INMATE ATTITUDE CHANGE DURING INCARCERATION:

A COMPARISON OF BOOT CAMP AND TRADITIONAL PRISON

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Researchers from each state involved in the multi-site study of shock incarceration met to plan the evaluation. This was a collaborative effort. State researchers responsible for data collection, and in some states, data analysis included the following: Robert Kreigner and Kenneth Baugh, Jr., Florida Department of Corrections; Judy Schiff, Judith Hadley, Charlotte Beard, and Gerald Flowers, Georgia Department of Corrections; Jean S. Wall, Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections; Cheryl Clark, and David Aziz, New York State Department of Correctional Services; Thomas J. Herzog, New York State Division of Parole; Francis Ferrari, Michelle Minietta, and Kelly Menifee Lindley, Oklahoma Department of Corrections; Robert McManus, South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardon Services; Sammie Brown, South Carolina Department of Corrections; Anthony Fabelo, Nancy Arrigona, and Lisa Riechers, Texas Criminal Justice Policy Council.

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Abstract

Attitudes toward the program and antisocial attitudes of offenders serving time in shock incarceration programs in seven states were compared to similar offenders serving time in traditional prisons. Attitudes were measured once soon after offenders arrived at the prison and again near the end of the shock program. Despite large differences among the states in the shock programs and the inmates the results were surprisingly consistent. While in the shock program inmates became more positive about the program, in contrast offenders serving time in prison did not become more positive about their experience. Both groups became less antisocial over time. Results do not support the hypothesis that shock incarceration programs will have a negative effect on inmates' attitudes.

INMATE ATTITUDE CHANGE DURING INCARCERATION: A COMPARISON OF BOOT CAMP AND TRADITIONAL PRISON

Shock incarceration programs, otherwise known as boot camp prisons, have spread rapidly throughout the nation. At last count there were more than 41 programs for adults in 25 state jurisdictions, totaling over 6,000 beds. Boot camps involve short terms of incarceration, meaning that a relatively large number of offenders could potentially enter and exit the program in a one year period. The development of these programs has not been without controversy. Questions arise about confrontation and yelling at inmates, "tearing" inmates down, punishment procedures, and the theoretical basis of the programs. One concern has been that offenders will leave prison more alienated and antisocial because of the program (Morash and Rucker, 1990). Advocates of the programs and staff working in many of the programs disagree with these negative views. They argue that the programs have positive influences on offenders' behavior and attitudes.

Since Clemmer published his book The Prison Community (1940), numerous articles and books have been published on prison life and the impact of traditional prisons on individual inmates (Goodstein & Wright, 1989). Much of the research examining the effects of incarceration on inmates has focused on the mechanisms that promote the development of antisocial attitudes. Two models have been proposed to explain the antisocial attitudes of prisoners. One, the deprivation model, asserts that these attitudes develop in response to environmental conditions. In contrast with the

deprivation model, the importation model proposes that these attitudes reflect the experiences offenders had prior to prison; hence, the attitudes are "imported" into prison (Irwin, 1970).

According to the deprivation model there are unique features of the prison environment that negatively influence inmates' behavior and attitudes (Goodstein and Wright, 1989). As a result, inmates form a normative system often called the inmate code that enables them to "reject the rejecters." The inmate code is reflected in prisonized attitudes that are anti-staff and anti-prison. Such attitudes are thought to be particularly problematic because they conflict with positive behavior and motivation in correctional programs. In general, inmates become more prisonized as time passes in prison and inmates who are incarcerated in facilities that emphasize custody more than treatment have more prisonized attitudes (Feld, 1981).

In support of the importation model is research indicating an association between the pre-prison characteristics of prisoners and the level of prisonization. This association suggests that such attitudes may be brought into the prison setting rather than developed in response to the deprivations suffered in prison.

Carroll (1983) proposes that there is an interaction between facility type and pre-prison characteristics. In reviewing research examining attitudes he concludes that the extraprison variables more strongly influence attitudes in treatment oriented prisons, but in more secure prisons where deprivations are greater these imported variables are less important and all offenders

become more prisonized. Thus, the research suggests that these negative attitudes are both imported into prison and developed as a result of deprivations. In prisons that emphasize custody, prisonized attitudes may be more apt to develop as a function of the prison environment.

The impact of shock incarceration on the attitudes of inmates is as yet unknown. One study of attitude change during a shock program found that offenders in the Louisiana program became more positive about the program during the first three months and also became less antisocial (MacKenzie and Shaw, 1990). However, shock incarceration programs vary greatly. Although they primarily target low risk offenders, some select offenders who would not otherwise have been sentenced to prison while others select only those who are prison-bound. The programs also differ in program components that would be expected to differentially affect inmates. For example, the shock incarceration program developed in New York provides an intensive daily schedule of substance abuse treatment, academic education and encounter groups. Other programs, like the early Georgia program emphasize hard work, military drill, physical training and discipline. In programs such as Georgia's, little or no time is devoted to treatment, counseling or education.

In brief, if the boot camp environment with its strict rules, discipline, and regimentation is considered to be custody oriented than we would expect increased prisonization and antisocial attitudes. On the other hand, because some programs provide intensive treatment the impact on attitudes may be very different;

in such situations inmates may not become more antisocial and prisonized.

A frequent assumption that is made regarding the prisonization literature is that the pains of imprisonment will be accompanied by the harms of imprisonment. That is, it is assumed that the pains of imprisonment lead to more prisonized attitudes and either as a result of these attitudes or because of the pains, prison has a negative impact on offenders. However, recent reviews of the prison adjustment research suggests that prisons are not particularly harmful (Goodstein and Wright, 1989; Bukstel and Kilman, 1980; Bonta and Gendreau, 1987) and many offenders attempt to use the time in prison constructively (Goodstein and Lutze, 1989).

Even if certain types of facilities cause prisonization this does not necessarily mean that the result will have a long term negative impact on inmates. Most prisonization research has focused fairly directly on attitudes towards the prison, staff and prison programs. These attitudes may be a short term response to deprivations but this does not mean that offenders generalize these attitudes to environments outside of prison.

A more destructive influence of prison may be the development (or exacerbation) of general antisocial attitudes. These attitudes may be more apt to be associated with criminal activities and poor adjustment after release from prison. In discussing the principles of effective rehabilitation, Andrews, Bonta and Hoge (1990) argue that effective programs target criminogenic needs or "the dynamic

attributes of offenders and their circumstances that, when changed, are associated with changes in the chances of recidivism (p.31). Most theories of crime support the criminogenic significance of criminal cognitions or attitudes. Furthermore, reviews of the evaluation literature indicate a positive association between antisocial attitudes and criminal activities (Jesness,1983,1985; Andrews et. al, 1990). If the boot camp prison experience, then, leads to increased antisocial attitudes, participants may have problems upon release from prison.

This study is designed to examine the impact of boot camp prisons on inmate attitudes (attitudes toward the program and antisocial attitudes) during incarceration. The attitudes of boot camp inmates are compared to the attitudes of samples of offenders who are serving time in traditional prisons. The attitudes and changes in attitudes over a three month time period are compared in a quasi-experimental pre- and post-test design within each state.

The study reported here is part of a larger multi-site study examining the impact of shock incarceration on individuals and correctional systems in seven different states: Florida (FL), Georgia (GA), Louisiana (LA), New York (NY), Oklahoma (OK), South Carolina (SC) and Texas (TX). Programs were specifically selected to vary on critical dimensions such as the emphasis placed on rehabilitation, the voluntary nature of the program and program difficulty -- dimensions that might be expected to have an impact on attitude change.

THE SEVEN SHOCK INCARCERATION PROGRAMS

In each of the seven shock programs studied, offenders were separated from general population inmates, there was a military atmosphere in the shock program with strict rules and discipline, and offenders were required to participate in drill and physical training. However, other differences among programs were substantial. The following sections include a brief description of each program and a comparison among programs in characteristics that distinguished these seven programs from each other (and others nationwide) when they were initially selected for participation in the study, e.g., eligibility criteria, voluntary participation, voluntary dropout, program length, etc. These are the characteristics expected to have the greatest impact on individual offenders.

Florida. In 1987, the Florida Department of Corrections (DOC) developed a shock incarceration program for offenders sentenced under the Youthful Offender Act (YOA) or designated a youthful offender by the DOC under the same act (FLDOC, 1989). In both instances, offenders must additionally meet the following program eligibility criteria: (1) no previous incarcerations in a state or Federal facility; (2) male less than 24 years of age; and (3) serving a sentence of ten years or less for other than a capital or life felony (Florida DOC, 1989). Further, eligible offenders cannot have any physical or mental limitations that would preclude full participation in strenuous physical activity. The Florida DOC may also screen offenders based on criminal history. Florida operates one shock program that houses up to 100 inmates. Offenders spend an average of 3.3 months (90 to 120 days) in the shock program. The program is located within a larger correctional facility, however, offenders are housed separately from the general population inmates. Upon release from shock, offenders typically receive regular supervision in the community.

Georgia. Developed in 1983, Georgia's shock incarceration program called the Special Alternative Incarceration Program (SAIP), was one of the first boot camp prisons in the nation (Flowers, Carr and Ruback, 1991). The program was developed to

target young and less serious offenders. To be eligible offenders (1) had to be males between 17 and 25 years of age at sentencing; (2) convicted of a felony, (3) have a sentence length of at least one year, and (4) have had no previous period of incarceration in an adult penal institution. Offenders have to be assessed for eligibility prior to receiving a judicial order to the program; eligible offenders are sentenced to the program as a condition of probation. At the time of this study GA had two boot camp prison programs with approximately 150 inmates. Offenders spend 3 months in the program. Upon release they return to the court where in most cases they are placed on probation. However, some shock releasees are given intensive probation supervision or are sent to a diversion center. Those who are dismissed from shock for misbehavior or other problems that prohibit participation (e.g., medical) must return to the court to be resentenced. During its first six years of operation (when it was selected for participation in the multi-site study), Georgia's programs were easily distinguishable from many other shock programs due to their almost exclusive focus on work (the programs have since been dramatically changed).

Louisiana. Louisiana's shock incarceration program, called IMPACT (Intensive Motivational Program of Alternative Correctional Treatment) is a two-phase program that consists of a period of 90 to 180 days (average=120 days) of incarceration followed by a minimum of six months of intensive parole supervision (LDPSC, 1987). Program eligibility criteria include the following: (1) conviction of an offense that carries parole eligibility; (2) conviction of a first felony offense; (3) commitment to the Department of Public Safety and Corrections for seven years or less; (4) recommendation for IMPACT by the Division of Probation and Parole (in a presentence investigation report, if recommendation is part of initial sentencing rather than probation revocation proceedings); and (5) recommendation for IMPACT by the sentencing court. Otherwise legally eligible offenders are denied entry into the program based on the following list of suitability criteria: (1) age of 40 years of older; (2) pending undisposed felony or misdemeanor charges; (3) conviction of a sex offense against children or sex offense accompanied by violent behavior (sex offenders who have committed less serious sex offenses are not automatically excluded); (4) prior conviction of felony; (5) a mental or physical health problem that would preclude full participation in institutional shock or in a subsequent period of intensive community supervision; (6) personal history revealing significant, long term history of violent behavior; and lastly (7) overt homosexuality (these criteria have since been revised). Offenders may be discharged for misbehavior, poor progress, problems (e.g., medical) or they may voluntarily request to leave. In all of these cases they are required to serve their sentence in a traditional prison until paroled by the parole board. Those who successfully complete the program are paroled and begin intensive supervision in the community.

New York. The New York state shock incarceration program is the largest in the nation (NYDCS and NYDOP, 1992). Program capacity has increased from 250 beds at the program's inception in 1987, to 1,500 beds (3,000 annual capacity) approximately four years later. Beyond the common core of military-style discipline, training, and hard work, New York's shock program is noteworthy because it is structured as a therapeutic community and because it heavily emphasizes alcohol and substance abuse treatment. The program also provides intensive aftercare upon release. Offenders spend 180 days in the program before being released to intensive supervision in the community. The primary legal eligibility criteria for offenders include: (1) sentenced to an indeterminate term of imprisonment; (2) less than 30 years of age; (3) eligible for release on parole within three years; and (4) between the ages of 16 and 30 when the crime was committed. Further, offenders convicted of the following crimes are deemed ineligible: (1) violent felony offense; (2) an A-1 felony offense; (3) manslaughter in the second degree or criminally negligent homicide; (4) rape in the second or third degree, sodomy in the third degree, attempted rape in the second degree; and (5) any escape or absconding offense. Lastly, also rendered ineligible are offenders who fail to receive physical or psychological clearances or offenders with prior felony convictions that resulted in an indeterminate prison sentence. Inmates 26 years and older must meet additional eligibility requirements.[1] In addition to legal eligibility criteria all offenders regardless of age must also meet suitability criteria developed by the NYDOCS. Suitability criteria impose further restrictions based on the following: (1) medical or psychiatric qualifications; (2) security classification; and (3) criminal history. Furthermore, inmates with outstanding felony warrants or disciplinary records or inmates whose alien status is unclear or would render them deportable are not permitted to participate in the shock program.

Oklahoma. Oklahoma's shock incarceration program called the Regimented Inmate Discipline Program (RID) was developed by the Oklahoma Department of Corrections (DOC) in response to the Non-Violent Intermediate Offender Act (NIO) passed in 1983 and its replacement in 1988, the Delayed Sentencing Act. (The RID program was established in response to the legislation and, therefore it continued to operate without interruption or change.) The NIO Act called for individual treatment/accountability plans for offenders between the ages of 18 and 22 who were convicted of non-violent crimes. This study focuses primarily on the original RID program implemented in 1984 although it should be noted that Oklahoma has recently implemented additional programs. RID inmates spend between 90 and 180 days in the program. An eligible offender must

[1]The program is still evolving, the age limit has been increased to include otherwise eligible inmates through age 34 and additional conditions for older inmates have been eliminated.

be a male under the age of 25 who is serving a sentence for a non-violent offense (Oklahoma DOC, 1990). While the shock program is located within a larger prison facility, inmates are housed separately from regular population inmates. Release supervision varies depending on sentence; some shock graduates are discharged while others are released to half-way houses, community correction centers or community supervision. Offenders can enter the RID program in several ways. First, offenders who are sentenced to the DOC by the court and are deemed eligible for the program at the Assessment and Reception Center may be sent to RID. Judges can also sentence eligible offenders directly to RIC by means of the Delayed Sentencing Act or the 120 Day Judicial Review law that permits the sentencing court to delay for up to 120 days the sentencing of offenders between the ages of 18 and 21 (or younger offenders certified to stand trail as an adult) who have not been convicted of two or more felonies or certain violent offenses. After completing the RID program the offender is returned to the court for sentencing. The judge may then either defer judgement, incarcerate, or suspend the sentence in whole or part.

South Carolina. Shock incarceration or shock probation, as it was formerly called in South Carolina (the program was recently renamed shock incarceration), was developed as part of the Omnibus Criminal Justice Improvement Act of 1986, signed into law on June 3, 1986 (S.C. Code Ann. Sect. 24-21-475). The enabling legislation mandated that the South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardon Services (SCDPPPS) and the South Carolina Department of Corrections (SCDC) jointly run the program. In June, 1990 the original legislation was repealed and replaced by shock incarceration legislation (S.C. Ann. Code Sect. 24-13-1310) (SRC,1990). The intent of the new legislation was not to change the operation of the program as implemented, but to alter the method by which offenders are selected for participation. Instead of allowing judges to sentence directly to the program (sometimes with a recommendation from SCDPPPS) as was the practice prior to the enactment of the new legislation, the new legislation empowered the SCDC to select participants from offenders sentenced to the SCDC. Essentially, control over the placement of offenders in the program shifted from the judiciary (and the SCDPPPS) to the SCDC.[2] The purpose of the new legislation was to maximize the ability of the shock program to reduce prison overcrowding. Inmates (before and after the legislative change) serve a total of 90 days in the shock program. The eligibility and suitability criteria of the shock incarceration program differ only slightly from the original shock probation program criteria. Eligibility requirements that have by and large remained unchanged include: (1) eligible for

[2]The first male offenders selected for participation in the program by the SCDC entered the program in October 1990 and the first female inmates so selected entered the program at the end of July 1990.

parole in 2 years, or if unsentenced, convicted of an offense that carries a sentence of at least five years (or returned for probation violation); (2) offenders convicted of violent offenses (as defined by the Omnibus Crime Control Act, section 16-1-60) such as homicide or criminal sexual conduct are ineligible; however, offenders convicted of offenses that are violent in nature such as assault and battery, but are not classified as violent by the Omnibus Crime Control Act are still considered eligible; (3) physically and mentally capable of participation; (4) no previous incarceration in a state correctional facility or shock probation/incarceration program (formerly, a suitability criteria); and (5) sentence that does not specifically prohibit shock incarceration (SCDC, 1991). One minor difference in the eligibility criteria is the age limit. Participation in South Carolina's shock probation program was restricted to offenders between the ages of 17 and 24. The shock incarceration program presently allows offenders 25 years and younger at the time of admission to participate. Other suitability criteria recently developed by the SCDC to screen offenders include: (1) offenders may have no major detainers, "wanteds", or "holds pending"; (2) information offered by law enforcement officials and victims is taken into consideration; and (3) offenders can provide an in-state address for parole. Participation in the original shock probation program was not voluntary. Offenders who are sentenced directly to SCDC and are subsequently determined to be eligible for the program must voluntarily agree to participate and complete an application for admission. Offenders, on the other hand, who are sentenced to SCDC for evaluation and then returned to the court for final disposition may be forced to participate by virtue of a shock incarceration sentence. Once admitted to the shock incarceration program, inmates retain the right to drop-out voluntarily. Since the new shock incarceration legislation became effective, program activities have generally remained unchanged. However, an increased emphasis has been placed on education and the expansion of the shock program to include release preparation and adjustment and crisis counseling.

Texas. On January 16, 1989 the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) opened the doors to its first shock incarceration program called the Special Alternative Incarceration Program (SAIP) (TDC, 1989). Because of the large numbers of drug-involved offenders in Texas, the TDCJ introduced an enhanced substance abuse component into the shock program in June 1990 funded, in part, by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), U.S. Department of Justice. Inmates spend a minimum of 75 days to a maximum of 90 days in the shock program. In order to participate in the shock program, offenders are required to meet the eligibility criteria established by the Texas legislature. The eligibility criteria include the following: (1) male offender between the ages of 17 and 25; (2) no prior prison incarceration for a felony conviction; (3) eligible for probation (sentence must be ten years or less and must not include an aggravated crime as defined by law); and (4) no physical

or mental health limitations that would preclude participation in strenuous physical activity. Additional suitability criteria were developed by the TDCJ Institutional Division to screen potential shock participants. These include the following: (1) no history of assaultive behavior; (2) no history of escapes or attempted escapes; and (3) no outstanding detainers. Prior to June 1990 and the development of enhanced substance abuse treatment, 2 hours per week were additionally devoted to substance abuse education and treatment and another 2 hours to "life skills" training. Since the development of the enhanced substance abuse component, all inmates are required to spend approximately three hours per week involved in drug education during the first five weeks of the program (total of 16 hours) (Phase I). Phase II of the enhanced substance abuse component is entirely voluntary. Inmates who volunteer for the program spend approximately four hours per week (total of 20 hours) involved in drug treatment activities.

Comparison Among Programs. The type of offenders admitted to the programs were expected to differ due to differences in responsibility for selecting participants (see Table 1). In Georgia and Texas the responsibility for entry decisions is that of the judge and offenders who are evaluated as unsuitable or who drop out return to the court for resentencing. In contrast in New York, Louisiana and Florida offenders are sentenced to prison and if they are dismissed from the program they serve their sentence in prison. Oklahoma and South Carolina have a combination of decision makers.

In all programs except in oklahoma offenders have to be physically and mentally able to participate fully in the program; in Oklahoma allowances are made if the offenders are unable to fully participate (activities are individualized). All seven programs have upper age limits for eligibility. Twenty five is the upper age limit in FL, GA, OK and TX, in N.Y. it is 29, in LA 39, and in SC it is 24. Most programs target offenders who did not have an extensive criminal history. In all but OK, offenders who were eligible could not previously have spent time in prison.

As shown in Table 1, state programs differed in the percent of entrants dismissed, the voluntary nature of the programs and the number of hours of the day that were devoted to rehabilitation. The number of hours devoted to different types of activities varies profoundly among programs. Some programs emphasize treatment such as education, counseling or vocational training during the time the offenders are incarcerated.[3] Inmates incarcerated in New York's or Louisiana's programs, for example, spend a great deal more time in rehabilitative activities such as counseling or education. In contrast, inmates in Georgia and Texas (pre-enhanced) spend a very short period of time per day involved in rehabilitative activities. The proportion of the day devoted to rehabilitative activities compared to work and drill/ceremony is shown in Table 1. Ranking of the states clearly demonstrates that New York, Louisiana, Oklahoma and new South Carolina seem to place the greatest emphasis on rehabilitation as opposed to work, while the reverse is true of Texas (pre-enhanced) and Georgia.

Other program differences worthy of mention here include voluntary entry and voluntary exit (see Table 1). In the following four states offenders do not volunteer to enter and they cannot make the choice to voluntarily drop out: (1) Florida; (2) Oklahoma; (3) old South Carolina; and (4) Texas (pre-enhanced and enhanced). In these states, program dismissals for disciplinary or medical reasons range from 8.4% in Oklahoma to 51.5% in Florida (see Table

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[3]Work in these programs was physical labor and not work-skills training for post-release employment.

1). In the remaining states (Georgia, Louisiana, New York, and new South Carolina) participation is voluntary. Inmates in these states with the exception of Georgia may also dropout of the program at any time. (Shock inmates in Georgia do not retain the right to dropout of the program.) Dropout rates in Louisiana and New York -- entirely voluntary programs -- are 43.3% and 31.3%, respectively (dropout rates were not available for new South Carolina). Such a large percentage of dismissals may attest to the challenging or arduous nature of the program. Dismissal rates seem to be related to who is responsible for placement. In the states where the judge has the most control over placement of offenders into the programs (GA, OK, S.C., TX) dismissal rates are much lower (2.8 to 16%) than in the programs where the DOC makes placement decisions (31.3 to 51.1).

METHODOLOGY

The prosocial and program attitudes of offenders incarcerated in the seven state shock incarceration programs were measured and compared to the attitudes of demographically similar inmates incarcerated in traditional state prisons within each state. Sample differences in attitudes as well as attitude changes over time were assessed. The general methodology is described here but because there were wide variations among states, more detailed state-by-state descriptions are given in the appendix.

In order to compare offenders who received the two different correctional treatments -- shock incarceration and incarceration in a traditional prison -- a quasi-experimental pre-and post-test

design was employed. The quasi-experimental pre- and post-test design was selected because random assignment of subjects to either a boot camp prison or a traditional prison -- a "true" experimental design -- was precluded. Use of a true experimental design is clearly preferable because threats to the internal validity of the experiment are controlled, permitting researchers to draw confident causal conclusions. The use of a quasi-experimental design -- sometimes considered a compromise between internal and external validity -- requires careful examination of plausible rival hypotheses. The pre- and post quasi-experimental design, however, is particularly strong in that it protects against, or allows testing of, the following threats to internal validity: history, maturation, testing, instrumentation, selection, and mortality (Campbell & Stanley, 1963).

SUBJECTS

A sample of "regular" prison inmates was compared to a sample of shock incarceration inmates. Regular prison inmates were selected to be as similar as possible to shock incarceration inmates in terms of individual demographic characteristics, criminal history, and instant offense characteristics. In selecting the prison comparison sample, all states required that prison incarcerates meet the legal eligibility and suitability criteria of the shock incarceration program. Legal eligibility and suitability criteria typically limit participation in shock incarceration to young, non-violent offenders without an extensive

criminal history. Although the original research design stipulated that samples of both shock incarceration and prison inmates consist of 100 subjects, final sample sizes varied. Variation in sample sizes stemmed mainly from sample attrition (e.g., parole or transfer out of state) and the difficultly experienced in some states of identifying prison offenders for the comparison sample who were eligible for shock incarceration. There were some differences among states in comparison samples. FL, GA, and LA had one sample of prisoners as a comparison group. N.Y. had two groups of prisoners: (1) those who refused to enter shock and (2) those who were legally eligible but who were deemed unacceptable at the reception center. S.C. had two shock samples of both males and females: (1) samples from the old shock program, and (2) samples from the new shock program. OK and TX did not have prison comparison samples. OK had only one shock sample while TX had two shock samples: (1) a sample taken prior to the implementation of the enhanced substance abuse treatment, and (2) a sample taken after the implementation of the treatment program.

PROCEDURE

Two types of data were collected in the study, official "record" data and inmate self-report. Record data was collected by site researchers from department records. A self-report questionnaire was administered to both samples once at the beginning of offenders' period of incarceration and a second time approximately 90 days later. Whenever possible, shock

incarceration inmates completed the Time 1 questionnaire in the Department of Corrections diagnostic center immediately prior to entering the shock program. At a minimum, the Time 1 questionnaire was completed within the first two weeks of the program. The comparison group, too, completed the Time 1 questionnaire in a diagnostic center or as soon as possible after beginning their prison term.

In general, the Time 2 questionnaire was administered 90 days later, just prior to graduation from the shock program for the shock samples. Comparison groups also completed the Time 2 questionnaire after serving approximately 90 days in prison except in N.Y. The N.Y. program lasted 180 days so offenders were tested the second time after 140 to 180 days.

INSTRUMENTS

A "record data" instrument was used by site researchers to collect official record data. To the extent possible within each state, data were collected on age, race, sex, offense type, sentence length, sentence type (probation violation versus new crime conviction), and prior adult felony arrests and convictions.

The self-report questionnaire completed at Time 1 consisted of 2 instruments -- the Inmate Self Report History and the Inmate Self Report Attitude. Only the Inmate Self Report Attitude -- used to assess changes in attitudes over time -- was administered at Time 2.

The Inmate Self-Report Personal History elicited information

on offender employment, school attendance (at time of arrest), juvenile criminal history and age-at-first arrest.

The Inmate Self Report Attitude instrument consisted of 2 summated scales -- a thirty true-false item scale from the Jesness Inventory called Antisocial Attitudes (Jesness, 1983; Jesness & Wedge, 1985) and a program attitudes scale. The Antisocial Attitudes scale was developed to measure antisocial attitudes, specifically attitudes towards police or authority, level of maturity, and degree of social deviance. This scale has been found to be associated with recidivism and short-term change.

The second scale consisted of 12 Likert-type items (strongly agree to strongly disagree) developed for use in Louisiana (MacKenzie & Shaw, 1990; MacKenzie, Shaw, & Gowdy, 1990) that measured the degree to which offenders expect their period of incarceration to motivate them to change in a positive manner (e.g., I am becoming more mature here.) and the belief that the program/prison will help them make positive changes (e.g., This place will help me learn self-discipline.) Note that the questions were written to apply either to shock or prison inmates.

In computing scale scores, those subjects who failed to answer at least 80% of the items contributing to the total scale score were set to missing and not included in the analyses. Those who answered between 80% and 99% of the items were included in the analyses. To compute their total scale score, the average value of the non-missing items was assigned to the missing items for each case. The total scale score was then calculated.

Factor Analyses of Scales. Factor analyses of the Program Attitude scale (see Appendix) were completed in each state. An examination of scree plots and eigenvalues indicated one major factor in most states[4], there generally seemed to be one major factor. Cronbach's alpha coefficients were: .86 (FL), .74 (GA), .85 (LA), .84 (N.Y.), .80 (OK), .76 (S.C.), .43 (TX).

Because the antisocial attitudes scale was developed previously by Jesness and colleagues, it was not factor analyzed. Results of the validity and reliability analyses are reported in Jesness (1983) and Jesness and Wedge (1985). Cronbach's alphas were: .77 (FL), .80 (GA), .79 (LA), .80 (N.Y.), .75 (OK), .73 (S.C.), .75 (TX).

SAMPLE COMPARISONS

Florida Samples. In comparison to the shock entrants the prisoners were convicted of other violent crimes while shock entrants were convicted of burglary and drug offenses, $X^2(5)=13.05, p<.02$ (see Table 2). A higher percent of the shock entrants entered as probation violators, $X^2(1)=4.99, p<.03$, and self report data indicated that more of the prison sample had been attending school at the time of arrest, $X^2(1)=4.96, p<.03$. There were no other significant differences between shock entrants and the prison sample.

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[4]In some states two factors were indicated but results of analyses using the separate factors were so similar to analyses using the total scale that reporting the results did not seem warranted.

Of the 102 shock entrants, 39.2 percent dropped out before completing the program. The only significant difference between dropouts and completers was in age; completers were older, $t(100)=2.0, p<.04$.

Georgia Samples. The shock completers were compared to the prisoners because only 5 shock entrants dropped out of the program (for medical reasons) and only Time 1 data were available for them. In comparison to the completers the prisoners had substantially longer sentences, $t'(69)=13.24, p<.0001$ (see Table 3). This was because the shock program is considered a condition of probation; time on probation is not counted as part of the total sentence length. The two samples also differed significantly in terms of offense type, $X^2(6)=31.17, p<.0001$. More of the prison sample were incarcerated for offenses classified as "other violent." In contrast, shock completers were more commonly convicted of burglary and drug offenses. Official criminal history information was not available and the analysis of self-report criminal history did not reveal sample differences.

Louisiana Samples. Shock entrants and prison inmates were similar in terms of demographic and offense characteristics (Table 4). The only significant difference between the two samples was age; prison inmates were older, $t(243)=3.78, p<.0002$. More of the prison sample were employed at arrest, $X^2(1)=9.52, p<.002$.

The major difference between shock completers and shock dropouts was sentence length. On average, shock completers had significantly longer sentences $X^2(170)=2.8, p<.006$.

New York Samples. Shock entrants were more likely to be Hispanic than shock ineligible inmates and less likely to be black or white, $X^2(2)=6.26, p<.04$ (Table 5). Shock-ineligibles were significantly more likely to have reported a prior incarceration in a juvenile facility, $X^2(1)=4.68, p<.03$.

There were no differences between shock entrants and shock-refusals. On average, shock dropouts reported more incarcerations as juveniles, $X^2(1)=4.68, p<.03$ (Table 6).

Oklahoma Sample. Different data collection instruments were used in OK so variables discussed in other states are not available in Oklahoma (see Table 7). Comparable variables were substituted when possible to describe the shock sample; no comparison sample data were available.

South Carolina: Male Samples. A greater percentage of old shock inmates were white, $X^2(2)=18.28, p<0001$ and they were significantly younger than new shock inmates, $F(2,297)=9.32, p<.05$ (Table 8). The average sentence length of the old shock sample was significantly longer than the new shock sample, and significantly shorter than the prison sample, $F(2,298)=43.19, p<.000$. The samples also differed in terms of conviction offense, $X^2(10)=20.42, p<.03$. A greater percentage of prison inmates were incarcerated for offenses termed "other violent." Also, new shock offenders were less commonly incarcerated for burglary than the other two samples, but more commonly incarcerated for drug offenses and offenses classified as "other". Old shock completers were also significantly more likely to be incarcerated as a result of a

probation violation rather than a new crime, $X^2(2)=8.02$, $p<.018$. The three samples differed significantly in adult felony arrests, $F(2,286)=31.35$, $p<.0001$ and in adult felony convictions, $F(2,244)=22.33, p.<0001$. A greater percentage of the prison sample inmates reported juvenile arrests as compared to both old and new shock inmates, $X^2(2)=8.13, p<.02$. The prison sample also reported being incarcerated in a juvenile facility more frequently than both shock samples, $X^2(2)=9.59, p<.008$. New shock inmates reported being older at first arrest than both the old shock sample and the prison sample, $F(2,290)=9.72, p<.0001$.

In sum, new shock inmates appeared to be more similar to prison inmates than to old shock inmates as would be expected given the legislative change in S.C. that was intended to target more serious and prison-bound offenders. New shock and prison inmates, for example, were more alike demographically, in terms of both race and age. They were also less commonly returned for probation violations and had fewer prior arrests and convictions in comparison to the old shock sample.

South Carolina: Female Samples. Comparisons of the two samples revealed that the female samples are quite similar with the notable exception of sentence length; the sentence length of the old shock sample was significantly longer than that of the new shock sample, $t(34)=4.05, p<.0003$) (Table 9).

South Carolina: Male to Female Comparisons. Female and male old shock offenders were quite similar in terms of demographics, offense characteristics, and criminal history. Female inmates

were, however, significantly older at time of entry into the program, $t(108)=2.71, p<.008$. Female and male new shock inmates, too, were very similar in terms of demographics and offense characteristics. The samples differed, however, when official criminal history was examined. Male inmates had more frequently been arrested for felonies as adults, $t(36)2.99, p<.005$.

Texas Samples. Completers and non-completers, in both the pre-enhanced and enhanced groups, were very similar demographically (Table 10). The only difference was that a greater percentage of pre-enhanced non-completers reported juvenile arrests, $X^2(1)=5.57, p<.02$, and incarceration in a juvenile facility, $X^2(1)=8.55, p<.003$. The only differences between the pre-enhanced and enhanced groups were age, $t(419)=2.02, p<.04$, and time in a juvenile facility, $X^2(1)=4.3, p<.04$. The pre-enhanced completers were older and more of them had spent time in a juvenile facility.

Summary. One purpose of comparing the samples was to assess whether the prison and shock incarceration samples were reasonably equivalent at the outset of the study. That is, did the sample selection procedures (although not random) identify groups of offenders who were similar prior to the imposition of the treatment condition (shock incarceration program or prison). While the examination revealed some significant differences between samples, the samples appeared to differ in an almost predictable manner. Indeed, when shock samples differed from prison samples on particular variables, the direction of the difference with few exceptions was the same. Thus, for example, when samples differed

significantly on age, shock inmates were younger.

The observed pattern appears to reflect reality. Shock inmates in fact would be expected to be slightly younger than prison inmates, convicted of burglary and drug offenses, and returned for probation violations. Shock programs were intended to target youthful, non-violent offenders. Sample selection procedures used in the study were also intended to select prison inmates with the same characteristics and were largely successful. However, such offenders are not as commonly sent to prison and sample differences may in part be a reflection of this. Thus, although sample selection procedures were intended to select similar offenders thereby maximizing internal validity, the pattern of differences between samples can be argued to more accurately reflect everyday reality, thereby increasing the external validity of the study.

To conclude, though sample differences have been emphasized, it remains that prison and shock incarceration samples were more similar than they were different. By and large, samples did not differ on demographic variables or the majority of criminal history variables -- variables that might be expected to have the most impact on study results. Sample differences on offense characteristics (e.g., offense type and sentence type) were more common. These differences are perhaps more predictable because shock incarceration programs generally select offenders convicted of non-violent offenses (i.e., burglary and drug offenses). Additionally, some programs target substance abusers. While these

differences are informative, they are not expected to directly influence study conclusions.

Another important consideration is that of sample mortality. It is critical to determine whether offenders who dropped out of the shock program voluntarily (or were dismissed) differed in a systematic manner from those who completed the program? Also of concern is the analysis of shock incarceration sub-samples (i.e., shock completers and shock dropouts). At issue is whether the shock dropout sub-sample should be included in the analysis of shock inmates as a whole -- or alternatively -- analyzed separately as a distinct sample. On the one hand, it is argued that dropouts should be separated from analyses of shock completers because they failed to receive the "treatment", dropping out of the shock program before it could possibly have had any effect. In contrast, it is argued that shock dropouts and shock completers should be treated as one sample -- an approach used most commonly with experimental designs ("analyze as you randomize").

Here, when information was available on shock dropouts, separate analyses (demographic and attitude) were conducted. First, all shock entrants were compared to prison inmates. Then, shock completers were compared to shock dropouts. In some states, however, the percentage of shock dropouts was so small so as to preclude separate analyses. In those cases, shock completers were compared to prison inmates.

Demographic comparisons of shock-completer and shock-dropout sub-samples were available in three states where relatively large

percentages of inmates failed to complete the shock program -- Florida, Louisiana, and New York. In states with small percentages of non-completers, such as Georgia, Oklahoma, and South Carolina (old and new), shock completer and shock dropout statistical comparisons were not possible either because the data were not available or the numbers were to small to make meaningful comparison. In Texas approximately 10% of each shock sample (pre-enhanced and enhanced) were dismissed from the program predominantly for medical reasons and comparisons were made between completers and noncompleters.

Shock completers and shock dropouts were examined in four states (Florida, Louisiana, New York, and Texas) on demographic, offense characteristics, and criminal history variables. To summarize, shock completers in Florida were older than shock dropouts, and less likely to have been attending school. In Louisiana, shock completers had longer sentences than shock dropouts. And in New York, shock completers appeared to have a less serious criminal record and were older at first arrest. In Texas the pre-enhanced non-completers reported a somewhat more serious juvenile history.

Differences between shock program completers and shock dropouts can be informative. In Louisiana, for example, sentence length helped to explain why some shock inmates chose to dropout and others not. Shock inmates with shorter sentences were more likely to dropout, presumably because they had less to lose. However, sample differences between shock completers and dropouts

may also have a more insidious effect. In New York, for example, shock dropouts were more apt to have a more serious criminal record and were younger at first arrest than shock completers. Consider the possibility, for example, that a more extensive criminal record is associated with antisocial attitudes. If this were true, inmates who complete the program could represent a biased sample of shock participants. As a result, the mean antisocial attitude score would appear to improve as a consequence of the program, where in reality the improvement is due simply to the fact that inmates who are more antisocial dropout.

While clearly speculative, the above example is illustrative of the dangers of sample mortality. The differences between shock completers and dropouts, however, were few and additionally were sometimes inconsistent across states.

An examination of the differences among shock inmates from different states on demographic, offense characteristics, and criminal history is another reflection of the considerable variation among state shock programs.

RESULTS

Separate repeated-measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) were completed to compare program and antisocial attitudes of shock entrants to prison comparison samples and -- where available -- to compare those who completed shock to those who dropped out in each state. Attitudes were examined as a function of Sample, Time, and the Sample x Time interaction. Results of the

analyses are described on a state-by-state basis below. The results are shown in Figures 1 and 2 and significance test results are shown in Tables 11 and 12.

Florida. Comparison of the mean program attitude scale scores of shock entrants and prison inmates revealed highly significant effects of Sample, Time and the Sample x Time interaction and significant Time and Sample x Time interaction effects when antisocial attitudes were examined. As shown in Figures 1 and 2, the shock offenders became more positive about the program from Time 1 to Time 2 and less antisocial. The prison sample did not change in program attitudes and became slightly less antisocial during the same time period.

Comparisons of shock completers and shock dropouts revealed Sample, Time and the Sample x Time interaction were significant on both the program attitude and antisocial scales. In general, shock completers developed more positive attitudes toward the program and less antisocial attitudes when compared to shock dropouts.

Georgia. The repeated measures analysis comparing shock completers to prisoners on program attitudes indicated significant differences in Sample, Time and the Sample x Time interaction. The shock completers developed more positive attitudes towards the program from Time 1 to Time 2; the prisoners in comparison did not change (see Figure 1). Examination of the antisocial attitude scores revealed only a significant difference in Time. Both the shock inmates and the prisoners became less antisocial during this time period (Figure 2).

Louisiana. The Sample x Time interaction for program attitudes was significant. Shock offenders became more positive about the program from Time 1 to Time 2 while the reverse was true of the prison sample (see Figure 1). In terms of antisocial attitudes, there was no Sample x Time interaction. Both samples became less antisocial over time (see Figures 2). The shock offenders were less antisocial than the prisoners at Time 1 and Time 2.

The analysis comparing shock completers to shock dropouts at Time 1 revealed no sample differences in program attitudes (only Time 1 data were available). However, there was a difference in antisocial attitudes; shock completers were less antisocial ($t_{196}=3.24$, $p<.0014$) than shock dropouts at Time 1 in the study.

New York. Shock entrants were compared to shock-ineligibles and shock-refused in separate analyses. The analysis examining program attitudes of shock entrants and shock ineligibles revealed a main effect of Sample and the Sample x Time interaction. The shock entrants became more positive about the program while shock ineligibles (serving time in prison) became less positive (see Figure 1). In the analysis of antisocial attitudes, the only significant factor was Time. Both the shock entrants and the ineligibles became less antisocial during the course of the program/prison (see Figure 2).

The comparison of shock entrants and shock-refused revealed a significant effect of Sample when program attitudes were examined; shock entrants had more positive attitudes towards their

experience. The analysis comparing shock entrants to the refusals in terms of antisocial attitudes indicated only a Time difference. Again, both samples became less antisocial during their time in prison.

When shock completers were compared to shock dropouts significant sample differences in program attitudes were found and the Sample x Time interaction effects were significant. In comparison to dropouts, shock completers were more positive about their experience and they became more positive over time. Dropouts on the other hand became less positive over time. Similarly, when antisocial attitudes were examined the effects of Sample, Time and the Sample x Time interaction were significant. Shock completers were less antisocial than shock dropouts at Time 1 and became less antisocial over the course of the program. Although shock dropouts also became slightly less antisocial over time, the magnitude of the change was not nearly as large.

Oklahoma. There was no prison comparison group in Oklahoma. A one-way ANOVA indicated that the shock entrants became more positive about the program and less antisocial while they were incarcerated.

South Carolina. Three male samples were examined -- old shock inmates, new shock inmates, and prison inmates (see section 2.6 for explanation). The program attitudes analyses revealed significant Sample and Sample x Time effects. Old shock inmates developed more positive attitudes over time while both new shock inmates and prison inmates developed less positive program

attitudes (see Figure 1). Old shock inmates and new shock inmates had similar scores at Time 1, both of which were higher than prison inmate scores.

Examination of antisocial attitudes, revealed a significant Time effect. Here, consistent with other state analyses, all three samples became less antisocial over time (see Figure 2).

Old shock inmates were also compared to new shock inmates separately. The results were similar to those discussed above. The effects of Sample and the Sample x Time interaction were significant for program attitudes. No differences were found in antisocial attitudes.

Examination of female shock inmates (old and new) revealed that the program attitudes of female shock inmates were similar at Time 1. The effect of Time was significant. Both samples developed more positive attitudes about the program over time. Female old and new shock inmates differed substantially in antisocial attitudes at Time 1. Old shock inmates were more antisocial at Time 1 than new shock samples. Both samples, though, became less antisocial over time.

Comparison of male old shock inmates and female old shock inmates on program attitudes revealed significant Sample and Time effects. Female old shock inmates entered the program at Time 1 with more positive attitudes than male old shock inmates. Both samples developed more positive attitudes over the course of the program. The same pattern was evident in the analysis of antisocial attitudes. Both Sample and Time effects were

significant. Female old shock inmates were less antisocial than male old shock inmates at Time 1 with both samples becoming less antisocial over time.

Lastly, female new shock inmates and male new shock inmates were examined. Interestingly, female new shock inmates entered the program with more positive attitudes toward the program than male inmates. Over the course of the program, they developed even more positive attitudes toward the program. The opposite was true of male new shock inmates who developed less positive attitudes toward the program (Sample X Time and Sample effects were significant). Female and male new shock inmates did not differ in terms of antisocial attitudes.

Texas. The analysis of program attitudes comparing the pre-enhanced and the enhanced shock samples revealed that only the effect of Time was significant. Both shock samples developed more positive program attitudes over the course of the program. The same was true of antisocial attitudes; only the effect of Time was significant. Both samples became less antisocial over the course of the program (see Figure 2).

Discussion

The seven shock programs examined in this study differed in major characteristics that would be expected to have an impact on the attitudes of participating offenders. For example, the percentage of shock entrants who dropped out or were dismissed from the programs varied greatly, ranging from 2.8% in Georgia to 51.5%

in Florida. Further, programs differed in whether participants voluntarily entered and whether they could exit at their own discretion. And finally, the emphasis on rehabilitation varied. In some programs offenders spent more than five hours per day in education, counseling or treatment programs, while in other programs offenders spent less than one hour per day.

Programs also differed in the type of offenders entering the programs, as shown by the characteristics of the samples. For example, in comparison to shock entrants in other states, Florida offenders appeared to be younger and had entered with more serious offenses. In New York, a larger proportion of shock entrants were convicted of drug crimes, and, in Louisiana and Texas, a large proportion of the entrants were probation violators. In addition, there were differences among offenders in self-report data. A higher proportion of the Florida offenders reported a history of criminal activity as juveniles and also being younger at age-at-first arrest.

Despite the large differences in the programs and the participants, the results of these analyses were surprisingly consistent. To summarize, all shock entrants developed more positive attitudes toward the program during their time in shock incarceration with the exception of "new" shock inmates in South Carolina.[5] In comparison to shock inmates, the attitudes of prison inmates toward their prison experience either remained the same or

[5] There were some coding problems with South Carolina "new" data that may account for the results. We have no other explanation for these results.

became more negative. This was supported statistically by the significant Sample x Time interaction found in all states in which shock samples were compared to prison samples and to dropouts with the exception of South Carolina and New York. Although there was no significant interaction in the comparisons of New York shock inmates with those who refused to participate the direction of the differences was similar.

Furthermore, in all states offenders became less antisocial during their period of incarceration both in shock and in prison; although the change was frequently not as large for prison inmates. The statistical results were also consistent. Time was significant in all comparisons of shock with prison inmates and, where available, dropouts; the interactions were not significant except in Florida and for New York dropouts where the only difference was that shock offenders made a proportionally greater change than prison inmates.

Our initial concern with this research was whether boot camp prisons had a negative impact on participating offenders. In other words, do offenders leave the boot camp more alienated and antisocial then before they entered? Or, while in the boot camp do offenders bond together and develop negative attitudes towards the program and staff? The results indicate that rather than becoming more alienated and antisocial, the reverse was true, these offenders became less so. There was no evidence from program attitudes that they became more prisonized. In fact, over time they became more positive about the staff and the program.

Surprisingly this was true of the programs that were voluntary, had a focus on rehabilitation and/or had high drop out rates as well as for programs that were nonvoluntary, had little in the way of rehabilitation and had few dropouts. These boot camp prisons varied greatly and yet the consistency of the results provides evidence that the offenders feel more positive about the program, in comparison to offenders spending time in prison.

Both the shock inmates and prison comparison samples became less antisocial during this period of time in prison. This supports previous research indicating that prisons may have some positive influence on some inmates (Goodstein and Wright, 1989; Bukstel and Kilman, 1980; Bonta and Gendreau, 1987).

In drawing conclusions from these results it is important to remember that these offenders (both samples) are different from the general prison population. On the whole, they are most likely to be convicted of less serious crimes. In fact, in some states, it is likely that many of the offenders would have received probation rather than prison if the boot camp had not been available. In addition, they probably have less extensive criminal histories and are somewhat younger. We point this out because their experiences in prison and changes in attitudes may not be characteristic of the general population prisoners. Because of the demographic characteristics, the prison comparison samples in this research may be low risk. Therefore, they may have had opportunities in prison such as movement to minimum security prisons or halfway houses or opportunities for jobs or treatment programs that would have been

unavailable to other offenders. These experiences may have led them to become less antisocial, even if they did not believe their experiences had been positive. (We do not have information on how these offenders spent their time in prison.)

None of the offenders we talked to thought that the boot camp was easy; this is expected given the living conditions, daily schedule of activities, early mornings, hard work and strict rules. Why did offenders develop these positive attitudes toward the staff and program, then? There are several possibilities. One possibility is a Hawthorne effect since these are highly visible programs and the participants knew they were being studied. Although this may explain the program attitudes, it does not explain why prisoners also became less antisocial while in prison.

Another possibility is that the boot camp programs had a committed staff who were working hard to have a positive impact on the participants and inmates recognized this. Our interviews with staff and inmates suggest that this may be influencing the inmates' program attitudes. Inmates often view staff as helpful and caring. Staff appear to be seriously concerned about the inmates. When these data were collected, the programs were highly visible and staff were vested in making the program successful. One wonders what will happen when these programs become larger and more institutionalized. The largest program in this study was New York and it stands out also as the program that has made a major investment in staff training and treatment programs. Therefore, it is hard to generalize as to what might happen with a program with

very different characteristics.

Both prisoners and boot camp participants became less antisocial during this time in prison. Thus, the short but intense boot camp program will reduce antisocial attitudes and behaviors as well as a similar term in a traditional prison. If these attitudes have an effect on criminal behavior as proposed by Andrews et. al, (1990), we might conclude that the recidivism of those released from boot camps may be similar to those who spend time in a traditional prison, and that this will be true of all boot camps. This may explain why we do not see a reduction in time to recidivism when comparisons are made between parolees from shock and traditional prisons (MacKenzie,1991; MacKenzie and Shaw, 1992). That is, both may have an effect on the antisocial attitudes of these types of offenders.

This is probably a dangerous conclusion from this research because it assumes that antisocial attitudes are a major factor in producing criminal behavior. This perspective, without further analysis, might lead one to question why we should provide therapy, education and treatment in boot camp prisons if all programs are effective in changing attitudes. If we were to leave readers with this view it would be a mistake. Antisocial attitudes may be important in predicting antisocial behavior and this should be the subject of research. However, focusing on antisocial attitudes alone may neglect the importance of addressing other "criminogenic needs" of offenders (Andrews et. al., 1990). Such factors may have a much more direct association with involvement in criminal

activities. For example, drug addicts may develop less antisocial attitudes in the boot camp, but until the dependence on drugs is reduced they may continue to use and distribute illegal drugs and persist in criminal activities to support the habit. Thus, although in general they will be less antisocial, these attitudes alone will not be enough to enable them to resist the problems that face them upon release from prison.

In summary, the research suggests that offenders in boot camp prisons do not leave the prison more alienated and antisocial than they were before entering, and, in fact they are less so. They also feel more positive about their experiences than offenders serving time in a traditional prison. This is true for these boot camps at the present point in time. Future research should examine the association between these attitudes and future criminal behavior. Equally as important, though, are studies that will examine the effectiveness of program components such as drug treatment or academic education that are designed to address specific deficiencies of these offenders.

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APPENDIX

State Methodologies

Florida Methodology

Subjects. A sample of 126 shock incarceration participants and a sample of 257 regular prison inmates were selected for comparison. Twenty-four (24) of the shock inmates initially selected and tested at Time 1 were not tested at Time 2 resulting in a final sample of 102. Two hundred and thirteen (213) of the regular prison inmates initially selected completed Time 1 testing. Only 109 completed both Time 1 and Time 2 testing, resulting in a final sample of 109. Early release of inmates from the shock program and/or regular prison and movement of inmates among institutions were the main causes of sample attrition. Forty shock inmates in the final sample of 102 later left the shock program for disciplinary reasons. These forty inmates were tested at Time 2 while incarcerated in a traditional prison.

The regular prison sample consisted of inmates who were adjudicated under the Youthful Offender Act or who were designated Youthful Offenders by the Florida Department of Corrections. All offenders selected for participation in the study were males under the age of twenty-five with sentences between two and ten years consistent with shock legal eligibility criteria. Although formally eligible for shock incarceration these inmates were sentenced to a prison term. According to the Department of Corrections, these offenders, may have been sentenced to prison instead of the shock program for the following reasons: (1) judge disapproved of DOC placement to shock; (2) medical or psychological unfitness; and (3) lack of screening and recommendation by Department of Corrections staff.

Procedure. Both the shock and regular prison samples completed the self-report written questionnaire twice. The questionnaires were administered by correctional officers or classification staff to both samples.

The shock sample completed the questionnaire during their first week in the shock program and again during the final week (approximately 90 days later). It is important to note that although the shock subjects were tested during their first week of the program, they had already been incarcerated elsewhere for one to two months while waiting to enter the program. As mentioned earlier, Time 1 and Time 2 questionnaires were administered to drop-outs from the program. The questionnaire was administered to the regular prison sample during the first 20-70 days of their incarceration and then again 90 days later.

The selection procedure for the prisoners involved randomly specifying a youthful offender prison. A list of all inmates in that prison with demographic and offense characteristics that met shock program eligibility criteria was compiled. The first 25 to 67 names on the list were then selected to participate in the study.

Participation in the study was voluntary for both samples. A few inmates (less than five in each sample) opted not to take part in the study.

Georgia Methodology

Subjects. One hundred and twenty-one (121) male offenders sentenced to the two shock incarceration programs in Georgia (Dodge and Burrus) as a condition of probation were selected. Five (5) inmates ultimately dropped out of the shock program for medical reasons. Fifteen (15) inmates were not tested at Time 2 because staff at the institution simply forgot to test them. Therefore, 101 shock inmates made up the final shock incarceration sample.

One hundred and fifty-six (156) offenders serving a regular prison sentence were selected as the comparison sample. Eighty-six (86) inmates, however, were either paroled, transferred out of state, or had "maxed out" prior to Time 2 testing, resulting in a final comparison sample of 70.

Participation in the study was voluntary for both samples and, given the option, all selected inmates chose to participate.

The regular prison sample was selected from the following three diagnostic prisons: Lee Arrendale Correctional Institution, Georgia Diagnostic and Classification Center, and Bostick Correctional Institution. Only those inmates who met the shock eligibility criteria were chosen for the study. The diagnostics counselor at each prison examined inmates' files in order to determine eligibility. The first fifty inmates (approximately) at each site who met the eligibility criteria were included in the sample.

Site researchers experienced some difficulty completing the sample because most regular prison inmates do not meet shock eligibility criteria, particularly the "no prior incarcerations" requirement. Typically, offenders with no prior incarcerations receive regular probation, not a prison sentence.

Inmates in the prison comparison sample, although legally eligible for the shock program, may have received a prison sentence in lieu of shock due to the lack of bedspace in the shock program at the time of sentencing or to a history of frequent contacts with the same judge.

Procedure. The Time 1 self-report questionnaire was completed by both samples during intake into either the shock program or prison. The Time 2 questionnaire was administered within one week of release for both samples (90 days later for shock sample) . The questionnaire was administered as a written survey with oral instructions. If inmates were poor readers, the survey was administered orally.

Diagnostic counselors administered the questionnaire to the regular prison inmates and either the shock counselor or shock intake officer was responsible for administering the questionnaire to the shock sample. Shock inmates received Time 2 testing in either an office or classroom setting and regular prison inmates

completed Time 2 testing in a counselor's office.

Louisiana Methodology[6]

Subjects. A sample of 207 shock inmates were selected for the study. Ninety-two of these inmates (42.4%) dropped out of the program; the remaining 115 shock inmates completed Time 1 and Time 2 testing.

One hundred and forty-four (144) inmates were selected for the prison sample, 98 of whom completed Time 1 and Time 2 testing. Reasons for their failure to complete the study included: (1) unavailable for disciplinary reasons (15.2%); (2) unavailable for medical reasons (2.2%); (3) release on parole (17.4%); (4) transfer to community corrections (6.5%); (5) working (19.6%); and (6) unknown (39.1%).

To select the regular prison sample, records of offenders entering the LDPSC diagnostic and reception center were reviewed by researchers. Offenders who were legally eligible for the shock program but who had not received the legally required recommendations from the three reviewers (Probation/Parole, Judge, Department of Corrections) were included in the sample.

New York Methodology

Subjects. Shock inmates selected to participate in the study were compared to the following two samples of prison inmates: (1) a regular prison sample of inmates deemed eligible for shock but who had refused (shock-refused) to participate in the program (n=61); and (2) a regular prison sample of inmates who had been deemed ineligible (shock-ineligibles) for shock (n=101). The shock sample consisted initially of 299 inmates; two hundred (200) graduated from the program. The remaining 99 failed to complete the program but were nevertheless tested at both Time 1 and Time 2. Forty-nine (49) of the shock-refused and 77 of the shock-ineligibles completed Time 1 and Time 2 testing. The remaining inmates refused to fill out the questionnaire a second time. Participation in the study was voluntary for all samples. The Department of Corrections estimated that 80% of the inmates selected agreed to take part in the study.

The samples were selected from all legally eligible inmates who entered the Lakeview reception facility. When the samples were initially surveyed (e.g., self report demographics and attitudes) at the reception facility offenders did not know whether they would

[6] The data collected in Louisiana are not exactly comparable to the data collected in other states involved in the multi-site study because it was collected several years earlier. Comparable variables collected in Louisiana are substituted for those used in the other states when applicable.

receive final approval for entry into the program although they were legally eligible for shock.

The most common reasons shock-refused inmates refused to participate were: (1) the hope of a work release program disposition instead of shock due to a short sentence; and (2) the hesitancy of older inmates to participate in this type of sentence.

Shock-ineligible inmates met the legal criteria of the shock program but were not selected to participate due to some other disqualifying criteria such as outstanding warrants, medical problems, or major drug use. The comparison samples generally served time in either minimum or medium security facilities.

Procedure. The self-report questionnaire was completed twice, first within 5 days (on average) of a subjects arrival to the reception facility and, second, between 140 and 180 days later. Inmates generally completed the questionnaire in written form with the exception of illiterate or foreign speaking offenders who were tested orally.

Prison counselors administered the questionnaire to the shock-refused and shock-ineligibles at Time 2. Drill instructors administered the questionnaire to the first 90 shock inmates in inmate dorms. Shock program counselors later took over the responsibility of administering the questionnaires to the remaining inmates included in the shock sample.

Oklahoma Methodology

Subjects. One sample of male shock inmates was examined in the Oklahoma evaluation. The sample consisted initially of 158 inmates. The Time 2 questionnaire was administered on an individual basis to some but not all inmates. Note that researchers in Oklahoma had not intended to test the entire sample at Time 2. The final sample consisted of 75 inmates who completed both Time 1 and Time 2 testing.

Procedure. The questionnaires were administered in small groups by unit staff. Ninety (90) days later, the Inmate Self Report Attitude was administered again on an individual basis by case managers.

Instruments. The instruments used in Oklahoma differed from those described in the general methods. Researchers did not use the "record data" instrument to collect official records. In addition, they used a different version of the Inmate Self-Report Personal History instrument. The Inmate Self-Report Attitude, however, was the same.

South Carolina Methodology

Subjects. Two samples of shock offenders were compared to one sample of prison inmates in South Carolina. The two samples of

shock inmates were selected due to legislative changes in South Carolina. The shock program initially fell under the auspices of the South Carolina Probation, Parole, and Pardon Services (SCDPPPS). In order to maximize the ability of the program to reduce prison crowding (one of its primary goals), the responsibility of running the program recently shifted to the South Carolina Department of Corrections in June, 1990. It is expected that a larger number of offenders who would otherwise have been sentenced to prison will now participate in the program.

The first shock sample was selected when the shock program was run by the SCDPPPS (old shock sample). This sample consisted initially of 120 shock inmates. Ninety-four (94) male inmates and 17 female inmates made up the final sample of 111. Nine inmates failed to complete the study, most likely dropping out of the shock program for either medical reasons or for unsatisfactory performance (usually rule violations). (We have no other information on dropouts.)

The second shock sample was selected after control of the program shifted to the Department of Corrections (new shock sample). This sample consisted initially of 122 male shock inmates and 26 female shock inmates. One hundred and twelve (112) male inmates and 19 female inmates made up the final sample. (Information on those initially selected who did not complete the study is unavailable.)

One hundred and twenty (120) male offenders were initially selected to make up the prison comparison sample, 95 of whom were tested at both Time 1 and Time 2. Participation in the study was voluntary. All selected inmates opted to take part.

A random sample of 120 male inmates adjudicated under the Youthful Offender Act who met shock eligibility criteria were selected as the prison sample. These offenders are typically young (17-24), non-violent offenders with limited criminal history.

Procedure. Both old and new shock samples completed the Time 1 questionnaire early in the second week of the shock program and once again at the time of the exit interview roughly 90 days later. The prison sample completed the questionnaire within two weeks of admission and once again approximately 90 days thereafter.

Texas Methodology

Subjects. Two samples of male inmates were compared in the Texas evaluation: (1) a pre-enhanced shock sample; and (2) an enhanced shock sample. The pre-enhanced sample consisted initially of 330 inmates who entered the shock incarceration program before the implementation of the enhanced substance abuse treatment component. Two hundred and ninety-six (296) offenders in this sample completed Time 1 and Time 2 testing. The 224 offenders initially included in the enhanced shock sample differed from the pre-enhanced sample only in that they received enhanced substance abuse treatment while incarcerated in the boot camp. One hundred and ninety-one (191) of the enhanced shock sample completed Time 1 and Time 2 testing. The majority of the shock inmates who did not complete both Time 1 and Time 2 testing failed to complete the program for predominantly medical reasons. (Inmates in Texas are not permitted to voluntarily drop out of the program.)

Participation in the study was voluntary for both shock samples. The intent of the study was explained to inmates selected for participation prior to the start of the interviews and inmates were offered the opportunity to refuse. All selected inmates opted to participate in the study.

Procedure. Both shock samples completed a self-report questionnaire twice -- once during the first week at the boot camp (Time 1) and once again in the ninth week of the program (Time 2). The questionnaire was administered orally to the pre-enhanced sample by an evaluation staff person who answered inmate questions when needed. The nature of the research was also described to the inmates by the staff person. The procedure used to administer the questionnaire to the enhanced shock inmates was exactly the same with the exception that the questionnaire was administered by shock program treatment staff, not evaluation staff.

Appendix 2

ANTISOCIAL ATTITUDES SCALE

1. When you're in trouble, it's best to keep quiet about it.
2. I get into a lot of fights.
3. If the police don't like you, they will try to get you for anything.
4. Women seem more friendly than men.
5. Police stick their noses into a lot of things that are none of their business.
*6. I always like to hang around the same bunch of friends.
7. I hardly ever get a fair break.
8. A lot of strange things happen to me.

9. If someone in your family gets into trouble, it's better for you to stick together than to tell the police.
10. It often seems like something bad happens when I'm trying my best to do what is right.
11. Most people in authority are bossy and overbearing.
12. It seems like wherever I am, I'd rather be somewhere else.
13. I think that boys fourteen years old are old enough to smoke.
*14. It makes me mad that some crooks get off free.
15. Police usually treat you dirty.
16. I often fell lonesome and sad.
17. A lot of time I do things that my family tells me I shouldn't.
18. A lot of people say bad things behind my back.
19. It seems like people keep expecting me to get into some kind of trouble.
20. Other people are happier than I am.
21. Police and judges will tell you one thing and do another.
22. It doesn't seem wrong to steal from crooked store owners.
23. My life at home is always happy.
*24. Most police will try to help you.
25. Nobody seems to understand me or how I feel.
26. I don't mind lying if I'm in trouble.
27. I think my mother should have been stricter than she was about a lot of things.
28. I feel alone even when there are other people around me.
29. Things don't seem real to me.
30. I think there is something wrong with my mind.

Note: * Reversals in the Jesness Scale

PROGRAM ATTITUDES SCALE

*1. There is nothing in this place that will help me.
*2. This place will not help me get a job.
3. I am tough enough to handle this place.
*4. This experience will not change me.
5. This place will help me learn self-discipline.
*6. The guards put on a big show, but that is all it is.

*7. This place would never help me in any way.
8. I will learn things about myself here.
9. I am becoming a better person here.
*10. The programs in this place will never help me in any way.
11. I am becoming more mature here.
12. Because of my experience here, I will probably not get in trouble again.

Note: * = Reversal

Table 1. Program Characteristics of Seven Shock Incarceration Programs Involved in the Multi-site Study at the Time of Data Collection.

	FL	GA	LA	NY	OK	SC Old	SC New	TX Pre	TX Post
Year of Data Collection	1990	1989	1987	1990	1989	1989	1991	1989	1990
Capacity	100	200	120	1500	150	120[1]	216	200	400
Date Program Began	1987	1983	1986	1987	1983	1986	1990	1989	1990
Placement Decisions	DOC	Judge	DOC	DOC	Mixed	Judge	DOC	Judge	Judge
Entrants % Dismissed[2]	51.1	2.8	43.3	31.3	8.4	16.0	---	10.1	---
Time Served (mos.)	3.3	3.0	4.0	6.0	3.5	3.0	3.0	2.1	2.1
Voluntary: Entrance	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes/no	no	no
Exit	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
Daily Activities									
Hours/Day									
Work/Drill/P.T.	8.0	8.0	6.5	9.0	12.0	9.0	8.5	9.0	9.00
Rehabilitation[3]	1.8	0.3	3.5	5.6	3.3	1.9	3.2	0.6	0.80
Proportion of Rehab.:Work	0.23	0.04	0.54	0.62	0.28	0.21	0.38	0.07	0.09

[1] The total capacity in South Carolina includes female inmates. In both old and new South Carolina, 24 beds were allotted for female inmates.

[2] Dismissal rates were collected during the following years: (1) Florida: October 1987-January 1991; (2) Georgia: 1984-1989; (3) Louisiana: February 1987-1989; (4) New York: CY 1988; (5) Oklahoma: CY 1989; (6) South Carolina Old: July 1989-June 1990; (7) Texas Pre: October 1989-October 1990.

[3] Rehabilitative activities include formal education, counseling, drug treatment/education.

Table 2. Florida Sample Demographic Comparisons (Sample of Shock Entrants, Shock Completers, Shock Dropouts and Prison Sample).

Official Data	Shock Entrants (N=102)	Shock Completers (N=62)	Shock Dropouts (N=40)	Prison Sample (N=109)
Race N (% White)	43 (42.2)	30 (48.4)	13 (32.5)	40 (36.7)
Age M (SD)	18.9 (1.7)	19.1 (1.8)	18.4 (1.5)[b]	18.7 (1.8)
Sentence (mos.) M (SD)	45.2 (12.0)	45.7 (13.1)	44.4 (10.1)	43.5 (14.7)
Offense N (%)				
Robbery	22 (21.6)	11 (17.7)	11 (27.5)	25 (22.9)[a]
Other Violent	9 (8.8)	4 (6.5)	5 (12.5)	27 (24.8)
Burglary	31 (30.4)	21 (33.9)	10 (25.0)	18 (16.5)
Theft	7 (6.9)	4 (6.5)	3 (7.5)	8 (7.3)
Drugs	24 (23.5)	15 (24.2)	9 (22.5)	20 (18.4)
Other	9 (8.8)	7 (11.3)	2 (5.0)	11 (10.1)
Probation Viol. N (%)	30 (29.4)	20 (32.2)	10 (25.0)	18 (16.5)[a]
Criminal History	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Self Report Data				
Employed N (% Yes)	45 (44.6)	27 (43.5)	18 (46.1)	51 (46.7)
School (% Yes)	25 (25.0)	12 (19.4)	13 (34.2)	43 (39.4)[a]
Arrests				
Juvenile N (%)	80 (79.2)	46 (74.2)	34 (87.2)	75 (68.8)
Age-1st M (SD)	15.4 (2.7)	15.5 (2.8)	15.1 (2.6)	15.4 (2.8)
Juv. Convict. N (% Yes)	60 (59.4)	35 (56.5)	25 (64.1)	54 (49.5)
Juv. Facility N (% Yes)	59 (58.4)	33 (53.2)	26 (66.7)	66 (61.7)

[a] Significantly different from entrants at $p<.05$.
[b] Significantly different from completers at $p<.05$.

Table 3. Georgia Sample Demographic Comparisons (Sample of Shock Completers and Prison Sample).[a]

Official Data	Shock Completers (N=102)	Prison Sample (N=62)
Race N (% White)	39 (39.4)	19 (27.1)
Age M (SD)	20.2 (2.3)	20.8 (2.4)
Sentence (mos.) M (SD)	3.1 (0.9)	55.1 (32.8)[bc]
Offense N (%)[b]		
Robbery	9 (9.1)	11 (15.7)
Other Violent	1 (1.0)	15 (21.4)
Burglary	27 (27.3)	8 (11.4)
Theft	13 (13.1)	11 (15.7)
Drugs	33 (33.3)	15 (21.4)
Sex Offenses	2 (2.0)	5 (7.1)
Other	14 (14.1)	5 (7.1)
Probation Viol. N (%)	15 (15.6)	19 (27.1)
Criminal History	N/A	N/A
Self Report Data		
Employed N (% Yes)	58 (59.1)	39 (59.1)
School (% Yes)	13 (13.1)	8 (11.6)
Arrests		
Juvenile N (%)	45 (45.0)	32 (46.4)
Age-1st M (SD)	17.6 (2.5)	17.7 (2.3)
Juv. Convict. N (% Yes)	35 (35.4)	16 (23.5)
Juv. Facility N (% Yes)	25 (25.0)	11 (15.9)

[a] A small number of offenders dropped out of the shock program (n=5) and therefore their data is excluded from the analyses.
[b] Significantly different from completers at $p<.05$.
[c] Note that due to unequal variances, the approximate t-statistic was computed.

Table 4. Louisiana Sample Demographic Comparisons (Sample of Shock Entrants, Shock Completers, Shock Dropouts and Prison Sample).

Official Data	Shock Entrants (N=207)	Shock Completers (N=115)	Shock Dropouts (N=92)	Prison Sample (N=98)
Race N (% White)	71 (39.7)	47 (43.1)	24 (34.3)	37 (37.8)
Age M (SD)	23.1 (4.5)	23.3 (4.8)	22.8 (4.1)	25.6 (5.3)[a]
Sentence (mos.) M (SD)	46.3 (17.7)	49.07 (18.8)	42.0 (14.8)[bc]	43.6 (18.1)
Offense N (%)[d]				
Robbery	7 (4.2)	5 (5.0)	2 (3.0)	4 (4.2)
Other Violent	3 (1.8)	2 (2.0)	1 (1.5)	1 (1.0)
Burglary	82 (49.1)	49 (49.0)	33 (49.3)	48 (50.0)
Theft	26 (15.6)	14 (14.0)	12 (17.9)	18 (18.8)
Drugs	43 (25.8)	28 (28.0)	15 (22.4)	20 (20.8)
Other	6 (3.6)	2 (2.0)	4 (6.0)	5 (5.2)
Probation Viol. N (%)	71 (39.7)	40 (36.7)	31 (44.3)	28 (29.2)
Criminal History				
Adult (% Yes)	149 (85.1)	87 (82.9)	62 (88.6)	72 (75.8)
Jailed (% Yes)	33 (18.9)	16 (15.2)	17 (24.3)	10 (10.5)
Arrests N (%)				
Drug 1+	47 (27.2)	30 (28.0)	17 (25.8)	21 (21.9)
Violent 1+	45 (25.8)	28 (26.2)	17 (25.3)	23 (23.9)
Non-violent 1+	137 (79.6)	82 (77.4)	55 (83.3)	70 (72.9)
Convictions N (%)				
Drug 1+	28 (16.2)	19 (17.8)	9 (13.6)[d]	8 (8.4)
Violent 1+	25 (14.5)	13 (12.2)	12 (18.2)	6 (6.2)
Non-violent 1+	116 (43.4)	71 (66.4)	45 (68.2)	65 (67.7)
Most Serious Prior	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

[a] Significantly different from entrants at $p<.05$.
[b] Significantly different from completers at $p<.05$.
[c] Note that due to unequal variances the approximate t-statistic was computed.
[d] Chi-square may not be a valid test.

Table 4 (cont.). Louisiana Sample Demographic Comparisons (Sample of Shock Entrants, Shock Completers, Shock Dropouts and Prison Sample).

Self Report Data	Shock Entrants (N=207)	Shock Completers (N=115)	Shock Dropouts (N=92)	Prison Sample (N=98)
Employed N (% Yes)	108 (54.8)	62 (55.8)	46 (53.5)	68 (70.1)[a]
School (% Yes)	43 (21.8)	27 (24.3)	16 (18.6)	15 (15.5)
Crime (no arrest)				
Juv. N (% Yes)	99 (54.7)	55 (50.9)	44 (60.3)	50 (51.0)
Adult N (% Yes)	109 (60.6)	65 (60.2)	44 (61.1)	64 (66.0)
In Juv. Facility N (% Yes)	59 (58.4)	33 (53.2)	26 (66.7)	66 (61.7)
Age-1st-Arrest				
M (SD)[c]	15.4 (2.7)	15.5 (2.8)	15.1 (2.6)[c]	15.4 (2.8)[c]

[a] Significantly different from entrants at $p<.05$.
[b] Significantly different from completers at $p<.05$.
[c] Note that due to unequal variances the approximate t-statistic was computed.
[d] Chi-square may not be a valid test.
[e] Age at first arrest in Louisiana was collected from official record data.

Table 5. New York Sample Demographic Comparisons (Sample of Shock Entrants, Shock Ineligibles and Shock Refused).

Official Data	Shock Entrants (N=299)	Shock Ineligible (N=101)	Shock Refused (N=61)
Race N (% White)	38 (12.7)	19 (18.8)[a]	10 (16.4)
Age M (SD)	22.7 (3.2)	23.1 (3.8)[b]	23.3 (3.5)
Sentence (mos.) M (SD)	20.2 (7.6)	21.2 (9.3)[b]	21.0 (8.3)
Offense N (%)			
Robbery	15 (5.0)	10 (9.9)	2 (3.3)[c]
Other Violent	2 (0.7)	2 (2.0)	1 (1.6)
Burglary	30 (10.0)	13 (12.9)	3 (4.9)
Theft	7 (2.3)	3 (3.0)	3 (4.9)
Drugs	219 (73.2)	64 (63.4)	40 (65.6)
Other	26 (8.7)	9 (8.9)	12 (19.7)
Probation Viol. N (%)	N/A	N/A	N/A
Criminal History			
Felony M (SD)			
Adult Arrests	1.97 (2.1)	2.50 (3.2)[b]	2.03 (2.2)
Adult Convict.	0.83 (0.8)	0.91 (1.2)[b]	0.84 (0.8)
Self Report Data			
Employed N (% Yes)	128 (43.0)	38 (38.5)	25 (40.9)
School (% Yes)	41 (13.8)	22 (21.8)	9 (14.8)
Juv. Arrest N (% Yes)	126 (43.8)	47 (47.0)	25 (41.7)
Juv. Convict. N (% Yes)	70 (53.0)	32 (66.7)	13 (44.8)
In Juv. Facility N (% Yes)	45 (19.1)	24 (30.8)[a]	10 (19.2)
Age-1st Arrest M (SD)	18.2 (3.4)	18.3 (4.3)[b]	18.5 (3.9)

[a] Significantly different from entrants at $p<.05$.
[b] Note that due to unequal variances the approximate t-statistic was computed.
[c] Chi-square may not be a valid test.

Table 6. New York Sample Demographic Comparisons (Sample of Shock Completers and Shock Dropouts).

Official Data	Shock Completers (N=200)	Shock Dropouts (N=99)
Race N (% White)	28 (14.0)	10 (10.1)
Age M (SD)	22.8 (3.4)	22.5 (3.0)
Sentence (mos.) M (SD)	20.5 (7.8)	19.7 (7.0)
Offense N (%)[a]		
Robbery	11 (5.5)	4 (4.0)
Other Violent	2 (1.0)	0 ---
Burglary	22 (11.0)	8 (8.1)
Theft	5 (2.5)	2 (2.0)
Drugs	139 (69.5)	80 (80.5)
Other	21 (10.5)	5 (5.1)
Probation Viol. N (%)	N/A	N/A
Criminal History		
Felony M (SD)		
Adult Arrests	1.84 (2.0)	2.23 (2.2)
Adult Convict.	0.83 (0.9)	0.83 (0.8)
Self Report Data		
Employed N (% Yes)	87 (43.5)	41 (41.8)
School (% Yes)	27 (13.6)	14 (14.3)
Juv. Arrest N (% Yes)	81 (42.0)	45 (47.4)
Juv. Convict. N (% Yes)	43 (22.3)	27 (28.4)
In Juv. Facility N (% Yes)	24 (15.2)	21 (26.9)[b]
Age-1st Arrest M (SD)	18.4 (3.4)	17.7 (3.3)

[a] Chi-square may not be a valid test.
[b] Significantly different from completers at $p<.05$.

Table 7. Oklahoma Shock Sample Demographics from Self-Report Data.

	Shock Entrants (N=75)
Criminal History	
Prior Arrests N (% Yes)	49 (67.1)
Number of Arrests M (SD)	4.6 (6.3)
Age First Arrested M (SD)	16.6 (2.6)
In Juvenile Facility N (%)	23.7 (31.5)
Age Entered Juv. Facility N (%)	14.7 (2.2)
Most Serious Prior Arrest N (%)	
Robbery	0 --
Violent	2 (4.3)
Burglary	6 (13.0)
Theft	31 (67.4)
Drugs	3 (6.5)
Other	4 (8.7)
Employ. and Educat. History	
Last Grade Completed M (SD)	10.5 (1.4)
Employed at Arrest N (% Yes)	46 (63.9)

Table 8. South Carolina Sample Demographic Comparisons (Samples of Male "Old" Shock, "New" Shock and Prison Samples).

Official Data	"Old" Shock Completers (N=94)	"New" Shock Completers (N=112)	Prison Sample (N=95)
Race N (% White)[d]	50 (53.2)	29 (25.9)	29 (30.5)
Age M (SD)	19.8 (1.6)[ab]	20.9 (2.4)	20.9 (2.1)
Sentence (mos.) M (SD)	44.0 (18.2)[ab]	21.2 (24.2)[c]	53.9 (33.9)
Offense N (%)[d]			
Robbery	3 (3.2)	4 (3.6)	4 (4.2)
Other Violent	8 (8.5)	5 (4.6)	11 (11.6)
Burglary	28 (29.8)	14 (12.7)	24 (25.3)
Theft	26 (27.7)	28 (25.5)	25 (26.3)
Drugs	19 (20.2)	39 (35.5)	24 (25.3)
Other	10 (10.6)	20 (18.2)	7 (7.4)
Probation Viol.[d] N (%)	14 (14.9)	5 (4.5)	6 (6.3)
Criminal History			
Felony M (SD)			
Adult Arrests	0.29 (0.6)[ab]	1.85 (2.1)[c]	0.73 (1.0)
Adult Convict.	0.11 (0.3)[ab]	0.95 (1.1)[c]	0.42 (0.8)
Self Report Data			
Employed N (% Yes)	56 (59.6)	78 (69.6)	58 (61.0)
School (% Yes)	15 (16.0)	18 (16.2)	15 (15.8)
Juv. Arrest[d] N (% Yes)	40 (42.6)	34 (30.4)	47 (49.5)
Juv. Convict. N (% Yes)	31 (33.0)	24 (21.4)	31 (32.6)
In Juv. Facility[d] N (% Yes)	21 (22.3)	21 (18.8)	35 (36.8)
Age-1st Arrest M (SD)	16.8 (2.3)[b]	18.4 (2.9)[c]	17.1 (2.7)

[a] "Old" shock significantly different from prison at $p<.05$.
[b] "Old" shock significantly different from "new" shock at $p<.05$.
[c] "New" shock significantly different from prison at $p<.05$.
[d] Chi-square significant at $p<.05$.

Table 9. South Carolina Sample Demographic Comparisons (Sample of Female "New" Shock Completers and Female "Old" Shock Completers).

Official Data	Female "New" Shock (N=19)	Female "Old" Shock (N=17)
Race N (% White)	7 (36.8)	11 (64.7)
Age M (SD)	21.7 (2.7)	21.1 (2.2)[a]
Sentence (mos.) M (SD)	20.0 (18.7)[b]	45.5 (19.1)
Offense N (%)[c]		
Robbery	0 ---	0 ---
Other Violent	1 (5.3)	2 (11.8)
Burglary	1 (5.3)	2 (11.8)
Theft	5 (26.3)	7 (41.2)
Drugs	6 (31.6)	2 (11.8)
Other	6 (31.6)	4 (23.5)
Probation Viol. N (%)	1 (5.3)	0 ---
Criminal History		
Felony M (SD)		
Adult Arrests	0.86 (0.9)[d]	0.35 (0.7)
Adult Convict.[e]	0.36 (0.7)	0.12 (0.3)
Self Report Data		
Employed N (% Yes)[c]	6 (31.6)	7 (41.2)
School (% Yes)[c]	3 (15.8)	3 (17.7)
Juv. Arrest N (% Yes)	7 (36.6)	6 (35.3)
Juv. Convict. N (% Yes)	5 (26.3)	4 (23.5)
In Juv. Facility N (% Yes)	5 (27.8)	2 (11.8)
Age-1st Arrest M (SD)	19.3 (3.1)	17.9 (3.0)

[a] Significantly different from male "old" shock at $p<.05$.
[b] Significantly different from female "old" shock at $p<.05$.
[c] Chi-square may not be a valid test.
[d] Significantly different from male "new" shock at $p<.05$.
[e] Note that due to unequal variances the approximate t-statistic was computed.

Table 10. Texas Sample Demographic Comparisons (Sample of Pre-Enhanced Shock Completers and Non-Completers and Enhanced Completers and Non-Completers).

	Pre-Enhanced		Enhanced	
Official Data	Completers (N=296)	Non-Completers (N=33)	Completers (N=191)	Non-Completers (N=32)
Race N (% White)	146 (49.7)	16 (50.0)	88 (46.3)	14 (43.8)
Age M (SD)	21.5 (2.19)	21.3 (2.22)	21.1 (2.09)[a]	20.5 (2.46)
Sentence (mos.) M (SD)	7.84 (2.48)	7.52 (2.67)	8.09 (2.33)	7.72 (2.65)
Offense N (%)[b]				
Robbery	14 (4.7)	1 (3.1)	10 (5.9)	1 (3.6)
Other Violent	19 (6.4)	1 (3.1)	16 (9.5)	1 (3.6)
Burglary	117 (39.7)	12 (37.5)	60 (35.7)	12 (42.8)
Theft	69 (24.4)	7 (21.9)	31 (18.4)	8 (28.6)
Drugs	72 (24.4)	9 (28.1)	45 (26.8)	4 (14.3)
Other	4 (1.4)	2 (6.3)	6 (3.6)	2 (7.1)
Probation Viol. N (%)	142 (48.3)	20 (62.5)	105 (55.6)	16 (50.0)
Criminal History	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Self Report Data				
Employed N (% Yes)	221 (74.9)	21 (63.6)	137 (74.9)	22 (73.3)
School (% Yes)	99 (33.7)	13 (39.4)	56 (30.9)	13 (43.3)
Arrests				
Juvenile N (%)	108 (36.5)	19 (57.6)[a]	72 (37.9)	15 (46.9)
Age-1st M (SD)	16.8 (2.3)	16.7 (2.7)	16.9 (2.3)	16.4 (2.3)
Juv. Convict. N (% Yes)	98 (33.1)	14 (42.4)	61 (32.1)	13 (40.6)
Juv. Facility[c] N (% Yes)	53 (18.1)	13 (40.6)[a]	21 (11.1)[a]	3 (9.4)

[a] Significantly different from pre-enhanced completers at $p<.05$.
[b] Chi-square may not be a valid test.
[c] Includes both juvenile detention and placement in a juvenile facility.

Table 11. Results of Separate Repeated-Measures MANOVA Analyses with Sample, Time, and Sample x Time Interaction for the Program Attitude Scale (Shock Inmates vs. Prisoners and Shock Completers vs. Shock Dropouts).

State Program	Shock Sample and Prison Sample[1] F (df)	Shock Completers and Shock Dropouts F (df)
Florida		
Sample	14.17 (1, 200), p<.0002	17.79 (1, 95), p<.0001
Time	24.83 (1, 200), p<.0001	24.77 (1, 95), p<.0001
Sample x Time	24.08 (1, 200), p<.0001	16.45 (1, 95), p<.0001
Georgia		
Sample	04.25 (1, 161), p<.0408	N/A
Time	11.69 (1, 161), p<.0008	
Sample x Time	9.93 (1, 161), p<.0019	
Louisiana		
Sample	58.52 (1, 168), p<.0001	t=0.68 (125), p<.4998
Time	01.45 (1, 168), p<.2308	
Sample x Time	26.17 (1, 168), p<.0001	
New York Ineligible		
Sample	11.03 (1, 269), p<.0010	33.97 (1, 195), p<.0001
Time	02.32 (1, 269), p<.1293	0.57 (1, 195), p<.4512
Sample x Time	12.70 (1, 269), p<.0004	12.33 (1, 195), p<.0006
New York Refused		
Sample	16.20 (1, 242), p<.0001	
Time	00.52 (1, 242), p<.4714	
Sample x Time	00.79 (1, 242), p<.3747	
Oklahoma[2]		
Sample		
Time	10.02 (1, 58), p<.0025	N/A
Sample x Time		
South Carolina[3]		*old shock v. new shock*
Sample	15.46 (2, 279), p<.0001	06.15 (1, 189), p<.0140
Time	02.12 (1, 279), p<.1461	00.18 (1, 189), p<.6755
Sample x Time	05.97 (2, 279), p<.0029	11.48 (1, 189), p<.0009
Texas	*pre-enhanced v. enhanced*	
Sample	04.99 (1, 396), p<.026	
Time	88.98 (1, 396), p<.001	
Sample x Time	00.30 (1, 396), p<.585	

[1] *In states where a substantial percentage of shock entrants dropped out of the program (Florida and New York), shock entrants were compared to the prison sample and shock completers to shock dropouts. In Louisiana, shock completers were compared to the prison sample and also to shock dropouts at Time 1. Time 2 dropout scores were unavailable in Louisiana, thereby precluding repeated measures analyses. In the remaining states (Georgia, Oklahoma, South Carolina), where dropout rates were low and information on dropouts unavailable at Time 2 (or both Time 1 and Time 2), shock completers were compared to the prison sample. In Texas, pre-enhanced completers were compared to enhanced completers.*

[2] *A comparison sample was not tested in Oklahoma.*

[3] *South Carolina repeated-measures analyses examine "old" shock vs. "new" shock vs. prison samples.*

Table 12. Results of Separate Repeated-Measures MANOVA Analyses with Sample, Time, and Sample x Time Interaction for the Antisocial Attitudes Scale (Shock Inmates vs. Prisoners and Shock Completers vs. Shock Dropouts).

State Program	Shock Sample and Prison Sample[1] F (df)	Shock Completers and Shock Dropouts F (df)
Florida		
Sample	01.36 (1, 204), p<.2454	20.33 (1, 95), p<.0001
Time	51.45 (1, 204), p<.0001	57.67 (1, 95), p<.0001
Sample x Time	26.23 (1, 204), p<.0001	03.82 (1, 95), p<.0535
Georgia		
Sample	00.23 (1, 162), p<.6350	*N/A*
Time	21.70 (1, 162), p<.0001	
Sample x Time	02.86 (1, 162), p<.0927	
Louisiana		
Sample	14.24 (1, 207), p<.0002	t=3.24 (196), p<.0014
Time	08.13 (1, 207), p<.0048	
Sample x Time	00.01 (1, 207), p<.9116	
New York Ineligible		
Sample	00.18 (1, 280), p<.6739	09.60 (1, 205), p<.0022
Time	47.23 (1, 280), p<.0001	35.75 (1, 205), p<.0001
Sample x Time	00.38 (1, 280), p<.5373	20.48 (1, 205), p<.0001
New York Refused		
Sample	00.96 (1, 252), p<.3280	
Time	27.46 (1, 252), p<.0001	
Sample x Time	01.54 (1, 252), p<.2162	
Oklahoma[2]		
Sample		
Time	11.21 (1, 73), p<.0013	*N/A*
Sample x Time		
South Carolina[3]		*old shock v. new shock*
Sample	00.46 (2, 290), p<.6342	00.12 (1, 197), p<.7292
Time	05.22 (1, 290), p<.0230	02.47 (1, 197), p<.1178
Sample x Time	00.56 (2, 290), p<.5735	00.81 (1, 197), p<.3692
Texas	*pre-enhanced v. enhanced*	
Sample	00.42 (1, 390), p<.516	
Time	191.6 (1, 390), p<.001	
Sample x Time	03.76 (1, 390), p<.053	

[1] *In states where a substantial percentage of shock entrants dropped out of the program (Florida and New York), shock entrants were compared to the prison sample and shock completers to shock dropouts. In Louisiana, shock completers were compared to the prison sample and also to shock dropouts at Time 1. Time 2 scores were unavailable in Louisiana, thereby precluding repeated measures analyses. In the remaining states (Georgia, Oklahoma, South Carolina), where dropout rates were low and information on dropouts unavailable at Time 2 (or both Time 1 and Time 2), shock completers were compared to the prison sample. In Texas, pre-enhanced completers were compared to enhanced completers.*

[2] *A comparison sample was not tested in Oklahoma.*

[3] *South Carolina repeated-measures analyses examine "old" shock vs. "new" shock vs. prison samples.*

Figure 2. Antisocial attitudes of shock, prison, and dropout samples in seven states showing scores at entry to program (or prison) and near end of program.

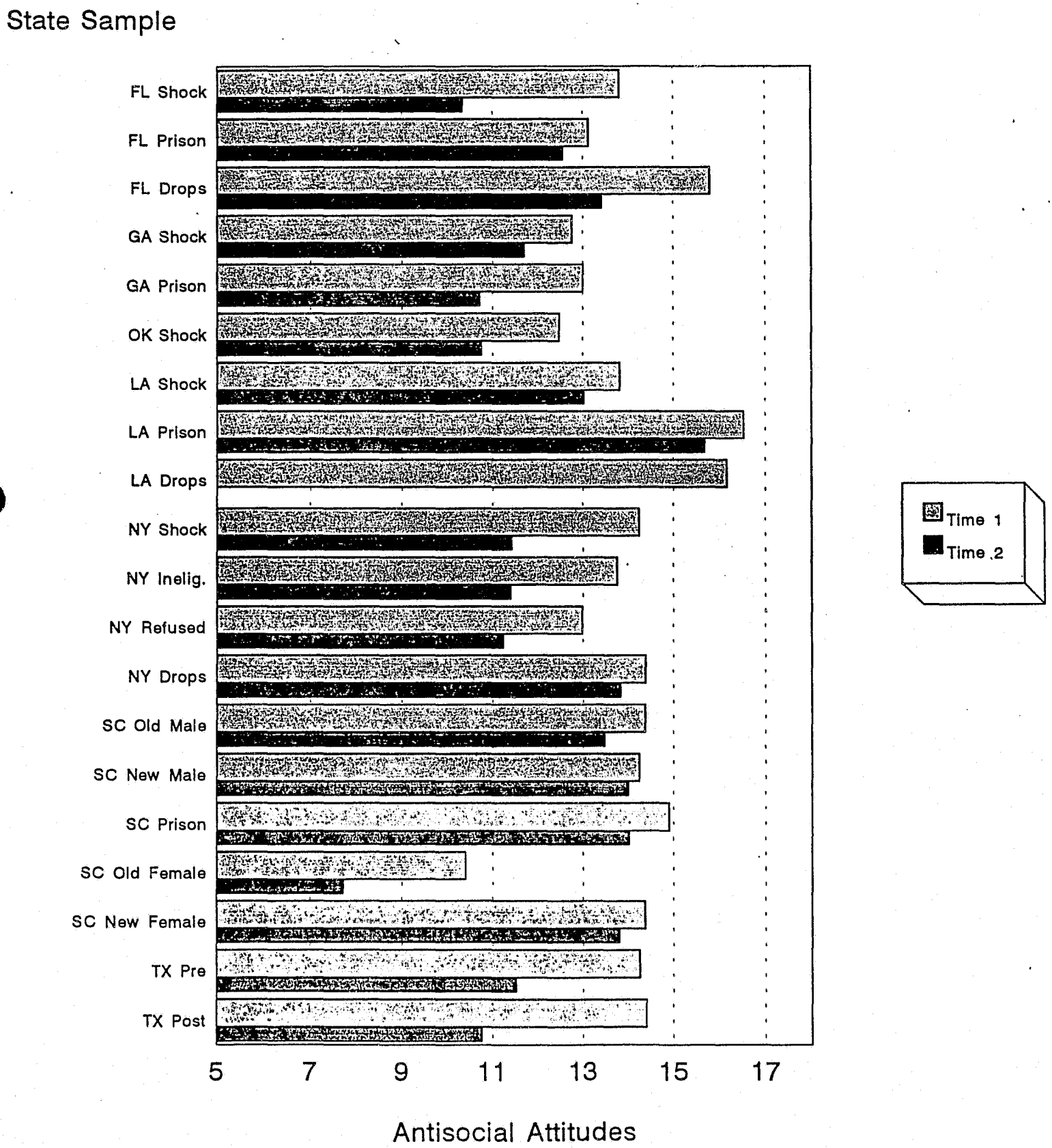

Figure 1. Program attitudes of shock, prison, and dropout samples in seven states showing scores at entry to program (or prison) and near end of program.