature as crucial factors of interview quality and effectiveness.

Theoretically, the focus of micro interviewing skills is on person-centred, communication and social interactionist theory, all of which highlight interpersonal responsiveness to facilitate meaningful dialogue (Rogers, 1957; Burgoon et al., 2016). The views that developed in these interviews implied that an interview is not a one-way process of getting information, but a two-way communication in which the interviewer and the interviewee actively influence the interaction. Highly effective interviewers remain alert to listening for verbal and non-verbal clues, adjust to them and contribute to an open and engaged conversation.

Micro interviewing skills are pivotal in interviewing competency assessment and training because professional interviewing has shifted to a rapport-based, evidence-informed approach. They are the procedures, devices and means by which trust is built, information is drawn out and understanding is attained. Therefore, the term Micro interviewing skills can be considered as basic interpersonal skills required to make structured interviews more fruitful and informative, thus improving the quality, depth and accuracy of information gathered in a variety of interviewing situations.

## III. THEORETICAL SUPPORT OF THE INTEGRATED MODEL OF MACRO AND MICRO INTERVIEWING SKILLS IN FORENSIC PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERVIEWING.

Forensic Psychological Interviewing is a multifaceted interpersonal and information elicitation procedure that necessitates interviewers focusing on several goals at once: Information Gathering; Realistic Estimations of the Interviewee's Credibility; Ethical Considerations; Advising that the interview experience should not be suggestible; and Development of a Professional Working Alliance with the Interviewee. Interviewing skills have typically been expressed as either strategic competencies for interviewing (managing an interview) or interpersonal skills skills (communication behaviours). But it is now more and more recognized that successful interviews of this nature are produced by the responsive and cohesive integration of both of these elements into the process. Therefore, an integrated model of macro and micro interviewing skills is emerging in recognition of the importance of the interaction between larger strategic skills and moment-to-moment communication practices in the effectiveness of the interviewer (Milne & Bull, 1999; Gabbert et al., 2021; Walsh & Bull, 2015).

Multiple disciplinary perspectives are cited in the background of this integrated model. Cognitive, decision-making, investigative interviewing theories inform the process of forensic interviewing at the macro dimension, in service of planning, goal setting, information management, selective evidence release, and adaptive interviewing (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Hartwig et al., 2014; Klein, 2017). These perspectives see interviews as a purposeful and structured process of obtaining information to which the interviewer must constantly apply judgements, in terms of information available and his or her objectives, and adapt strategy in response to information produced and interpersonal behaviour demonstrated by the interviewee(s). Macro interviewing skills thus provide general direction, organization and movement to the behavior of interviewing.

At the micro level, theories that stress the importance of interpersonal responsiveness and collaborative communication (Ivey et al. 2018; Burgoon et al., 2016; Rogers, 1957) are grounded in the model. Therefore, successful interviewing is intrinsically linked to the interviewer's ability to build rapport, show empathy, be an avid listener, and apply effective questioning and respond to verbal and non-verbal clues. Each of these types of communication behaviours shape the interviewees' perceptions of trust, fairness, and psychological safety which have been consistently linked to information provided and co-operation with investigative activities (Alison et al., 2013; Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015).

Social-cognitive theories, which suggest that communication is influenced by the dynamic interplay and bidirectional causality of cognitive, behavioural, and situational aspects (Bandura, 1986), augment the integrated model. In forensic interviews, the interviewer is not involved in implementing set strategies, but rather, is constantly interpreting what has been said by the interviewee, evaluating contextual factors and adapting his/her communication behaviours based on this. Macro and micro skills are as a result a set of interlinked skills that results in a self-regulating communicative system where strategic decisions have impact on the communicative skills and the outcome of communicating has an impact on the subsequent strategic decision. This is a bi-directional process of adaptive expertise and professional judgement, where flexibility, reflection and context-sensitive professional judgements play a vital role in complex professional contexts (Ericsson et al., 2006; Klein, 2017).

The integrated model is also grounded in theories of memory and information-processing. In addition to influences on the quality of information collected resulting from interview structure and questioning methods, cognitive interviewing and research on eyewitness memory shows that the interpersonal context in which information is retrieved can also affect the quality of the information retrieved (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Memon et al., 2010). The strategic planning and sequencing of interview phases and the micro-level skills of active listening, asking open-ended questions and using the correct prompts enhance and promote accuracy of memory and do not contaminate evidence. Thus, cognitive approaches have focused on the synergy of macro and micro skills in the elicitation of information.

The integrated model also incorporates aspects from procedural justice and rapport-based interviewing approaches. According to the procedural justice

theory, people will willingly comply with authorities if they believe that their interactions with the authorities are fair, respectful and transparent (Tyler, 2006). Likewise, interview-seeking research has shown that respectful interpersonal engagement with the interviewee helps to foster cooperation, lower resistance and gain more and better information during interviews (Alison et al., 2013; Walsh et al., 2017; Gabbert et al., 2021). In the integrated model, macro skills set the conditions of the games by means of appropriate planning and structure, and micro skills bring the games to life by allowing players to communicate with empathy and respectfulness.

There is also empirical support for integrating issues from more contemporary models of investigative interviewing. A number of models internationally focus on strategic planning and interpersonal communication of effective interviewing, like the PEACE model (Clarke & Milne, 2001), the Cognitive Interview (Bull, 2014), and information-gathering approaches (Vrij et al., 2017). They completely refute the idea of the use of coercive interpellation methods and aim for the synthesis of the management of the interview process and the interplay of interpersonal skills. There is increasing evidence that there is an optimal blending of both strategic and communication competence dimensions that is needed to achieve successful interviews, and that these two areas alone are not enough.

Together, the theories underlying the integrated model imply that forensic psychological interviewing is a cross-over function that demands multi-dimensional skills that include both macro and micro interviewing expertise. Micro skills support interpersonal communication and the facilitation of information during the interview while macro skills represent the strategic architecture for the interview's objectives, structure and interview decision making. The incorporation of these competencies was grounded in the latest forensic psychology, communication science, cognitive psychology, and investigative interviewing research to provide a comprehensive overview of what it means to be an effective interviewer and how these competencies can help lead to better training, assessment, and practice.

The obviousest place where this integration can be seen is with rapport. Rapport is not “soft” or even an interview “trick”, it is a blending of strategy and communication. Planned interviewing strategies are made effective through rapport. The section that follows therefore examines rapport from more of an in-depth perspective with a focus on how rapport comes into play between macro-level planning and micro-level communication behaviour.

## IV. RAPPORT BUILDING: THE BRIDGE BETWEEN MICRO AND MACRO INTERVIEWING SKILLS.

There is strong support in the literature that rapport is one of the most significant factors that influences successful interviewing in both forensic and clinical/counselling and investigative settings. While traditionally defined as a positive interpersonal relationship with a focus on trust, mutual respect, attentiveness and cooperation, rapport is now recognized as a fluid, transactional process that allows for efficient sharing of information and communication during an interview (Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal, 1990; Abbe & Brandon, 2013). In forensic psychological interviewing, rapport plays a unique role as interviewees are often hesitant, anxious, defensive, traumatized or skeptical of authority figures. In such cases, the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee can make a gracious difference on the accuracy, completeness and trustworthiness of the information retrieved (Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015; Gabbert et al., 2021).

Beyond being an interpersonal skill, rapport is important. Modern studies of interviewing suggest a micro-macro continuum between micro interviewing skills, such as active listening, empathizing, asking clarifying questions, reflecting and responding non-verbal, and macro interviewing skills, such as planning an interview, information gathering, structuring an interview, making decisions during an interview and evaluating an interview (Milne and Bull, 1999; Walsh and Bull, 2015). Rapport is a link between the strategic and interpersonal aspects of interviewing, in this regard. Micro skills implement the macro skills; they help to put the overall objective and process of the interview into practice by using the skills associated with communicating in order to create a frame of trust and cooperation amongst participants. Rapport is created in the intersection of these moments and helps interviewers to bring their strategic intentions to life in personal interactions with others.

Theories of rapport are grounded in person-centred psychology, social psychology, communication theory and framework theories on procedural justice. Tactics of Rogers (1957) such as empathy, genuineness, and unconditional positive regard help create conditions for openness and honest communication. Likewise, Social Interaction Theories argue that trust and cooperation is established by “reciprocal exchanges” that involve being “responsive, respect and understanding” of one another (Burgoon et al., 2016). Procedural justice theory also argues that when an encounter with authority is fair, respectful and transparent, it is more likely to result in constructive engagement with the authority (Tyler, 2006). These views collectively highlight that rapport is not something that interviews just happen to possess but that it represents a psychological phenomenon that impacts disclosure, co-operation and engagement.

The development of rapport-building behaviours has proved valuable in improving information gain during the interview process. Studies have been replicated and have shown that rapport-building behaviours lead to increased information gain in interviews. Research on investigative and forensic interviews has shown that positive interviewer perceptions of interviewers' respectfulness, attentiveness, and supportiveness are associated with their provision of detailed, accurate, and verifiable accounts; negative perceptions were associated with interviewees' providing incomplete or sketchy accounts (Brimmal et al., 2019; Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015; Alison et al., 2013). Other positive effects of rapport include increased memory retrieval, decreased resistance, increased willingness to talk about sensitive topics, and increased collaboration among victims, witnesses, suspects, and vulnerable populations (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Collins et al., 2002; Gabbert et al., 2021).

It is important to note that Rapport is not exclusively generated from micro behaviours. Moreover, planning and opportunity to build rapport is an additional macro level skill needed for the role (Oxburgh et al., 2010; Walsh et al., 2017), as is adapting to interview strategies as per individual characteristics, consistency throughout the stages of an interview and a factor of balancing information gathering with interpersonal characteristics. It is therefore, up to the interviewer to make tactical decisions about the timing and progression of establishing rapport in an interview, as well as maintaining it during the interview, repairing it along the way and increasing or deepening it. This demonstrates the high degree of correlation between rapport and interpersonal skills and strategic thinking.

Today's evidence-based interviewing platforms and principles strongly resound the importance of rapport during the interview. These methodologies include the PEACE model, Cognitive Interview and rapport-based investigative interviewing, showing that the ability to elicit useful information relies on the interviewee having scope for psychological safety and motivation to provide information (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Fisher & Geiselman, 2010; Alison et al., 2013). They are models that endeavor to transcend the idea of gaining information through pressure or confrontation and instead promote a dialogic method guided by rapport as its bedrock.

Rapport therefore can be seen from an integrated perspective as the critical link between macro and micro interviewing skills. Micro skills give the interpersonal conditions for the effective execution of the strategy, which macro skills help to create. These skills develop rapport which in turn improves the quality of co-op, info quality, credibility assessment, and overall effectiveness of an interview. This means that rapport building is an area that plays an integral role in the forensic psychological interview, and it is a key piece in the operationalization of the various strategic goals accomplished in these intrapersonal situations.

With this appreciation of rapport as a linking process between the strategic and interpersonal aspects of the interviewing process it is important to turn to a closer examination of the process of integration in the practice of interviewing. Reporting doesn't exist in a vacuum; it is expressed in certain ways in the course of a conversation between the two individuals, during the interview. The following section will thus be directed towards these salient interactional elements: "scope (open-ended) questioning, "active" listening, empathy, and procedural justice, and how these interact, constituting the quality of forensic information in structured questioning formats.

Forensic psychological interviewing involves the ability to elicit information, and the effectiveness of this information elicitation depends not only on the micro-level technique, but on how the technique is seamlessly integrated within the entire interview process guided by the macro level of the interview

strategy. Understanding this integrated perspective, it should be noted that open ended questions, active listening, empathy, procedural justice, and information quality are not independent skills, but rather are regarded as mechanisms which influence recall, cooperation, and disclosure (Fisher, Milne & Bull, 2011; Vrij, 2008).

An ethical and effective forensic interview will use open ended questioning as its basis due to the potential of minimising memory contamination and maximising the cognitive and narrative freedom of the person interviewed. Closed or leading questions have been found to be less effective at producing full and accurate reports than open questions (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Memon, Meissner, & Fraser, 2010; Raymond Abudu, 1997). Open-ended questioning is a deliberate part of a macro structured interview, such as the Cognitive Interview, Strategic Use of Evidence or PEACE model, rather than merely a tactic, where the use of free narrative is intended in order to focus a person's comments on the main area of responses before targeted questioning starts (Milne & Bull, 1999; Kelly et al., 2013).

The ability for open-ended questioning to be effective, however, is highly dependent on the micro level relational skill of listening, and being empathetic with the participants, that is, understanding. The amount and sense of disclosure has been found to be greater when the listener is actively listening (using little interruption, reflective paraphrasing, using an appropriate amount of summarising and using verbal encouragers) (Rogers, 1957; Vrij, 2008). If the interviewer appears attentive and responsive, the interviewee will be more inclined to maintain a narrative flow and provide anything but trivial information that they consider to be peripheral but important in the diagnosis of the problem (Alison et al., 2013). This process is further strengthened by the ability to enhance perceived wellness in others through empathy, making others feel safe psychologically and not subject to threat due to interpersonal stress in them (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Meissner et al., 2014), especially in vulnerable groups like victims, witnesses and suspects in stressful situations.

Procedural justice is upheld as the level of general ethics or psychology at which the micro-skills function when seen at a much broader perspective. Two universal correlates that have been consistently associated with procedural justice (i.e., fairness, neutrality, respect, and transparency) are increased cooperation and perceived legitimacy of authority as well as a willingness to divulge sensitive information (Tyler, 2006; Bradford et al., 2014). The finding of cognitive resistance is that questioning strategy is more effective when the interviewees feel fair and respectful toward the interviewer, even in open-ended questioning format (Wheller et al., 2013). This emphasizes that procedural justice is not only an ethical obligation, but also a mechanism that will have an impact on information yield.

Importantly, it is this interaction of all these dimensions that results in the quality of information obtained as the final outcome of integration. Accurate, complete and relevant forensic information is best maximised when strategic interviewing protocols are designed around the micro-skills of relationships such as rapport building, contract, paths, and operations (Fisher et al., 2011; Vrij & Granhag, 2012). For example, the types of information-gathering that use the Scharff technique or Strategic Use of Evidence are founded on carefully sequenced questions, but require a high level of rapport-building, managing silence and responding in an empathetic way as the interviewer does not need to add bias or pressure in order to gain a grasp of what is being said in the interview (Alison et al., 2013; Clemens et al., 2011).

The contemporary forensic psychological interview then is best conceived as an interactional system in which macro-structures (such as interview models and principles of procedural justice) provide the context or scaffolding for micro-skills (such as listening skills, questioning style, empathy). This integration provides not only a better 'information yield', but is also ethically sound, less suggestible and will result in increased co-operation, making the interview scientifically sound and human centred (Williamson, 2006; Vrij, 2008).

Thus far, the emphasis of the discussion has been focussed upon conceptual organisation and theoretical connections at the macro level and at the micro level in terms of the skills of communication. The theoretical knowledge of these ideas, however, is only half the equation. These abilities need to be put to the test in real-world forensic situations under pressure, with real people, emotions and investigation limitations. The section that follows then explores application from theory to practice by looking at the

role of integrated interviewing in a variety of forensic roles (with interviewers of suspects, witnesses, victims and vulnerable people).

The QSD Software has been used in applications spanning Forensic Psychological Contexts.

Forensic Psychological Interviewing in practical settings shows the effectiveness of the methods depends on the effective integration of the macro perspective (Strategic Frame Works) and micro perspective (Interactional skills), both adapting dynamically to the needs of different forensic populations and settings. Interviews involve discussion with the suspect, victim, witness, or vulnerable person, and not only an attempt to gather data; it is a psychologically sensitive process influenced by legal rules, thinking and processing, and relational factors (Fisher, Milne, & Bull, 2011; Vrij, 2008).

Macro-structured ID methods (for example PEACE model or SUE framework) offer a back-bone in suspect interviews, especially in high stakes investigative situations that highlight planning, engagement, account, closure and evaluation. Embedded in this structure, micro skills like open-ended questioning, silence management and strategic probing build into the process of eliciting accounts without adding resistance or setting-up counter-interrogation strategies are essential for evoking accounts (Williamson, 2006; Alison et al., 2013). The research suggests that the ‘accusatorial' approach can result in lower information and more deception while the information-gathering approach, based on rapport and procedural fairness, yields significantly higher information quality (Meissner et al., 2014; Kelly et al., 2013). In suspect contexts, these factors however, contribute to heightened impression management, emotional defensiveness, and cognitive load, making integration of macro-strategy and micro-behaviour particularly critical.

The macro framework for witness/victim discussion changed into cognitive facilitation and psychological safety such as Cognitive Interview and Enhanced Cognitive Interview techniques for witness/victim interviews, particularly if traumatic or highly emotional. These frameworks depend largely on the skills that are frequently used at the micro-level, including open-ended recall cues, context reinstatement and empathic validation to facilitate the retrieval of memory without suggestibility (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Memon et al., 2010). In these situations, empathy and listening skills are not only a way of relating, they are also cognitive tools that can diminish the stress retrieval inhibition and increase episodic recall (Christianson, 1992; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002). Importantly, it is also worth noting that the use of trauma-informed adaptations of forensic interviewing further emphasizes the need to strike a balance between informational and emotional functions so that the procedural justice experienced by the interviewee is perceived and felt (Tyler, 2006; Lamb et al., 2018).

The marriage of macro and micro skills is even more complex when it comes to vulnerable parties (children, intellectually challenged, cognitively impaired witnesses, etc.). The NICHD Investigative Interview Protocol offers a macro-scaffolding framework that calls for progressive and progressive questioning, building rapport, and free narrative recount, with micro-skills that include developmental sensitivity, simplified formats, and non-leading prompts (Lamb, Orbach, Hershkowitz, Esplin, & Horowitz, 2007). Empirically, it has been shown that the accuracy and completeness of information can improve considerably if interviewers follow the structured protocol, being empathic with the interviewees and age-appropriate (Hershkowitz, Lamb, & Katz, 2014; Saywitz, Lyon, & Goodman, 2011). This reinforces the critical need for cognitive development considerations and strategic interviewing frameworks to be aligned.

Adopting integrated interviewing skills also demands sensitivity to cultural norms and power distance and to communication styles, in both inter-cultural and inter-jurisdictional situations. The macro-level frameworks need to be flexible, and the micro-skills, such as tone, pacing and relational framing of the clip are paramount in mitigating the distrust or perceived authority bias (Gudjonsson, 2003; Vrij et al., 2017). Procedural justice perceptions have been found to be especially important factors underlying cooperation in multicultural contexts, as perceived fairness and respect are shown to be universal predictors of disclosure regardless of culture (Jackson et al., 2012; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Finally, in all forensic settings, macro and micro interviewing techniques represent a transition from interrogative interviewing paradigms to psychologically sound interviewing, ethically sound

interviewing and empirically supported interviewing. The use of effective approaches to FPI depends not on individual techniques, but on the overall integration of a coherent framework of structured interview approaches with relational skills all delivered with an aim of maximizing retrieval of information, minimizing resistance, and ensuring a person's dignity in investigative interviewing with forensics (Fisher et al., 2011; Vrij, 2008; Meissner et al., 2014).

Once you have looked at the application of macro and micro skills in various settings, a clearer picture starts to emerge: a macro and micro skills are not independent of one another, but are in fact intertwined in the same skill. More systematic behavior of this interaction is needed and thus the discussion shifts to the discussion of a unified framework. This integrated model combines strategic planning and communication behaviour into a unified unit of understanding forensic psychological interviewing.

## V. AN INTEGRATED FRAMEWORK FOR FORENSIC INTERVIEWING

An integrated approach to forensic psychological interviewing represents a growing trend in both science and practice according to which forensic interviewing is considered an adaptive, coherent system of macro-level structures and micro level interactional skills that perform their functions in a continuous interaction with each other. In this view, the forensic interview is a psychological process in which the interviewer tailors the interview to specific purposes while still keeping to ethical principles, while simultaneously remaining cognizant of factors related to cognitive science and relational communication processes (Fisher, Milne, & Bull, 2011; Vrij, 2008).

In essence, the PEACE model, the Cognitive Interview, and the Strategic Use of Evidence, are examples of macro-level interviewing frameworks, which set up the flow, purpose, and boundaries of an interview. Such frameworks emphasise planning and information collection, as well as structured questioning and systematic evaluative phases, which minimise guesswork or manipulation, and introduce more structure to proceedings between cases (Williamson, 2006; Kelly et al., 2013; Milne & Bull, 1999). These macro components, however, do not guarantee effectiveness unless they are a product of the communication styles that are used at the micro level by skilled facilitators to elicit and receive information during the process.

Micro-level skills such as open-ended questioning, reflective listening, empathy, pacing and strategic silence are the operational arrangements that carry out and realise the macro skills and strategies. Active listening, for example, communicates attention and promotes prolonged disclosure (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Memon, Meissser, & Fraser, 2010), while open-ended questioning encourages a free recall of the story, reduces cognitive contamination and mitigates disruption. Empathy also promotes psychological safety, which decreases defensiveness and makes working together more likely, especially during an interview that is stressful or emotionally charged (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Rogers, 1957). The following micro-skills are not incidental; they are necessary for the success of the macro-skills and thus they determine whether reliable, complete, and accurate accounts are produced.

The integration of the macro and micro dimensions can also be seen in the intervention of the concept of procedural justice as a mediation in the structure – interaction continuum. The features of procedural justice that call for greater involvement with the authorities (Tyler, 2006; Bradford et al., 2014) include fairness, respect, neutrality and transparency. Within the perception of a just process, interviewees will be likely to talk openly, which will improve the efficiency of both the frame of question strategies and the micro-skills of the relationship. So, procedural justice as an ethical principle is not only a facilitator of information quality but a functional one in that sense.

The ultimate of the integrated framework is information quality which is characterized by accuracy, completeness and diagnostic value. Information quality also appears to be enhanced by using structured interviewing models, which create rapport with the informant while eliciting information, with information seeking rather than accusatorial styles of interview (Meissner et al., 2014; Vrij & Granhag, 2012). The synergy between macro structure and micro interaction guarantees that memory retrieval, attention and construction of the narrative will not be dispersed but helped. Cognitive Interview (CI) techniques, for example, are macro level sequencing of recall phase and at the same time require micro level empathy and open-ended prompts for

episodic reconstruction (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Memon et al., 2010).

The integrated framework, on a broader systems context, shifts the focus of forensic interviewing from a mechanical questioning process to a psychologically informed decision-making process. Consistent and maintaining goals at the macro level (e.g., information completeness, evidential consistency, legal admissibility) while monitoring cues at the micro level (e.g., emotional state, hesitation, inconsistency, cognitive load) in real time. Within Strategic Use of Evidence approaches, this adaptive balance is clearly seen in the timing and how the disclosure is managed in an interactive way (Clemens et al., 2011; Alison et al., 2013).

Finally, there are some similarities in both cognitive psychology and communication science that link into a procedural view of ethics in forensic psychological interviewing. It highlights the need to balance structured interviewing technique with human-cantered communicative activity for effective interviewing. The way that the interviewee and the interviewer relate to one another during the interview, is not only more psychologically suitable, but it is also more ethical, consistent, and effective in obtaining reliable information, when the interviewing process is more regulated and homogenous by the macro level frameworks and more relational and cognitively attuned by the micro level skills (Fisher et al., 2011; Vrij, 2008; Meissner et al., 2014).

While it is a solid theoretical base, the use of the integrated approach in actual forensic contexts is not always easy. Interviews occur in complex/stressful contexts where organisational pressures, emotions and contexts are not always conducive to 'best practice'. The real-world challenges that complicate the consistent maintenance of macro–micro integration, are therefore presented in the following section.

## VI. CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

Forensic psychological interviewing is now taking place in an increasingly complex world, for which it is more necessary and more challenging than ever in need of macro-level frameworks and micro-level interpersonal skills. Evidence-based models like PEACE framework, Cognitive Interview and Strategic Use of Evidence offer good structural frameworks but are hampered in practice by institutional pressures, cognitive limitations, technological mediation, and changes in how deception and vulnerability are employed in a modern context of investigation (Fisher, Milne and Bull, 2011; Vrij, 2008).

The dilemma that is central to contemporary debates is between the processes of efficient investigations and the time-consuming quality information-gathering interviews. A cluster of macro-level frameworks highlight careful planning, rapport building, and phasing-out open-ended questioning, but the dynamics of operational contexts often focus on moving cases quickly to closure, resulting in the early closure of the open-ended questioning sessions or relying too heavily on directive questioning (Williamson, 2006; Meissner et al., 2014). This pressure can have a negative impact on any micro-level practice that takes time and involves shifting mental perspectives such as reflective listening, allowing for toleration of silence, and empathic engagement.

A second problem is the competition between interviewers who may not be as well trained or skilled. Though macro frame work are widely disseminated the effectiveness is very much on the ability of the interviewer to perform the micro skills consistently under stress. Studies demonstrate that when under cognitive stress, or under organizational pressure, even skilled practitioners can adopt an accusatory or leading style of questioning that decreases information and increases suggestibility (Kassin et al., 2010; Meissner et al., 2014). This discrepancy between procedural knowledge and behavioural execution serves to illustrate the challenge of maintaining integrated interviewing practice in situations with high stakes.

Another new challenge is related to technological mediation. New technology such as body-worn cameras, interviewing over the Internet, and AI-written transcripts has affected the types of interactions that exist in forensic interviews. These technologies work well for documentation and accountability, but can also potentially hinder rapport building, decrease perceived empathy, and add performance pressure that can limit natural conversation (Walsh & Bull, 2015; Oxburgh et al., 2015). This makes the application of micro-level skills like eye contact, attuning nonverbal responses and micro-emotional attunement more difficult and can compromise the macro-level skills.

But interviewees' cognitive and psychological factors are also big hurdles. In today's populations,

psychological trauma, neurodiversity, cultural differences, or a prior history with the legal system can play a role in memory retrieval, compliance and resistance, and heighten psychological trauma history. In particular, trauma may affect the continuity of autobiographic memory, and may lead to avoidance responses, all of which necessitate careful balancing of structure and sensitivity in interviewing (Christianson, 1992; Lamb et al., 2018). In these contexts, a completely unadaptable level of micro responsiveness to macro protocols (e.g., rote-learning without emotional engagement) can result in deficient recollection or emotional disengagement.

The other contemporary question has to do with the globalisation of forensic practice and the cultural diversity of communication norms. Power differences, different ways of speaking and conception of authority (both in the West and in non-Western cultures) cannot be encompassed through the same modalities in the same states of contrast. Interpersonal communication may have varying meanings in other cultures, e.g., eye contact, silence, and expression of emotion might have different impacts on the topic of subjectivity such as the question of trust and cooperation (Gudjonsson, 2003; Vrij et al., 2017). There is a need for cultural responsiveness in this adaptation without changes to the fundamental concepts of procedural justice and information integrity.

Last, given the evolving nature of the deceptive and the counter-interview techniques, it will always be a challenge for integrated interviewing techniques. Media coverage or being previously caught up in legal proceedings may make interviewees more aware of the methods in which they're being interviewed, which allows them to tell consensued stories and put on a show. When this is the case, it is crucial to combine macro- and micro-level sensitivity to cognitive load, inconsistency detection and narrative spontaneity to ensure effectiveness (Clemens et al., 2011; Vrij & Granhag, 2012).

In general, current forensic psychological interviewing issues illustrate that macro/micro skills integration is not a 'one and done' process, but is ongoing and evolving. Equilibrated between structured methodology and human responsiveness, in the context of institutional constraint, of technological change and of psychological complexity, is the effectiveness of interviews. This integration should be enhanced not only through learning of techniques, but also through attention to interviewer cognition, culture and the changing nature of communication in the context of a forensic investigation (Fisher et al., 2011; Meissner et al., 2014; Vrij, 2008).

Future research and training should not only aim at further developing the techniques, but it also enhance the way these integrated skills are trained, assessed and utilized in real life.

## VII. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future studies shall go beyond the analysis of interview structure and communication skills in isolation. One of the most exciting fields is micro-macro interaction studies; AI-assisted interview evaluation; cross-cultural forensic interviewing; trauma-informed communication frameworks; competency-based interviewer assessment; and, longitudinal interviewer training research. This could help inform the evolution of integrated evidence-based models that are more representative of actual interviewing practice.

Combining all these perspectives results in a common denominator: Forensic Psychological interviewing is best when strategy and communication are not considered separate parts but rather as one system. The ending ties up all of these ideas together and emphasizes the implications for practice and future development.

## VIII. CONCLUSION

Micro and macro interviewing skills offer a framework that can help understand forensic psychological interviewing. Micro skills are the processes of communication that translate strategy, while macro skills are the strategic structure. Both are needed together. Forensic interviewing comes to life when interviewers use scientifically sound interview structures and proficient interpersonal communication.

The literature examined in this paper indicates that rapport building, active listening, empathy, questioning, reflection, and summarization are not only ancillary tools used in the interview but effective tools that help to accomplish the goals set for the interview. The need for integrated training of interviewers in the future of forensic psychology should therefore focus on the development of both

strategic and interpersonal skills. This can help increase the quality of information, mitigate investigative mistakes, promote fairness in the process, and lead to fairer and accurate judicial decisions.

## REFERENCE


[1] Abbe and S. E. Brandon, "Building and maintaining rapport in investigative interviews," *Police Practice and Research*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 207–220, 2013.

[2] A. Abbe and S. E. Brandon, "The role of rapport in investigative interviewing: A review," *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 237–249, 2013.

[3] L. Alison, E. Alison, G. Noone, S. Elntib, and P. Christiansen, "Why tough tactics fail and rapport gets results: Observing rapport-based interpersonal techniques (ORBIT) to generate useful information from terrorist suspects," *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 411–431, 2013.

[4] L. Alison, E. Alison, G. Noone, S. Elntib, and P. Christiansen, "The efficacy of rapport-based techniques for minimizing counter-interrogation tactics," *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, vol. 27, no. 5, pp. 451–461, 2013.

[5] L. Alison, E. Alison, G. Noone, S. Elntib, and P. Christiansen, "Rapport-based interviewing techniques," *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, vol. 27, no. 5, pp. 451–461, 2013.

[6] A. Baddeley, M. W. Eysenck, and M. C. Anderson, *Memory*, 3rd ed. Routledge, 2020.

[7] A. Bandura, *Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory*. Prentice Hall, 1986.

[8] B. Bradford, A. Z. Huq, T. R. Tyler, and J. Jackson, "Trust and procedural justice in policing," *Psychological Science*, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 1025–1032, 2014.

[9] S. E. Brandon, S. Wells, and T. Seale-Carlisle, "Interviewing witnesses and victims: Contemporary evidence-based approaches," *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, vol. 31, no. 5, pp. 403–409, 2022.

[10] L. Brimbal, S. M. Kleinman, S. Oleszkiewicz, and C. A. Meissner, "Developing rapport and trust in interviews," *Current Opinion in Psychology*, vol. 31, pp. 64–68, 2019.

[11] R. Bull, "Investigative interviewing," in *Springer Handbook of Forensic Science*, pp. 239–250, 2014.

[12] R. Bull, *Investigative Interviewing*. Springer, 2014.

[13] J. K. Burgoon, L. K. Guerrero, and K. Floyd, *Nonverbal Communication*, 2nd ed. Routledge, 2016.

[14] S. Å. Christianson, "Emotional stress and eyewitness memory," *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 112, no. 2, pp. 284–309, 1992.

[15] C. Clarke and R. Milne, *National Evaluation of the PEACE Investigative Interviewing Course*, Home Office Research Study 231, 2001.

[16] F. Clemens, P. A. Granhag, and L. A. Strömwall, "Eliciting cues to deception by strategic questioning," Legal and Criminological Psychology, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 291–307, 2011.

[17] R. Collins, R. Lincoln, and M. G. Frank, "The effect of rapport in forensic interviewing," Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 69–78, 2002.

[18] G. Egan, The Skilled Helper: A Problem-Management and Opportunity-Development Approach to Helping, 11th ed. Cengage Learning, 2019.

[19] K. A. Ericsson, N. Charness, P. J. Feltovich, and R. R. Hoffman, The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

[20] R. P. Fisher and R. E. Geiselman, Memory-Enhancing Techniques for Investigative Interviewing: The Cognitive Interview. Charles C. Thomas, 1992.

[21] R. P. Fisher and R. E. Geiselman, "The cognitive interview method of conducting police interviews," in Forensic Psychology in Context, P. A. Granhag, Ed. Willan Publishing, 2010, pp. 43–64.

[22] R. P. Fisher and R. Geiselman, Memory-Enhancing Techniques for Investigative Interviewing. Charles C. Thomas, 1992.

[23] R. P. Fisher, R. Milne, and R. Bull, "Interviewing cooperative witnesses," Psychology, Crime & Law, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 5–17, 2011.

[24] F. Gabbert, L. Hope, and R. P. Fisher, "Protecting eyewitness evidence through investigative

interviewing," Annual Review of Law and Social Science, vol. 17, pp. 1–20, 2021.

[25] F. Gabbert, L. Hope, R. P. Fisher, and K. Jamieson, "Protecting eyewitness evidence through investigative interviewing," Annual Review of Law and Social Science, vol. 17, pp. 1–20, 2021.

[26] A. Griffiths and R. Milne, "Will it all end in tiers? Police interviews with suspects in Britain," in Investigative Interviewing: Rights, Research and Regulation, T. Williamson, Ed. Willan, 2006, pp. 167–189.

[27] G. H. Gudjonsson, The Psychology of Interrogations and Confessions. Wiley, 2003.

[28] G. H. Gudjonsson, The Psychology of False Confessions, 2nd ed. Wiley, 2018.

[29] M. Hartwig, P. A. Granhag, and T. J. Luke, "Strategic use of evidence during investigative interviews," in Detecting Deception: Current Challenges and Cognitive Approaches, P. A. Granhag, A. Vrij, and B. Verschuere, Eds. Wiley, 2014, pp. 1–24.

[30] I. Hershkowitz, M. E. Lamb, and C. Katz, "Allegations of child sexual abuse," Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 312–322, 2014.

[31] U. Holmberg and S. Å. Christianson, "Interview experiences of offenders," Applied Cognitive Psychology, vol. 16, no. 6, pp. 563–574, 2002.

[32] A. E. Ivey, Microcounseling: Innovations in Interviewing Training. Charles C. Thomas, 1971.

[33] A. E. Ivey, M. B. Ivey, and C. P. Zalaquett, Intentional Interviewing and Counseling: Facilitating Client Development in a Multicultural Society, 9th ed. Cengage Learning, 2018.

[34] A. E. Ivey, M. B. Ivey, and C. P. Zalaquett, Intentional Interviewing and Counseling, 9th ed. Cengage, 2018.

[35] J. Jackson, B. Bradford, M. Hough, A. Myhill, P. Quinton, and T. R. Tyler, "Why do people comply with the law?" British Journal of Criminology, vol. 52, no. 6, pp. 1051–1071, 2012.

[36] S. M. Kassin, S. A. Drizin, T. Grisso, G. H. Gudjonsson, R. A. Leo, and A. D. Redlich, "Police-induced confessions: Risk factors and recommendations," Law and Human Behavior, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 3–38, 2010.

[37] C. E. Kelly, J. C. Miller, and A. D. Redlich, "The PEACE model of investigative interviewing," Police Practice and Research, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 272–283, 2013.

[38] G. Klein, Sources of Power: How People Make Decisions, 20th anniversary ed. MIT Press, 2017.

[39] G. Klein, Sources of Power: How People Make Decisions, 20th anniversary ed. MIT Press, 2017.

[40] G. Köhnken, R. Milne, A. Memon, and R. Bull, "The Cognitive Interview and eyewitness memory: A meta-analysis," Psychology, Crime & Law, vol. 5, nos. 1–2, pp. 3–27, 1999.

[41] M. E. Lamb, D. A. Brown, I. Hershkowitz, Y. Orbach, and P. W. Esplin, "Tell me what happened," Child Maltreatment, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 3–13, 2018.

[42] M. E. Lamb, D. A. Brown, I. Hershkowitz, Y. Orbach, and P. W. Esplin, Tell Me What Happened: Structured Investigative Interviews of Child Victims and Witnesses. Wiley, 2018.

[43] M. E. Lamb, Y. Orbach, I. Hershkowitz, P. W. Esplin, and D. Horowitz, Structured Forensic Interviewing of Children. Oxford University Press, 2007.

[44] C. A. Meissner, A. D. Redlich, S. Bhatt, and S. Brandon, "Interview and interrogation methods and their effects on investigative outcomes," Campbell Systematic Reviews, vol. 10, no. 13, pp. 1–53, 2014.

[45] C. A. Meissner, A. D. Redlich, S. W. Michael, J. R. Evans, J. Camacho, and A. Britt, "Accusatorial and information-gathering interrogation methods," Law and Human Behavior, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 216–233, 2014.

[46] A. Memon, C. A. Meissner, and J. Fraser, "The cognitive interview: A meta-analytic review and study space analysis," Psychology, Crime & Law, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 340–372, 2010.

[47] W. R. Miller and S. Rollnick, Motivational Interviewing: Helping People Change, 3rd ed. Guilford Press, 2013.

[48] R. Milne and R. Bull, Investigative Interviewing: Psychology and Practice. Wiley, 1999.

[49] G. E. Oxburgh, J. Ost, and J. Cherryman, "Police interviewing and technology," Police Practice and Research, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 223–236, 2015.

[50] G. Oxburgh, T. Myklebust, T. Grant, and R. Milne, "The question of question types in police interviews," International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 45–66, 2010.

[51] G. Oxburgh, J. Ost, P. Morris, and J. Cherryman, Communication in Investigative and Legal Contexts. Wiley-Blackwell, 2016.
[52] M. B. Powell, R. P. Fisher, and C. H. Hughes-Scholes, "The effect of interviewer training on investigative interviewing performance," Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 215–228, 2010.
[53] C. R. Rogers, "Conditions for therapeutic change," Journal of Consulting Psychology, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 95–103, 1957.
[54] K. J. Saywitz, T. D. Lyon, and G. S. Goodman, "Interviewing children," Psychological Science in the Public Interest, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 36–83, 2011.
[55] J. Silverman, S. Kurtz, and J. Draper, Skills for Communicating with Patients, 3rd ed. CRC Press, 2016.
[56] L. Tickle-Degnen and R. Rosenthal, "The nature of rapport and its nonverbal correlates," Psychological Inquiry, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 285–293, 1990.
[57] T. R. Tyler, Why People Obey the Law, 2nd ed. Princeton University Press, 2006.
[58] T. R. Tyler and Y. J. Huo, Trust in the Law. Russell Sage Foundation, 2002.
[59] J. P. Vallano and N. Schreiber Compo, "Rapport building with cooperative witnesses and criminal suspects: A theoretical and empirical review," Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 85–99, 2015.
[60] A. Vrij, Detecting Lies and Deceit. Wiley, 2008.
[61] A. Vrij, Detecting Lies and Deceit: Pitfalls and Opportunities, 2nd ed. Wiley, 2008.
[62] A. Vrij and P. A. Granhag, "Eliciting information in investigative interviews," Applied Cognitive Psychology, vol. 26, no. 6, pp. 823–833, 2012.
[63] A. Vrij, R. P. Fisher, and S. Leal, "Cognitive load and deception," Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 453–463, 2017.
[64] A. Vrij, L. Hope, and R. P. Fisher, "Eliciting reliable information in investigative interviews," Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 129–136, 2014.
[65] A. Vrij, L. Hope, and R. P. Fisher, "Eliciting reliable information and detecting deception in investigative interviews," Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 85–93, 2017.
[66] A. Vrij, C. A. Meissner, R. P. Fisher, S. M. Kassin, C. A. Morgan, and S. M. Kleinman, "Psychological perspectives on investigative interviewing and information gathering," Annual Review of Psychology, vol. 74, pp. 211–236, 2023.
[67] D. Walsh and R. Bull, "Interviewing suspects and technology," Legal and Criminological Psychology, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 1–17, 2015.
[68] D. Walsh and R. Bull, "Interviewing suspects: Examining the association between skills, questioning, evidence disclosure, and interview outcomes," Psychology, Crime & Law, vol. 21, no. 7, pp. 661–680, 2015.
[69] D. Walsh and R. Bull, "Interviewing suspects: Examining the association between skills, questioning, evidence disclosure, and interview outcomes," Psychology, Crime & Law, vol. 21, no. 7, pp. 661–680, 2015.
[70] D. Walsh, R. Milne, and R. Bull, "Interviewing suspects: Examining the influence of the PEACE model," Investigative Interviewing: Research and Practice, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 1–15, 2017.
[71] D. Walsh, G. Oxburgh, and T. Myklebust, "Rapport, communication, and information elicitation in investigative interviews," Psychology, Crime & Law, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 115–133, 2024.
[72] D. Walsh, G. Oxburgh, A. Redlich, and T. Myklebust, "International developments and practices in investigative interviewing and interrogation," International Journal of Police Science & Management, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 193–203, 2017.
[73] H. Weger, G. Castle Bell, E. M. Minei, and M. C. Robinson, "The relative effectiveness of active listening in initial interactions," International Journal of Listening, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 13–31, 2014.
[74] L. Wheller, P. Quinton, A. Fildes, and T. R. Tyler, "The effect of procedural justice on cooperation," *Policing and Society*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 459–481, 2013.
[75] T. Williamson, *Investigative Interviewing: Rights, Research and Regulation*. Willan Publishing, 2006.