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This Issue in Brief ACQUISITIONS

Hair Analysis for the Detection of Drug Use in Pretrial, Probation, and Parole Populations.—Comparing the results of radioimmunoassay (RIA) hair analysis for drug use with urinalysis results and self-reports of drug use among aftercare clients in the Central District of California, authors James D. Baer, Werner A. Baumgartner, Virginia A. Hill, and William H. Blahd propose that hair analysis offers the criminal justice system a complementary technique for identifying illegal drug use. The study results are timely in light of the recent decision of a U.S. district court judge who accepted a positive RIA hair analysis result as valid forensic proof that a probationer had violated the conditions of probation (EDNY Dkt. No. 87-CR-824-3).

Tools for the Trade: Neuro-Linguistic Programming and the Art of Communication.—Whether viewed as a rehabilitative modality or a sanction, probation remains a person-to-person profession in that probation officers still deal with individuals. According to author Richard Gray, some recent developments in psychology may provide tools for investigation, assessment, helping, and, sometimes, healing. His article describes neuro-linguistic programming and how probation officers may use the technique to develop rapport and communicate effectively and consciously with clients.

Social-Psychological Effects of the Status of Probationer.—Authors Charles Bahn and James R. Davis report on a non-random sample of 43 probationers who were tested and interviewed in order to assess the social-psychological effects of probation in four areas: emotions; family, peer, and work relations; self-concept; and stigma. The authors administered an open-ended questionnaire, a scalogram, and a self-concept inventory and found, among other things, that probationers had the support of family, friends, and even some employers. The authors conclude that probation is more than a "slap on the wrist" but that it does not overwhelm all aspects of a probationer's life.

Electronic Monitoring in Federal Pretrial Release.—Author Timothy P. Cadigan focuses on current use of electronic monitoring in Federal pretrial release programs, first discussing, in general, how to establish such programs and what to consider in doing so. Then, based on demographic data about Federal defendants on electronic monitoring, the article assesses whether

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Tools for the Trade:
Neuro-Linguistic Programming
and the Art of Communication

By Richard Gray

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M Y EARLY training as a probation officer starting out in the late 1970's included a sheaf of articles purporting to provide me with tools for use in casework. Inevitably, the articles offered a perspective heavily biased by the still prevalent medical model. I especially remember a four-part series on interviewing skills. Most of us laughed out loud at the somber tone with which one of the articles described the client's shifting feet and inability to sit still as signs of probable prevarication. We also sneered at the prospect of developing a rapport with the client, feeling that these were skills for therapists, not probation officers.

These, however, were the skills offered, whatever their ultimate value, and their choice proceeded from the original assumption that probation was a helping profession. Hence, probation officers received training from a casework perspective and were regularly taught the orthodox dogma of the essential conflict between the officers' dual roles as law enforcement officials and rehabilitators.

With the recent swing towards a justice model in the Federal system, and a generally more conservative law-enforcement bent throughout the profession, probation officers have begun to give significant emphasis to the moral responsibility of their charges and the nature of probation as a sanction as opposed to a rehabilitative modality. As a result, greater attention has been given to methods of investigation aimed at rational assessment of the ability to pay, a more intensive approach towards surveillance and monitoring, and an insistence on real compliance. Officers have received excellent training in completing financial investigations, as well as new tools including the ability to regularly obtain credit checks. The quality of attention to field practices and personal safety has increased considerably, and where weapons are permitted, a new concern for safe and efficient use has resulted in uniform standards within the Federal system.

Despite the shift in philosophy, probation remains a person-to-person profession. In that probation officers still deal with individuals, in spite of these many changes, some recent developments in psychology may provide tools for investigation, assessment, helping, and, sometimes, healing.

Neuro-Linguistic Programming

In the 1970's, the idea of developing rapport with clients seemed laughable to some officers. After all, clients were criminals, and officers were their punishers; what possibility of rapport could there be? According to the literature of the times this rapport was to consist of an emotional transference, the officer's ability to perceive things from the client's perspective. More recently, however, rapport, seen from a slightly different perspective has become a simultaneously more useful, and far less innocent, tool. It relates now to the ability to create a sense of receptivity and understanding and to control that impression so as to maximize effectiveness in communication in any context. It is one of many potentially useful skills developed by psychologists using neuro-linguistic programming (NLP).

NLP is the brainchild of John Grinder, Richard Bandler, Robert Dilts, and Judith DeLozier. Grinder and Bandler, respectively, a computer programmer and a linguist, set out with their partners to discover the commonalities, if any, in effective psychotherapeutic approaches. In their studies they examined and modeled the techniques used by several influential therapists including Milton Erickson, a world renowned hypno-therapist, Virginia Satir, an equally well received practitioner of family interventions, and Fritz Perls, the so-called father of Gestalt therapy. At the end of their studies they discovered certain very specific, transportable skills and techniques that all three used (Bandler & Grinder, 1975). These techniques were apparently the key to their extensive successes, independent of their varying, and often disparate, theoretical approaches. These same techniques can provide effective tools for the probation officer in every facet of the work, no matter the officer's orientation as to law enforcement or rehabilitation.

The name itself reflects some of the basic assumptions of NLP. Dilts et al. (1980, p. 2), pro-

vide the following explanation:

> "Neuro". . .stands for the fundamental tenet that all behavior is the result of neurological processes. "Linguistic". . . indicates that neural processes are represented, ordered and sequenced into models and strategies through language and communication systems. "Programming" refers to the process of organizing the components of a system (sensory representations in this case) to achieve specific outcomes.

It is, in short, a technology for producing change based upon the conscious manipulation of internal and external states and processes to elicit specific behavioral results.

Among the useful tools presented by the NLP community is the technology of rapport. To some, rapport represents a soft-minded sympathetic understanding or sense of communion. To the practitioners of NLP, it is the first of several extremely effective strategies for communicating with people and effecting change. Rapport is most simply that state of subjective receptivity that encourages openness on both the conscious and unconscious level. It has nothing to do with philosophical agreement or assent. It is a state in which both parties feel free to communicate and perceive that they are being understood. It, moreover, enhances the level of real communication and understanding by allowing people to choose to communicate on the basis of a common world model.

Essential to the NLP approach is the observation that each individual forms a relatively unconscious model of the world consisting of assumptions about the world based upon his or her experience of the world. Experience, in turn, is shaped by cultural and physiological variables. This results in the phenomenon that each person brings to an encounter with others what may be completely different understandings of common experiences (Dilts et al., p. 7 ff.). The result of this variability is an immense pool of opportunities for misunderstanding.

American businessmen often cite an extreme version of the problem in the context of business meetings with Japanese clients. All through the meeting the Japanese nod their heads during the American presentation. The American businessman, unaccustomed to the Japanese world, assumes that the nod means understanding and assent. The Japanese host, however, only means to convey understanding. At the end of the discussion the American is absolutely nonplussed when he finds no agreement because he has interpreted the nod as assent in accordance with his own model of the world (Gharajedhagi, 1990).

According to practitioners of NLP this and sim-ilar problems in communication can be overcome by applying techniques for translating between different world models and assuring a common understanding. The first and most basic of these techniques is rapport.

The word rapport, as commonly used in the psychological community, comes largely from the vocabulary of hypnosis where it refers to the hypnotist's ability to develop a special quality of relationship with the subject. The relationship heightens the subject's sense of trust, thus rendering him or her more susceptible to suggestion. It can also mean a shared sense of understanding or empathy. In the present context, rapport refers to a sense of trust and openness on the part of the client, based upon the probation officer's ability to actively reflect the client's model of the world. As a prerequisite to effective information gathering, rapport skills are essential (Grinder & Bandler, 1976, p. 14).

Basic rapport skills are rather simple, but not necessarily obvious. For instance, Grinder and Bandler discovered in the course of their analysis that people habitually encode their thought processes in certain well defined and observable ways (Grinder & Bandler, p.5 ff.; Dilts et al., 1979, p. 17 ff.) Typically, thoughts or inner processes are expressed verbally in terms of the four sensory modalities: seeing, feeling, hearing, or tasting/smelling. The outward manifestations of these encodings help to define the way in which the client perceives the world.

What these investigators found was that visual people tended to talk about internal pictures. Their talk is littered with expressions like: "See what I mean?," "Can you picture that?," or "Try to see it this way." Visual people tend to talk about perspectives and brightness and clarity. Auditory people expect things to "ring true." The data must "sound right" or "strike a familiar chord." Similarly, the kinesthetics get "a handle on things," or are "grabbed by things" or feel good or bad about the idea.

The authors found that the simple act of matching predicates—in terms of the dominant sensory modality, visual predicates with visual, kinesthetic with kinesthetic, auditory with auditory—provided significant changes in feelings of trust and understanding between client and therapist. Thus, if a client is speaking in terms of visual images—the way things look, how he or she sees things, his or her own perspective—the officer can begin to establish an increase in trust by using the same visual patterns in his or her own response.

The following experiment will be helpful. Take the next several clients or fellow officers who come into your immediate area and spend some time listening to the specific manner in which they use language. NLP predicts that the same person who needs to "get a handle" on something won't quite "grasp" what other types are trying to say; it often won't "feel right." Someone else will say that things don't "sound" right, that they're a "little off," or that they don't like the "tone" of a statement. . . it just "sounds funny." A third person, with a visual orientation, will declare that he "gets the picture" or can "see" the meaning as it all comes "clear" to him.

By paying careful attention over a few minutes, rather clear patterns should begin to emerge. There will be relatively few pure types, but the language used by each person observed should show a marked preference for one or another representational system. Once the distinctions have become somewhat more obvious, try matching the kinds of language that the subject is using and look for a change in the client's response. With kinesthetics—feeling and action people—use language that reflects action and feeling. With visual people use picture-oriented vocabulary, and with auditory people, hearing words. Try shifting to different modalities or mismatching on purpose. The responses will be surprising.

In general, a successful experiment should have the following results. For those clients successfully matched, there may be a lessening of tension or a more relaxed demeanor. This is especially so with those clients or individuals with whom the original relationship has not been particularly aversive. Many clients will seem to speak more freely or provide a higher quality of information. Others, however, may become decidedly uncomfortable. This is especially true of some clients who would rather not be understood by a law enforcement officer.

Mismatching should have a stultifying effect on conversation. Because the mismatch illustrates the speaker's failure to understand the subject's world map, it enhances tension and makes communication far more difficult.

There are other clues to the way people process information. The various books on NLP show repeatedly that eye movements reflect the manner in which the individual processes data as well as predicates do. For most normally organized people, upward eye movements reflect visual processing, lateral eye movements reflect auditory processing, and downward movements represent either kinesthetic processing or indicate that the client is talking within. For most right-handed people eye movement up and to the left is a signal that they are attempting to access a visual memory. Movement up and to the right usually signals that the client is constructing a visual image. Auditory patterns follow the same left-right pattern, left for remembered, right for constructed (Grinder & Bandler, p. 80 ff., Bandler & Grinder, 1979).

When a client is asked a concrete question—"Where were you last night?"—eye movement up or over to the right might suggest that he or she is constructing a response, not recalling one. This in itself may indicate valuable lines for further investigation.

Another aspect of rapport is body position. For some time, many of us sought to decode the mysteries of body language by learning certain key positions and the specific messages that they encoded. For NLP, however, body position holds a more important and far more consistent function. In all of their studies, Grinder and Bandler found that when one person mirrors the position of another, such action provides most of the people so mirrored with powerful subconscious messages of understanding and communication, independent of the message that the position might otherwise send (Bandler & Grinder, 1983, p. 79 ff.)

Grinder and Bandler give the following example of the power of modeling or copying the client's physical position. Once, while completing some work at a mental hospital, one of the authors was confronted with a catatonic to whom the entire staff gave proper deference by tiptoeing and whispering whenever they went by him. After noting that the catatonic was controlling the doctors far more effectively than they controlled him, the author made the following experiment.

The storyteller took up a position across the room from the patient, but not directly in front of him, so that he could closely observe the patient's behavior. He then slowly adopted the patient's posture and breathing rate. For many long minutes he waited, just mirroring the patient's behavior. When he had discerned, by observations of the patient's behavior, that he had established a proper rapport with the patient, he jumped up and said, "Say, have you got a cigarette?" With that, the patient jumped up, yelled at him, and left the room (Bandler & Grinder, 1983, p. 80).

The story is an illustration of the power of rapport. According to the authors, non-verbal mirroring induces an unconscious give and take between the participants. Unless one is consciously

leading, dominance will pass first to one, then to the other. If, however, one of the participants is aware of the process, he or she can effect subtle, or not-so-subtle, changes in the behavior of the other. In the case of the illustration, the author established rapport and used it to explosively end the catatonic seizure.

If this story seems interesting, the power of the technique can quickly be assessed by the subtle mirroring of a subject's position during a conversation or interview. The experiment can be varied by consciously adopting a posture different from that held by the subject. The experiment may be further extended by adding matching or mismatching language patterns along with posture.

As for the powerful unconscious messages that are sent with body language, it is sobering to think of the frequency that probation officers and other professionals, in an effort to show sincerity and interest, mismatch position in just such a way as to ensure misinterpretation and the destruction of any rapport that may exist. For many probation officers, this example may recall those times when a particularly distasteful client has sought to establish a sense of rapport and trust by leaning forward in the chair. The officer in these cases often finds himself backed into a chair as he or she seeks to control the situation by consciously fighting the same sense of rapport that the client is trying to establish through bodily position.

Rapport, of course, is not the only result probation officers seek. More often what officers need is an efficient way to ensure that they are gathering accurate information in an efficient manner. Rapport, again, provides a foundation upon which they can build. If the probation officer has established and maintained a proper rapport, he or she already has some idea as to how the client processes information and, by mirroring the client's position, may gain some insight into his internal state. For content oriented information, the officer may find the meta-model of communication helpful.

The Meta-Model

Briefly, the meta-model comprehends the approach to language championed by Noam Chomsky and known generally as transformational grammar (Bandler & Grinder, 1975 p. 24 ff.). This is a set of assumptions about language that reflects the varying degrees of accuracy as experience is transformed or encoded into language.

As noted previously, individuals generally function on the basis of highly personal models of the world. Transformational grammar, as it is used in the context of NLP, is a system for describing the means whereby experience is transformed from raw sensory data, through biologically and culturally imposed constraints, into the highly personal models of the world reflected in individual linguistic patterns. As a by-product of this descriptive function, it also provides a means of recovering some of the information that is lost during the transformation process itself.

The meta-model shows that language follows certain intuitively perceived rules as to proper form, grouping of parts, fullness of expression, and underlying assumptions. These principles form a native speaker's ability to intuitively assemble intelligible language.

Thus, a native speaker of English is able on an intuitive level to differentiate between the well-formed sentence:

The boy bites the dog.

and the ill-formed sentence:

Boy the bites dog the.

The same intuitive constraints allow the native speaker to see immediately that not only is the above sentence ill-formed, but that it is ill-formed with respect to order and grouping. More to the point at hand, the meta-model also allows native speakers to intuit something of the speaker's world view from the exchange of language. At present one assumption from the speaker's world view is that boys can or do bite dogs. The same model also indicates that there is something missing from the sentence: "The boy bites the dog." The deletions are indicated by the speaker's lack of specificity and are countered by a series of questions:

What boy?
What dog?
When specifically?
Where geographically?
Where physiologically?

In general these principles function out of the range of consciousness. When, however, the principles are made explicit, they form a powerful method for analyzing meaning in verbal communication.

According to Bandler and Grinder (1975, p. 21 ff.), language represents our attempt to communicate an internal representation of reality as we individually perceive it. Ideally, there should exist a one-to-one correspondence between one's description of a situation and the situation itself. Because, however, one's map of reality is shaped by genetic background, life history, and current lifestyle, the relationship between what is and how

one describes it varies or transforms in certain predictable ways. In the language of transformational grammar, the deep structure, the full linguistic expression of the idea, is not always fully expressed by the surface structure, what is actually said. These transformations follow certain predictable forms that allow an experienced interviewer or one trained in the methods of the meta-model to intuitively identify, or to analytically determine, where the data have been deleted, distorted, or generalized and demand further elucidation based upon those perceptions. The specific clues to transformations of meaning are included in several violations of what the linguists call the criteria of well formedness.

The violations that interest us are deletion, lack of referential index, non-specific verbs, nominalization, modal operators, universal qualifiers, cause-effect chains, mind reading, and lost performative. The presence of these linguistic clues should present clear signals to every probation officer, or other helping professional, that more information lies beneath the surface. In general, the following patterns may produce almost instinctive reactions to the mind of experienced interviewers, but their practice on a conscious level will enhance their utility for both the seasoned questioner and the neophyte at once.

Deletion simply means that something is left out. Besides forming one of the larger groups of linguistic transformations, it refers also to a specific condition of ill-formedness that normally takes the form, "I'm angry." It should prompt the response: "Angry about what?" It is easy to gloss over an incomplete statement such as this and equally easy for one to project one's own meaning into it. Individuals know what angry means to them. Unfortunately, probation officers have no idea as to what it means to clients unless they ask for a specific definition.

Lack of referential index means that the subject is ill-specified. "People make me afraid to go outside without my gun" says nothing about the specific people that cause the fear. The crucial piece of information at this point is "Who?" or "What people in particular?" The same sentence hides a deletion—afraid—and should be challenged by a question that asks specifically how the client is made fearful.

A similar category is the unspecified verb. An unspecified verb is an overly broad expression of some action. It is a special case of deletion. "He 'dissed' me" leads to the question, "How specifically did he show disrespect?"

Nominalizations are words in which a verb is used as if it were a noun. In many cases, this has the effect of finalizing an ongoing process so that it is perceived by the client as a fait accompli, inaccessible and unchangeable. The sentence, "Your refusal to move me to minimum supervision will make me violate my probation," has the effect of concretizing the refusal. It should be challenged with a question that returns the concept to the realm of action, such as: "How does my refusing do that?" This has the immediate effect of turning the sentence back into the description of an ongoing experience, not an event chiseled in stone. This leaves space for the exploration of the cause-effect violation—the statement that someone's refusal to do something will cause him or her to do something else. The response can be framed in a manner similar to "How specifically will my refusing make you violate?" or, "How is it that my refusal can make you violate?"

Universal quantifiers include words like never and always. They imply a uniformity of behavior or experience that is not reasonable. "You always see them in the field, but you always make me report to the office" invites the response "Always? Every time?" It is an especially good indicator of the ways in which the client's attention may be focused in an unproductive manner.

Modal operators are words that imply necessity: have to, must, gotta, need to. "I had to stab him just a little" invites the response: "What would have happened if you didn't?" This reveals a basic assumption about the client's world view.

Finally, mind reading—"She thinks I'm nuts"—and lost performatives—"Early to bed, and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise"—call for the responses: "How do you know she thinks that?" and "Says who?," respectively (Bandler & Grinder, 1975, Chapter 4).

Room prohibits an extensive description of the meta-model and its application to interviewing strategies; however, the relevance of these skills to probation should be obvious. First, for the inexperienced interviewer or questioner, the meta-model provides specific clues as to where information is hidden. Second, the experienced interviewer is given a framework around which to hone skills as he or she moves into a specific context for the analysis of his or her observations. Thirdly, as the method involves the ferreting out of information which the client has chosen to forget or not reveal, or of which he may be only dimly aware, the method can be used to foster the personal growth of the client or to increase the deterrent effect of probation by fostering the

impression that the officer is aware of far more than he or she actually knows.

When wielded with a certain level of subtlety, in the context of a carefully maintained rapport, the meta-model becomes a very powerful tool for investigation. Moreover, as these procedures were developed in a therapeutic context, they ultimately may be useful in opening up new perspectives for some clients as they come to the probation officer for counsel and direction. Without rapport, however, questions and interviews based upon the meta-model become just another set of "cop questions" and interrogations, which leaves us where we began—rapport is a crucial skill.

These are some of the superficial skills taught in the context of NLP. At heart, NLP is about learning to communicate effectively and consciously. As change agents probation officers can ill afford the level of unconsciousness alluded to by Bandler and Grinder (1982, p. 57):

> As far as I can tell, the ways you change people into behaviors that are *not* useful are not really different from the ways you go about changing them into behaviors which *are* useful. The kinds of techniques that are used by well-in-

tentioned parents, probation officers, and teachers, to lead people into behaviors which will actually cripple them for the rest of their lives, are powerful and effective mechanisms of change.

NLP offers strategies for modeling and changing behavior that the criminal justice field sorely needs. With the flood of new probationers and supervised releasees expected in the coming years, a new technology for behavioral change is vital.

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