

Federal Probation

Career Issues for Probation Officers *Darrell K. Mills*

Community Service Orders in Federal Probation:
Perceptions of Probationers and Host
Agencies *G. Frederick Allen*
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Juvenile Justice System: A Model
orm *Vincent Schiraldi*

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This Issue in Brief

Career Issues for Probation Officers.—Careers offer unique strains and frustrations. This is so for the work of the physician, the teacher—and the probation officer. While a probation officer's work can be interesting and rewarding, it presents a unique set of challenges. The hybrid role of the probation officer—which requires juggling investigative/enforcement tasks with counseling responsibilities—may cause conflict. Author Darrell K. Mills identifies six issues that the probation officer may face during a career. These issues, which have the potential to adversely affect job performance and motivation, require the officer's accommodation or resolution. The author provides strategies for coping with these issues.

Community Service Orders in Federal Probation: Perceptions of Probationers and Host Agencies.—To date, efforts to evaluate community service programs have focused on the views of the operators of these programs. An important element in program evaluation—the offenders' perspective—has been overlooked. Authors G. Frederick Allen and Harvey Treger used the theoretical perspectives of rehabilitation, deterrence, desert, and the justice model as the framework for a semi-structured, open-ended questionnaire for reviewing perceptions. The authors interviewed a sample of 73 probationers and program operators in 38 cooperating agencies. Findings revealed that community service is perceived by probationers and host agency operators as primarily a rehabilitative sanction rather than as the punishment that the courts may have intended.

The Presentence Investigation Report: An Old Saw With New Teeth.—The presentence investigation report has been tradition-bound in purpose and content almost from its inception well over 100 years ago. Designed to facilitate sentencing decision-making, it has also become utilitarian for a host of secondary users. After an

historical review of the construction of the presentence investigation report, authors Alvin W. Cohn and Michael M. Ferriter propose a new PSI model. It is one which facilitates primary and secondary decision-making, reduces labor intensity, and eliminates any debate over long versus short forms. The authors discuss the use of the model in Montana probation and assess its applicability and impact in criminal justice administration.

Considering Victim Impact—The Role of Probation.—Since its inception in a Fresno, California probation department in 1974, the victim

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Boot Camp Prisons: Components, Evaluations, and Empirical Issues*

BY DORIS LAYTON MACKENZIE

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Military-style boot camps, with their rigorous regimes and austere conditions, bring a sense of order and discipline to the lives of youthful, non-violent first-time offenders, and perhaps serve as a deterrent against future crimes. . . These are the sorts of alternative sanctions that the criminal justice system must explore if it is successfully going to deter and contain drug use.

*—National Drug Control Strategy
The White House, September 1989*

IN THE past few years "boot camp" prisons, otherwise called shock incarceration programs, have proliferated throughout the nation. At the end of 1989 there were at least 21 "boot camp" prisons in 14 state correctional systems. Another 13 states were in the process of or considering developing such programs. Thus, within the next few years, over 50 percent of the state correctional jurisdictions may have boot camp prisons for adult offenders. This does not take into account the additional programs that are being considered in city and county jurisdictions or those being developed for juveniles.

Not only does it look like the number of programs will be quickly growing, but also there is interest in enlarging the purposes of these programs. There have been hearings in the U.S. House and Senate on the topic of boot camp prisons, and in the National Drug Control Strategy the President recommended that the viability of boot camps as an alternative sanction for drug offenders be examined.

Why have these programs attracted this kind of attention? Some have said that their popularity is magnified because they are "media" attractive. Drill instructors yelling in the face of offenders makes for good TV. There are other reasons given for the popularity of these programs: The offenders are receiving their "just deserts." Such programs show the public that the politicians are being tough on crime. Offenders spend only a short time in prisons, thus the programs repre-

sent a cost savings. Furthermore, according to some, such treatment addresses the major problems of young offenders—a lack of discipline and no respect for authority. The programs are rehabilitative according to some, while others argue that the programs act as a deterrent. Obviously people expect different things from the programs.

There are enthusiastic advocates of the programs and, conversely, there are equally enthusiastic opponents (Morash & Rucker, 1990; Sechrest, 1989). Some say the programs have the potential for being rehabilitative (MacKenzie, et al., 1989) others reject this possibility (Morash & Rucker, 1990). We see two factors influencing opinions about the program: (1) knowledge and (2) philosophy. Advocates and opponents frequently have a lack of knowledge about the specific components of the programs and current evaluation efforts.

Second, some issues discussed are empirical while others are philosophical. Frequently the two are not separated in debates about the shock programs (see, for instance, Morash & Rucker, 1990). Would offenders rather spend time in a shock program or in a regular prison? Are shock programs cost effective? Do shock programs widen the net? Is there a sufficient number of appropriate candidates for shock who are now incarcerated? These are examples of questions that can and should be examined with empirical research. Other criticisms are philosophical, such as whether shock programs fulfill the "real" purpose of corrections. We can discuss the purpose of corrections, but it cannot be empirically examined. Such questions cannot be addressed through research.

This article is written to describe shock incarceration programs and current evaluation efforts. An attempt is made to identify the questions that can be studied empirically and to describe the results of some preliminary research examining shock programs.

Survey of States

To learn more about shock incarceration programs, we surveyed all 50 state departments of corrections. Programs were considered to be shock incarceration only if they:

- (1) were considered an alternative to a longer

*The investigation reported in this article was supported in part by Grant #88-DD-CX-0026 from the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, to the Louisiana State University. The author wishes to thank all of those who have worked on the multi-site study. Opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and not necessarily those of the U.S. Department of Justice. Requests for copies should be sent to the author at the National Institute of Justice, 633 Indiana Ave, N.W., Washington, DC 20531.

- term in prison;
- (2) had a boot camp atmosphere, with strict rules and discipline;
- (3) required offenders to participate in military drills and physical training; and,
- (4) separated offenders in the program from other prison inmates.

Thus they were distinguished from earlier shock probation, shock parole, and split-sentence programs that did not necessarily incorporate all four of these components.

In January 1990, 14 states had one or more shock incarceration programs: Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Wyoming were either considering initiating programs or were developing programs.¹

The second part of the survey was designed to elicit information about shock programs currently operating (MacKenzie & Ballow, 1989). Most of the 14 states reported that the programs were designed for young, nonviolent offenders. Most also said the majority of the participants in their programs were convicted of nonviolent crimes and were serving time on their first felony conviction. Only Michigan said participants in its program were not mostly nonviolent offenders, and Alabama, Idaho, Louisiana, and Michigan shock participants were not necessarily convicted of their first felony. As shown in table 1, the shock programs differ substantially in many other components. In particular they differ in who is responsible for placing offenders in the program, voluntary entry or dropout, location of the program, and release supervision. Ten programs were for males only, three programs included males and females (Louisiana, Mississippi, New York), and one state had separate male and female programs (South Carolina).

Programs also differ greatly in the number of hours devoted to physical training, work, education, or counseling. Programs were classified by us as high or low rehabilitation emphasis based on the proportion of each day that was spent in rehabilitation-type activities (including such activities as counseling, any type of treatment, education, and vocational training activities) versus time spent working. Here, we are distinguishing

rehabilitation activities from work and from physical training and drill.

In three state programs (Alabama, Arizona, and Mississippi) shock participants spend an amount of time in rehabilitation activities equal to or greater than the amount of time they spend working. For example, Louisiana offenders spend approximately 4.5 hours in rehabilitation activities, 4 hours working, and 4.5 hours in physical training or drill.

In the "low" rehabilitation programs the participants spend one-half to one-quarter less time in rehabilitation (e.g., in Michigan offenders spend approximately 6 hours per day working, 2.5 hours in rehabilitation activities, and 1.5 hours in physical training and drill). In comparison to offenders in other programs, Georgia participants, who receive less than ½ hour per day of rehabilitation, spend the least amount of time in rehabilitation activities. In Florida, also considered by us to be a low rehabilitation program, offenders spend 1½ hours a day in group counseling. Thus, with the possible exception of Georgia, offenders in all the shock programs spend a fairly large amount of time in rehabilitation-type activities, at least in comparison to offenders serving time in a regular prison.

Overall, the picture that arises in regard to these programs is a common core based on the military atmosphere, discipline, youthful offenders, and an alternative to long-term incarceration, but here the commonality ends. The differences that do exist in programs might be expected to contribute to differences in self-selection effects, net widening, costs, deterrence, or rehabilitation of the offenders.

Multi-Site Study

The shock incarceration programs differ dramatically. Therefore, results of an evaluation based on one shock incarceration program would not necessarily generalize to other programs. For this reason we initiated a multi-site study of shock incarceration programs. The major questions of this research are: (1) Is shock incarceration successful in fulfilling its goals, and (2) What particular components of shock programs lead to success or failure in fulfilling program goals? Evaluating programs in different states permits us to generalize findings from a program in one location to other locations which vary in numerous characteristics. Studying various programs will permit an answer to the second question by enabling the researchers to begin to identify the components of the shock programs which lead to

TABLE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF SHOCK INCARCERATION PROGRAMS, JANUARY 1990

State	Year Program Began	Number of Programs	Number of Participants	Average Number of Days Served	Placement Authority	Voluntary Entry	Voluntary Dropout	Located in Larger Prison	Release Supervision
Alabama	1988	1	127	90	Judge	no	yes	yes	regular
Arizona	1988	1	150	120	Judge	yes	no	yes	varies
Florida	1987	1	100	90	Judge	no	no	yes	moderate
Georgia	1983	2	250	90	Judge	yes	no	yes	varies
Idaho	1989	1	154	120	Judge	no	yes	no	varies
Louisiana	1987	1	88	120	Corrections Dept./Judge	yes	yes	yes	intensive
Michigan	1988	1	120	120	Judge	yes	no	no	intensive
Mississippi	1985	2	240	110	Judge	no	yes	yes	regular
New York	1987	5	1602	180	Corrections Dept.	yes	yes	no	intensive
North Carolina	1989	1	54	93	Parole Commission	yes	yes	no	varies
Oklahoma	1984	1	150	90	Corrections Dept.	no	no	yes	varies
South Carolina	1987	2	111	90	Judge	yes	yes	yes	varies
Tennessee	1989	1	42	120	Corrections Dept.	yes	no	no	varies
Texas	1989	1	200 (capacity)	90	Corrections	no	no Dept./Judge	no	varies

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specific outcomes.

Site Selection

Seven states were asked to participate in the multi-site study: Georgia (GA), New York (NY), Oklahoma (OK), Florida (FL), Texas (TX), Louisiana (LA), and South Carolina (SC).² The shock programs in all of these states were similar in the characteristics used to define programs as shock incarceration (see above). Programs selected to participate were similar in two other aspects: (1) the characteristics of offenders admitted to the program (most offenders were youthful, convicted of non-violent offenses, serving time on a first felony conviction), and (2) the length of the program (3 to 6 months). Since most shock programs were similar in boot camp atmosphere, offender characteristics, and program length, the selection of programs similar in these aspects was expected to maximize the generalizability of the results.

However, the shock programs participating in the multi-site evaluation varied in:

- Selection Decisions
- Community Supervision upon Release
- Program Characteristics
- Program Location

These characteristics were identified as factors that might have a major influence on the attainment of the goals of shock incarceration programs as identified by Parent (1989) in the recent National Institute of Justice Issues and Practices report. Sites were specifically selected to vary on these characteristics and they varied as shown in table 2.

Two of the states participating in the evaluation, Texas and New York, are developing programs specifically designed to target drug offenders. The Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice, is sponsoring these as innovative programs for drug offenders to begin examining whether such programs are effective methods of handling drug offenders.

For each of the four characteristics on which sites varied (see above) specific hypotheses were developed regarding program effects. Each of these is described below.

Selection Decisions. One might hypothesize that the placement authority might have a major impact on whether the program results in "net widening." Widening the net occurs, at times, when judges have a choice of placing offenders in

a program, such as shock incarceration, that is intermediate between probation and prison. If offenders who might normally be given a sentence of probation are sent to the program, more offenders serve time in prison, hence the "net" of prison is widened. In such a case the prison population will not be reduced because offenders sent to the program are drawn from the pool of probationers rather than from the prison bound offenders.

TABLE 2. CHARACTERISTICS OF SHOCK INCARCERATION PROGRAMS PARTICIPATING IN MULTI-SITE STUDY SHOWING DIFFERENCES AMONG PROGRAMS IN THE SEVEN STATES

• Entry Decisions	
Judge:	SC, GA
DOC:	OK, NY
Other:	LA, FL, TX
• Release Supervision	
Intensive:	LA, NY
Moderate or Mixed:	SC, OK, FL, GA, TX
• Rehabilitation Focus	
High:	LA, OK, NY
Low:	SC, FL, GA, TX
• Voluntary Entry	
Yes:	SC, LA, NY, GA
No:	OK, FL, TX
• Voluntary Drop Out	
Yes:	LA, SC, NY
No:	OK, FL, TX, GA
• Located in Larger Prison	
Yes:	LA, SC, OK, FL, GA, TX
No:	NY

If the department of corrections makes the placement decision rather than the judge, net widening would not be expected to be as apt to occur because in this case the participants would be chosen from the group of offenders who are already prison bound.

Whether net widening is a problem depends upon the goals of the program. If the shock incarceration program was developed to give judges a wider range of sentencing options, then net widening would not be considered a problem. The judge may want to sentence offenders to an option that is intermediate between probation and prison. On the other hand, if prison crowding is a problem and the program was developed to reduce the prison population, then net widening, by sending more offenders to prison, presents a problem.

Net widening is used here as an example to demonstrate how components of a program may

influence the effects of the program. Differences in the effect of the shock programs could be expected in other areas, based on the specific characteristics of a program (e.g., number of drop-outs, drug treatment, education or work).

Program Characteristics. Shock programs vary in whether or not there is a strong emphasis on treatment such as education, counseling, or vocational training during the time the offenders are incarcerated. If one of the goals of the programs is to change offenders, interest focuses on the importance of treatment as a component of shock programs (MacKenzie, et al., 1989). Three sites participating in the multi-site study, New York, Louisiana, and Oklahoma, require offenders to spend a large portion of each day in treatment activities (see table 2). Offenders in the other four sites spend much less time in treatment-type activities.

A second factor which may be potentially rehabilitative or have a major influence on program success is the voluntary nature of participation. Programs vary in whether offenders must initially volunteer to participate and in whether offenders can drop out once they enter the program. As shown in table 2, in three programs offenders can drop out at any time during the program, while in the other four programs the offender cannot voluntarily drop out. It is hypothesized that the offenders' ability to choose to participate or to remain in the program may influence how they behave upon release. A high drop out rate may also indicate the rigor of the program. An offender who completes a tough program may have a real sense of accomplishment in comparison to an offender who completes a relatively easy program.

Release Supervision. It has been proposed that even if the shock programs change offenders in a positive manner this change may not persist after the period of incarceration. Offenders spend only a short period of time in the programs and then are returned to their home environments. The problems and difficulties of drugs, criminal companions, lack of support groups, unemployment, etc., remain the same.

Programs such as those in Louisiana and New York, that involve a period of intensive supervision after incarceration, may be more successful in helping offenders make the transition from shock incarceration to the community. The New York Division of Parole has identified aftercare as important for shock parolees and is incorporating an intensive 6-month period of supervision and programing for shock releasees. Employment with pay, substance abuse counseling, offender support

group meetings, and urine testing are some of the components of the aftercare program.

Program Location. Another concern with shock programs has been with the staff members—their attitudes toward the work and their treatment of offenders. It was hypothesized that the location of the program might have a major impact on these factors. If a program is located within a larger facility, staff members can be transferred into or out of the programs depending upon their interest and ability. Those that burn out can be fairly easily transferred to another area of the prison. This is not as easily done when the program is located in a separate facility. In such situations staff training and selection may become important factors influencing staff and offender interactions.

Design of the Study

The participants in the multi-site study have had two conferences to plan and coordinate their research activities. At the first conference representatives from each participating state described the shock program and their evaluation efforts to date. The research for the multi-site study was planned, and it was decided to examine the programs in three areas: (1) a qualitative and descriptive analysis; (2) offender change and comparisons and, (3) system changes (including costs and benefits). The final products of the work will be written reports for each state describing the results of the evaluation and a report comparing the results among the states.

During the first conference the qualitative and descriptive analysis was planned, and the state evaluators returned to their home state to complete this portion of the study. Intensive interviews were conducted with staff, offenders serving various sentences, and, where appropriate, judges. Statistical data were collected from department records to describe the shock programs and their participants. This information was used to identify the goals of each program and the important issues related to the program and its development.

Goals of Programs

Shown in table 3 are the goals of the seven shock incarceration programs as identified from interviews and department written material. The goals can be classified into four major areas:

- System Level
- Individual Level
- Public Relations

• Prison Control/Management

TABLE 3. GOALS OF THE SEVEN SHOCK INCARCERATION PROGRAMS PARTICIPATING IN THE MULTI-SITE STUDY

System Level Goals

Reduce Crowding
Alternative to Long-term Incarceration
Less Cost
Model for County Programs

Individual Level Goals

Change Offenders: Less Negative Behavior
Less Criminal Activity

Change Offenders: More Positive Attitudes/Behavior

Improve Confidence/Responsibility
Discipline
Motivation
Positive Social Values
Positive Social Behavior (e.g., Work Ethic)
Reduce Drug Use
Accountability
Respect for Authority

Public Relations

Improve Image of Corrections
Politically Acceptable Alternative
Public Safety

Prison Control/Management

Clean, Healthy, Secure Environment
Environment Promoting Rehabilitation
Positive Offender/Staff Contact
Offender Accountability

The most consistency in the goals across the seven states was in three system level changes: (1) a reduction in prison crowding; (2) an alternative to long-term incarceration; and (3) cost savings. Only Texas reported a system level goal of having a model program for the counties that were developing programs.

The majority of the states also reported individual level goals. For most, this meant a reduction in criminal activity and some type of positive change. Exactly what type of positive change was expected was hard to define and varied by state. In general, the changes related to increased responsibility, maturity, self control, communication/self disclosure, accountability, motivation, and improved attitudes toward authority. A reduction in drug use by the offenders was a goal of both states with shock programs for drug offenders.

Few states listed public relations as a goal. In these states there was a concern for improving the image of corrections and for public safety.

Only one state, Oklahoma, reported a goal of shock incarceration as a tool for prison control and management. The shock program was considered to be a clean, healthy, secure environment in prison, promoting counseling activities, positive

offender-staff contact, and offender accountability. Offenders in this program spend a high proportion of their time in rehabilitation activities. Thus, it was assumed that the focus on offender control was combined with the goal of developing an environment promoting positive changes in the offender rather than just managing the offenders while they are incarcerated.

Preliminary Evaluations

Five states have examined early data from the shock programs within their jurisdictions: Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, and South Carolina. The number of offenders who entered the programs and how they left the program are shown in table 4. Note the differences in the programs in the proportion of offenders who graduate. In South Carolina and Georgia the proportion of those who leave the program without graduating (in comparison to all who have left the program) is low, 5.3 percent and 2.6 percent, respectively (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1989; Georgia Department of Corrections, 1989). In contrast, in Louisiana, New York, and Florida a higher proportion of the offenders leave prior to graduation, 39.1 percent, 41.9 percent, and 40.7 percent, respectively (Aziz, 1988; Florida Department of Corrections, 1989; MacKenzie et al., 1989).

To our knowledge no state has completed an analysis examining whether the shock program(s) have had an impact on prison crowding. However, if the number graduating per year from a state program is compared to the total number of offenders in prison in the state it is obvious that the numbers graduating make up a very small proportion of the incarcerated population. Although New York with 904 graduates in 18 months may have a large enough number of graduates to have an impact on crowded prisons (table 4), this is not the case in most states.

Of course whether the programs will have an impact on prison crowding depends not only on the number of graduates but also on whether the offenders graduating from the program are drawn from the population of probationers or prisoners. Our assumption is that in states where placement is determined by the department of corrections the offenders in the program are those who would usually be incarcerated. Again this suggests that the New York program may have an impact on prison crowding.

Evaluators in both New York and Florida have completed preliminary cost analyses of their programs. In both the cost of the program was estimated to be slightly higher than the cost of reg-

TABLE 4. NUMBER OF ENTRANTS TO SHOCK INCARCERATION PROGRAMS IN FIVE STATES SHOWING HOW OFFENDERS LEFT THE PROGRAMS (GRADUATION, MEDICAL DISMISSAL, OR OTHER)

	States (months of data)				
	South Carolina (12)	Georgia (54)	Florida (12)	Louisiana (24)	New York (18)
Total Entrants	923		319	507	2299
Active	106		56	49	695
Total Leaving Program	817	3201	263	458	1604
Graduates	675	3117	143	252	904
Medical out	99		13	27	28
Left program	43	84	107	179	672

ular prison but the shorter period of incarceration resulted in an overall cost savings (Aziz, 1988; Florida Department of Corrections, 1989). In Florida this cost savings was estimated to be \$1.1 million, and in New York the estimate was \$5.1 million for the first 321 inmates. Although this does not take into consideration the additional cost of the aftercare program in New York, it does appear to represent a relatively large cost savings.

There is also some research on individual level issues. Researchers in Louisiana found graduates of the shock programs had more positive social attitudes than those who dropped out and a comparison group in a regular prison (MacKenzie & Shaw, 1990). The offenders felt positive about their experience in the program and their future. Inmates completing the shock program in New York were found to have gained more or at least as much in educational scores as comparison groups who had been in prison longer (Aziz, 1988).

The most often requested statistics are the recidivism rates of graduates of these programs. Some states have reported data on recidivism for shock graduates and comparison groups. Few of the researchers have completed statistical tests, and they caution readers about drawing definitive conclusions before more data can be tabulated. Shown in table 5 are the estimated recidivism rates of the early releasees from four shock programs. The return to prison rates for the shock offenders were higher for the shock graduates in Georgia (no significance tests), while in Florida and New York the rates are lower or approximately the same. There are no significant differences between shock graduates and a parole comparison group on rearrests or failures in Louisiana, nor between shock graduates and proba-

tioners for rearrests (MacKenzie, 1989). However, the probationers failed (absconded, jailed, or revoked) less often than the shock graduates.

To our knowledge no empirical research has yet been completed on public attitudes toward these programs. Anecdotally, from new reports and interviews there is the appearance that the public is supportive, but whether this support is because of the punishment or therapeutic nature of the programs is uncertain. Intensive interviews with those who are associated in some way with the programs have, in general, indicated positive attitudes. Reportedly employers prefer to have these offenders because they have good work skills; parents and relatives appreciate the close support and contact with parole agents; corrections officers like the discipline and close interaction with the inmates; dropouts and returnees say they would recommend that program for other offenders. There is also little research on the aspect of prison management or control. However, there is little doubt after viewing these programs that the staff members have more control of offenders in the shock programs than they do of offenders in a regular prison.

Summary

In this article the components of shock incarceration programs were described. The survey of state jurisdictions indicated that approximately 54 percent of the state jurisdictions may have shock programs in the near future. Although the programs all emphasize strict rules and discipline and require physical training and drills, they differ in other ways. These differences are expected to result in differences in the success or failure of programs in reaching their goals.

Both the advocates and opponents of shock incarceration programs are frequently uninformed

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED RECIDIVISM RATES OF EARLY RELEASEES FROM SHOCK INCARCERATION

State	Release Period*	Percent Returned		
		<u>Shock</u>	<u>Parole Comparison</u>	<u>Probation Comparison</u>
Georgia	1 year	27.1	22.7	
	2 "	39.5	38.3	
	3 "	46.1	44.7	
Florida	1 "	9.1	17.3	
	2 "	18.9	21.4	
New York	1 "	23.0	28.0	
	1 "	19.8 (revoked any reason)	18.5	
Louisiana	9 months	21.1 (abscond/jailed/ revoked)	24.7	12.8
	9 months	24.5 (arrested)	22.5	22.3
National (Young Parolees)	1 year (rearrests)		32.0	
	1 year (reincarcerated)		19.0	

*Return to prison rates unless otherwise noted.

Note: Information is taken from Georgia Department of Corrections, 1989; Florida Department of Corrections, 1989; NY Division of Parole, 1989a; NY Department of Correctional Services, 1989; MacKenzie, 1989; Beck & Shipley, 1987.

about the components of these programs. Those who view the program as a get-tough punishment frequently do not realize that many shock programs incorporate rehabilitation activities. What is surprising about these programs is the support and excitement of the staff and inmates. Even those who violate parole and are returned to prison after graduating from a program report that the experience was valuable. To our knowledge it is very unusual for releasees from regular prison to feel their time in prison has been valuable (Goodstein & Wright, 1989).

At this point there is little empirical evidence to help us make decisions about how successful these programs are in reaching the identified goals. Opponents of these programs frequently cite problems that may occur such as staff abuse of inmates or net widening. We have tried to show how such issues are being (or could be) empirically studied. It is our perspective that any prison holds the potential for abuse of inmates. Whether abuse occurs can be studied and possibly prevented.

Furthermore, can the boot camp atmosphere (the punishment) be combined with rehabilitation activities so that the result is a constructive punishment? Once the offender has received his or

her punishment (time in boot camp) will the public be more willing to fund aftercare programs that help the offender during community supervision? Whether the punishment fulfills the public's desire for retribution can be asked as an empirical question.

These issues should be separated from philosophical concerns such as whether nonviolent offenders should ever be incarcerated. One philosophical issue that should be discussed regarding these programs is whether the boot camp atmosphere of these programs is a fair and just punishment. And, is this desire for retribution a legitimate request that should be fulfilled? Or should male-oriented programs such as boot camps be replaced with more benevolent programs emphasizing more "so-called 'female traits' (e.g., sensitivity) (Morash & Rucker, 1990)" (Harris, 1989).

Should these nonviolent offenders spend longer periods of time in a regular prison where there are few constructive activities available, or would it be better to punish them for a short period of time in a boot camp prison? Can this "punishment" be combined with rehabilitation activities to create a constructive punishment? These are philosophical questions that should be discussed.

Knowledge of the components of these programs and how they operate will make the philosophical debates more meaningful.

NOTES

¹From the number of inquiries we have received about shock incarceration we anticipate that these numbers are rapidly increasing in both state and county jurisdictions.

²Cost prohibited us from including all states with programs in the multi-site study.

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