

**BOOT CAMPS
FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS:
CONSTRUCTIVE INTERVENTION
AND EARLY SUPPORT -
IMPLEMENTATION EVALUATION
FINAL REPORT**

September 30, 1992

Institute for Criminological Research
Department of Sociology
Rutgers - the State University of
New Jersey
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903

and

American Institutes for Research
3333 K Street
Washington, DC 20007

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Project Personnel

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Dr. Jackson Toby
Institute for Criminological Research

PROJECT DIRECTOR:

Dr. Frank S. Pearson
Institute for Criminological Research

ASSOCIATE PROJECT DIRECTOR:

Dr. Daniel Felker
American Institutes for Research

PROJECT ASSOCIATES:

Ms. Blair Bourque
American Institutes for Research

Ms. Roberta Cronin
American Institutes for Research

PROJECT CONSULTANT:

Dr. David Armor

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Executive Summary

This document is a final report on Phase I (the implementation evaluation phase) of a research project to evaluate juvenile boot camp programs in Cleveland, Denver, and Mobile. Phase I had three major goals: (1) to complete preparations by the research team to conduct the rigorous experiment that would be the core of Phase II, the impact evaluation, (2) to assess whether each of the three boot camps would be "evaluable" (prepared for rigorous impact evaluation) by the start of year two, and (3) to provide preliminary assessments of each program's operation by the end of year one.

The first goal, completing preparations to conduct a rigorous experimental evaluation in Phase II, was achieved by (a) producing a rigorous design of randomized assignment to experimental and control groups, (b) testing the randomized design at each of the three sites, (c) planning and pre-testing instruments for data collection, and (d) planning methods for analysis of the data that would be collected in years two and three.

In terms of our second research goal, assessing how evaluable each boot camp is, our conclusion is that all three boot camps are evaluable. That is, we found that each boot camp program has developed and implemented programming techniques that meet the letter and spirit of the Department of Justice Juvenile Boot Camps Initiative. They all include the requisite systems of military-like discipline, physical conditioning, educational programming, and rehabilitative counseling. We observed that all three sites have satisfactory organizational resources to operate the boot camp programs successfully. All three boot camps have clean, serviceable facilities for the boot camp itself, and for the aftercare activities. All three sites are adequately staffed. Each site has devoted substantial time and effort to training the staff, particularly the drill instructors. Furthermore, each of the programs should also be able to support a rigorous evaluation in terms of numbers of cases, random assignment, and willingness to cooperate with evaluation researchers.

The third research goal is addressed in the final chapter of this report, in which we provide preliminary assessments of the process of operating juvenile boot camps and offer some tentative advice to policy makers who are considering establishing juvenile boot camps.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In July 1990, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) and the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) announced an initiative "to develop, test and disseminate information on a prototypical juvenile boot camp as an intermediate sanction". The program announcement stressed the intermediate level of the intervention: it was to be a "punishment less severe than long-term institutionalization, but more severe than immediate supervised release." It was designed for the non-violent, adjudicated delinquent who is at risk of continuing drug abuse and criminal behavior. Building on the experiences of boot camps in the adult system, the program was to employ military-like discipline and structure in a comprehensive, minimum 90-day residential treatment phase followed by intensive supervision in the community. This comprehensive intervention was to achieve an ambitious set of attitudinal and behavioral objectives, with the ultimate goal of shaping "productive, law-abiding citizens."

In August 1990 OJJDP held a preapplication workshop to delineate more fully the nature of the juvenile boot camp program initiative. The summary of that material (OJJDP, 1990) included the following points:

The Goals of the OJJDP initiative are to:

- Develop a cost effective juvenile boot camp that is appropriate for nonviolent juvenile offenders.
- Support juvenile offenders in becoming productive, law-abiding citizens.
- Instill basic, traditional, moral values inherent in our national heritage. These moral values include honesty, responsibility for one's actions, accountability, caring about oneself and others, and respect for others.
- Assure that adjudicated juvenile offenders are punished and held accountable for their criminal behaviors...
- Provide testing and treatment that serves to reduce drug abuse among juvenile offenders.
- Increase academic achievement and use intensive systematic phonics for increasing literacy skills of juvenile offenders, where appropriate....

The OJJDP program objectives are to:

- Identify, screen, refer, and conduct intake activities.
- Conduct individual comprehensive diagnostic reviews.
- Provide discipline through a military-like regimen of physical conditioning and teamwork.
- Provide work skills and employment experience, and instill a work ethic.
- Provide remedial, special, and alternative education, including systematic phonics. Intensive systematic phonics will be taught only to those people

who are unable to fluently (at an automatic level of response) and accurately read what they can talk about, hear, and understand.

- Provide intensive drug and alcohol abuse testing and treatment.
- Require offenders to pay restitution to victims.
- Develop and continually revise detailed performance work plans to guide services.

Program design

The program has four separate, yet interrelated, phases: selection, intensive training, preparedness, and accountability.

Phase one: Selection

This phase consists of initial selection, diagnostic screening, referral, intake activities, and processing specified numbers of eligible participants. Adjudicated juvenile offenders awaiting implementation of a court disposition or who have been committed by the court to a division of youth services will be assigned randomly to the program.... Juvenile offenders not assigned to this constructive intervention program will be placed in the control group....

Phase two: Intensive training

Intensive training provides discipline and treatment, with emphasis on military-like drills and discipline that will encourage character development. Youth will participate in a rigorous physical conditioning regimen and undergo comprehensive drug, medical, educational, social, psychological, and employment diagnostic assessment. The intensive training stage also develops academic and employment skills; self-esteem; confidence; a sense of teamwork; personal hygiene; and health maintenance skills.... Participants remain in this phase for no less than 90 days.

Phase three: Preparedness

Phase three involves continued supervision of intensive training activities and service through discipline; work skills enhancement; work experience; alternative education; drug and alcohol

abuse testing, prevention, and treatment; counseling and family support; physical conditioning; and adherence to specific youth performance work plans. Boot camp staff will provide and guide all services in collaboration with community service providers.

Phase four: Accountability

The final phase encourages participants to assume more responsibility. If a youth in the preparedness or accountability phases fails to pursue academic and vocational training, employment, participation in community service activities, or treatment services, he or she will be terminated from the program, pending a review by the court and program personnel. The objective of this phase is to provide direction and support for self-discipline, work experience, educational services, and drug resistance skills. Youth will also continue their rigorous physical conditioning regimen. In this phase, youth will also be required to make restitution to the victim.

(The source of the above material is the OJJDP "Summary of Solicitation Workshop Proceedings," August 15, 1990, pp. 2-4.)

The successful programs who were awarded program grants under this initiative were to spend 18 months developing and implementing a program responsive to the guidelines. At the end of the 18-month period, a decision was to be made as to whether to terminate the program or to continue to test it, possibly in additional sites.

In tandem with the announcement of the development program, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) solicited proposals to evaluate the OJJDP/BJA initiative over the first 12 months. The purpose of this first phase of the evaluation was to describe and assess the programs implemented and to develop "the most rigorous impact evaluations possible for the

operational phase of the program." The announcement stated that support for a two-year impact evaluation was planned for FY-92.

In September, 1991 the OJJDP awarded cooperative agreements to three organizations to develop boot camp programs:

- the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas in Cleveland, Ohio, in association with the North American Family Institute of Danvers, Massachusetts;
- the Boys and Girls Clubs of Mobile, Alabama, in association with the Strickland Youth Center and the University of South Alabama;
- and New Pride, Inc. in Denver, Colorado, in association with the Colorado Division of Youth Services.

The programs were scheduled to spend the first six months of operation designing the intervention and to begin treating youth by April 1992. By the end of their first 18-month award, the programs would have been operating boot camp programs for one year.

Immediately after the program awards were made on October 1, 1991, the National Institute of Justice entered into a cooperative agreement with the Institute for Criminological Research at Rutgers University (in association with the American Institutes for Research) to conduct the initial "implementation" phase of the evaluation over a 12-month period. The charter for the implementation evaluation was:

- to document the program design and process at the three test sites;
- to assess the evaluability of the three boot camp programs; and
- to design a rigorous impact evaluation employing random assignment of cases to treatment and control conditions.

These activities would inform later decision making about the subsequent two years of the evaluation.

This document provides a report on the implementation evaluation, describing the interventions in place in the three jurisdictions, the complex causal processes hypothesized to underlie these interventions, and their evaluability. Our basic conclusion is that the programs are prepared for a randomized field test of the boot camp initiative. Specific characteristics of the three programs are presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. Our conclusions are discussed fully in Chapter 6.

A. National Interest in Intermediate Sanctions

Disappointing results from rehabilitation efforts (e.g. Greenwood, 1985; Turner, 1989; Basta and Davidson, 1988; Lab and Whitehead, 1988) coupled with a surge in prison populations in the last decade have generated interest in sanctions that avoid traditional long-

term institutionalization while still holding the offender accountable and ensuring public safety.

Intermediate sanctions are generally defined as sentencing alternatives that fall between the poles of ordinary probation and incarceration (Morris and Tonry, 1990), or as "punishments" less severe than incarceration but more severe than probation (Toby, 1982; 1984). They can include fines, restitution, and community service orders, which though less costly than incarceration, nonetheless hold offenders accountable for their conduct (McDonald, 1988; National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1981; Schneider, 1986). But the most prominent intermediate sanction is intensive probation, a term used to cover "a variety of restrictions on freedom in the community and a diversity of programs designed to reduce future criminality by the convicted offender" (Morris and Tonry, 1990:6-7). Intensive supervision programs vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, but their common theme is that of substantially increasing (relative to ordinary probation or parole) the degree of supervision and control exerted over offenders, based on an assessment of their risk of re-offending. The spectrum of control mechanisms includes frequent face-to-face contacts between the offender and the supervising officer, house arrest and house confinement, suspension of driver's licenses, day reporting centers, drug testing, and electronic monitoring

(Office of Justice Programs, 1990). Intermediate sanctions often include combinations of control mechanisms and fines, restitution, or community service orders.

These intermediate sanctions fill a gap in the structure of legal sentencing alternatives, especially in the juvenile justice field where juvenile courts are often perceived as toothless. Their enormous appeal to both the public and the criminal justice community may stem from the fact that intermediate sanctions can be argued to serve a variety of purposes — retribution or just deserts, deterrence, incapacitation, rehabilitation, and restitution (Office of Justice Programs, 1990). But for many policy makers facing skyrocketing prison populations and budgets, the bottom line is that supervision in the community may cost less than incarceration.

Emerging research findings on the effectiveness of intensive probation relative to traditional probation or incarceration are mixed. For example, non-experimental research on Georgia's Intensive Probation Supervision program concluded that the program resulted in low recidivism rates and lower costs than prison terms (Erwin, 1987). And an evaluation of New Jersey's Intensive Supervision Program (ISP) found lower recidivism rates and lower costs in the ISP cases than in the comparison group (Pearson, 1987; see also Pearson and Harper, 1990). However, Byrne, Lurigio, and Baird's (1989) critical review of research on

intensive supervision concludes that the current research findings are inadequate to prove the success of intensive supervision. They also raise concerns about the potential for assigning offenders to intensive supervision who could be adequately handled with ordinary probation or parole ("net-widening").

Boot camps are a relatively new addition to the intermediate sanctions menu. Billed as "one of the most recent and exciting forms of intermediate sanctions being adopted by the States" (Office of Justice Programs, 1990: 5), boot camp programs consist of a relatively short period of incarceration in a quasi-military environment, followed by a period of intensive supervision in the community. The first adult boot camp program, Special Alternative Incarceration, opened in Georgia in 1983, an outgrowth of discussions between the Commissioner of the Georgia Department of Corrections and a local judge who were both dissatisfied with the options then available (Parent, 1989). Oklahoma and Mississippi soon followed suit, opening similar para-military camps for adult offenders. By the end of 1988, eleven boot camps were operating in nine states (Parent, 1989), and by 1991 at least 34 boot camps were operating in 23 states (MacKenzie and Souryal, 1991).

B. Boot Camps as a Promising Correctional Strategy

Boot camp programs are designed for the non-violent offender who is judged to be an acceptable risk for short-term incarceration from either an accountability or public safety perspective. The U. S. Department of Justice (1990: 5) advocates that boot camps be employed for "offenders who pose risks too high for immediate supervised release." Many programs specifically target youthful offenders in the 18-25 age group, in part because of the rigorous physical exercise required of participants.

Although we knew that a few juvenile delinquents were admitted to boot camps that were primarily organized for youthful adult offenders in various states, our research project focused on boot camps organized exclusively for juvenile delinquents. At the time that this project started (October, 1991) there were only two such permanent programs in operation (in Alabama and Tennessee).

When we conducted a systematic survey of the states to locate other newly formed juvenile boot camps in the summer of 1992 we turned up seven juvenile boot camps in operation -- including the three boot camps in Alabama, Colorado, and Ohio that were the focus of our implementation research -- and one other program about to begin operation.

The total number of juveniles in the seven boot camps that were fully operational at the time we conducted our survey was less than 300. Although some of the boot camps include a fairly broad age range -- in Mississippi from 10 to 20 -- most are geared to a narrow range, commonly 14 to 18.

In response to our questions about the goals of the programs, it appears that all of the boot camps share the goals of providing safe custody for the youth in their charge, providing academic education, attempting to rehabilitate, and lowering recidivism. Punishment is relatively de-emphasized. The boot camp programs are typically followed by a period of intensive supervision of the youth (defined relative to what most juvenile offenders in the system receive). This survey of states to locate operational juvenile boot camps is discussed in detail in Appendix 1.

The Department of Justice (1990) posits that boot camps are defensible in adult corrections not only as alternative sentences, but as a vehicle for incapacitation, for deterrence through the threat of more serious sanctions, for punishment through strict discipline and rigorous training, and for rehabilitation. In addition, boot camps are believed to reduce costs and increase opportunities for restitution and community service. Most programs stress their rehabilitative focus and include a variety of components designed to

build participants' skills and confidence (MacKenzie et al., 1990; MacKenzie and Shaw, 1990; MacKenzie, 1989). Of the eight adult programs that Parent (1989) examined extensively, six included drug/alcohol counseling, five included reality therapy, five included individual counseling, three involved recreation therapy, and one was designed as a therapeutic community.

The limited research available on boot camps indicates that boot camps do offer advantages over longer term incarceration. The Florida Department of Corrections (1989) examined the first thirteen months of its boot camp program's operation (October 1987 to October 1988). Inmates admitted to the boot camp were, on average, under 20 years old, users of illegal drugs, convicted of a first or second degree felony for a crime of economic gain, and had been serving prison sentences of 3.5 years. Combining total time of incarceration in county jails, state prisons (including boot camp), and Community Correctional Centers, boot camp graduates on the average spent 245 days under correctional supervision, serving 20 percent of their sentences. A matched group of inmates not attending boot camp averaged 319 days of supervision, serving 36 percent of their sentences. The authors of the report estimate that if the boot camp graduates had served the same percentage of their sentences as the matched group, a total of 30,745 inmate days would have been added to the prison sentences, with extra costs of over \$1 million.

The Florida boot camp graduates also fared well in terms of recidivism. Compared to a matched group of inmates, boot camp graduates had lower re-incarceration rates (5.59 versus 7.75 percent). However, because the time at risk was only about ten months, the report cautions against drawing definite conclusions about the re-incarceration patterns. An equally important caution concerns the high dropout (and pushout) rate of the program: nearly half of the inmates who are admitted fail to graduate. Furthermore, nearly half the officers in the program believe that Boot Camp has sometimes graduated inmates who should have been thrown out of the program. It is not clear what the recidivism and correctional cost outcomes were for these "washouts." Such program "failures" need to be studied as extensively as the graduates.

However, Sechrest (1989) does not confirm this promising picture of the efficacy and cost-effectiveness of boot camp programs, reporting that boot camps show little improvement over conventional methods. To improve these findings, he suggests that programs combine military training with educational, job training, and skill development components both in the boot camp and in aftercare periods. And the United States General Accounting Office (GAO) (1988) corroborated Sechrest's view. The GAO reviewed various publications on boot camps, visited programs in Florida and Georgia, and interviewed officials of the Justice Department's Federal Prison System, the National Institute of Justice, the Bureau of Justice

Assistance, the National Institute of Corrections, the U.S. Sentencing Commission, the Department of Defense, and the American Correctional Association. The study concluded that available data were insufficient to determine if boot camps reduce prison overcrowding, costs, or recidivism. The GAO attributed the lack of evidence primarily to the relatively short period of time that most boot camps have been operating and the lack of boot camp cost data compared to other prison costs.

C. Boot Camps and the Juvenile Justice System

Despite the popularity of boot camp programs in the adult correctional system, the concept had not been applied to the juvenile system until the OJJDP/ BJA program got under way in 1992. In some respects perhaps, the more punitive philosophy and terminology of the boot camp program were at odds with a juvenile justice system that, at least in theory, tends to emphasize "réhabilitation" over other correctional goals.

Since the Illinois statute establishing the first juvenile court in 1899, the juvenile justice system in the United States has been strongly influenced by a rehabilitative philosophy (Schlossman, 1983). Unlike the legal rationale underlying the criminal justice system for

adults, the traditional legal rationale of the juvenile justice system was that the youngster charged with delinquency did not choose to do what he (or she) knew to be wrong. Rather, the delinquent was considered to have lacked proper parental guidance, which the juvenile court judge, acting in loco parentis, would attempt to supply. The juvenile justice system, including probation officers attached to the juvenile court and what were initially called "training schools," was intended to remedy parental deficiencies in upbringing, the presumed reason for the bad behavior. Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas pointed out in his majority opinion in the Gault case that the benevolent intent of the juvenile court proceeding was used to justify the absence of due-process protections in the juvenile justice system that were routinely available in the adult criminal justice system (United States Supreme Court, 1967).

Notwithstanding this ideological focus on rehabilitation, the juvenile justice system has also included elements of punishment and discipline. Custodial institutions for juveniles had bars and punishment cells that seemed punitive to the casual observer. The closest approximation to the current boot camp programs — the British detention centers — were developed to deal with adolescent rather than adult offenders. Faced with an upsurge of adolescent crime following World War II, quasi-military "detention centers" were set up in England and Wales under the hypothesis that "a short, sharp shock" given to adolescents early in their criminal careers might nip their anti-social tendencies in the bud. When

evaluative research produced disappointing recidivism rates for the detention center youth, plans were announced in 1979 to establish two tougher detention centers:

....life will be conducted at a brisk tempo. Much greater emphasis will be put on hard and constructive activities, on discipline and tidiness, on self respect and respect for those in authority. We will introduce on a regular basis drill, parades and inspections. Offenders will have to earn their limited privileges by good behavior....(Thornton et al., 1984).

In any case, the importance of distinguishing between correctional interventions appropriate for the juvenile and the adult systems is diminishing as lines between them become blurred. While the most common age for reaching criminal adulthood is 18, in some states it is sixteen or less. And in most states certain categories of juvenile offenders can be tried and sentenced in the adult system. The net effect is that a very large proportion of the clientele of the adult criminal justice system consists of adolescents and young adults — that is, youth aged 16 to 29.

D. Potential of the Juvenile Boot Camp Program

In the early 1970's researchers put considerable effort into assessing the effectiveness of rehabilitative modalities, concluding that there were no rigorous studies showing that any approaches significantly reduce recidivism (Martinson, 1974; Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks, 1975). Subsequent meta-analyses and review articles have been similarly pessimistic, although a few modalities seem promising (e.g. Lab and Whitehead, 1988; Whitehead and Lab, 1989; Sechrest, White and Brown, 1979). Some of the modalities considered to hold promise include life skills training (Garrett, 1985), the involvement of parents in exerting social control (Gendreau and Ross, 1987; Hirschi, 1967; Sampson, 1986; and Sampson and Laub, 1990) and guided group interaction techniques (Empey and Rabow, 1961). Recently, Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau, and Cullen's meta-analysis (1990) pointed to the need for individualized programming, concluding that

.....neither criminal sanctioning without provision of rehabilitative service nor servicing without reference to clinical principles of rehabilitation will succeed in reducing recidivism. What works, in our view, is the delivery of appropriate correctional service, and appropriate correctional service reflects three psychological

principles: (1) delivery of service to higher risk cases, (2) targeting of criminogenic needs, and (3) use of styles and modes of treatment (e.g., cognitive and behavioral) that are matched with client need and learning styles. (1990: 369).

The boot camp program incorporates some of these promising approaches — life skills training, guided group interaction, and individualized treatment plans — within a demanding, tightly regimented environment. But it is the strict discipline of the boot camp programs that has an intuitive appeal to the public. It seems reasonable to believe that tougher discipline is what some youngsters need to jolt them into a sense of where continued bad behavior is leading them. The youth do not have to perceive the strict discipline and tough schedule to be distasteful or oppressive; they may find it challenging instead. Indeed, the physical challenge connotation of "toughness" is associated with all of the programs that place outdoor challenges at the center of their rehabilitation programs for delinquents (Greenwood and Zimring, 1985).

Not only do boot camp programs fit within accepted notions of programming for delinquent youth and have an intuitive appeal, but they are believed to offer considerable cost savings over traditional incarceration. Sponsors of California legislation creating a boot

camp program for non-violent drug-involved offenders expect that it will rehabilitate youth more effectively and cheaply than incarceration in a training school (Criminal Justice Newsletter, 1992).

E. The Policy Context for Boot Camp Programs

Are correctional boot camps an idea whose time has come? In the past few years there has been a groundswell of opinion, including bi-partisan support in the Congress, favoring correctional boot camps. In response, a growing number of jurisdictions have instituted boot camps (or similarly structured shock incarceration programs) for convicted offenders in the United States. Correctional administrators, judges, and legislators at the federal level as well as at the state level see boot camps for offenders as a promising way of developing self-discipline in young people whose impulsiveness and lack of self-control led to criminal behavior. In the past couple of years, the interest in boot camps has spread from boot camps primarily designed for young adult criminals to boot camps specifically designed for adjudicated juvenile delinquents.

But the bottom line from a public policy point of view is: Do boot camps have greater success with offenders than conventional dispositions? It seems plausible that boot camps that include rehabilitation programs as well as military discipline are especially effective. It is also plausible that boot camps that release the "graduates" into structured rehabilitative aftercare rather than into ordinary parole, are more likely to be successful (MacKenzie, 1990). However, prior to the present Juvenile Boot Camp Evaluation Research Initiative, there has been no rigorous research on the impact of boot camps on juvenile offenders.

The impact evaluation design described in the AIR/ICR proposal to NIJ in June 1992 will provide a rigorous test of the boot camp concept. In this report we describe the three pilot boot camp programs funded by OJJDP and assess their evaluability within the parameters of the proposed design.

Chapter 2 outlines the research methods employed for the design of the impact evaluation and for the conduct of the implementation evaluation. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 describe the characteristics of the three programs and their implementation histories. Chapter 6 discusses the main issues that surfaced during this year of research and presents our conclusions.

Chapter 2. Research Methods

The research methods we have used in Phase I (the first year of a project planned to span three years) reflect the two major evaluation activities identified in the Program Announcement. One set of activities concentrated on devising a rigorous **impact evaluation** design to be carried out in Phase II (years two and three). The second set of activities concentrated on an **implementation evaluation** to assess the six months of program planning and organization and the subsequent six months of accepting the first cohorts of youth into the boot camps and adjusting the programs to meet real-world contingencies. Accordingly, section A of this chapter describes the methods we used to plan and prepare for the **impact evaluation**, and section B describes the methods used in our **implementation evaluation**.

A. Designing the Impact Evaluation

Our plans for the impact evaluation to be conducted in years two and three were guided by the concepts found in the Request for Proposals for the Evaluation of Boot Camps

for Juvenile Offenders Initiative. This document stipulates that the purpose of the impact evaluation is to provide a rigorous framework and reliable procedures for evaluating the total impact and cost-effectiveness of the boot camp programs. In this regard, the most important feature of the boot camp evaluation is the use of an experimental design, with blind randomized assignments of eligible juveniles to boot camp and control groups. Such procedures demand coordination and collaboration among the principal players, including the judicial system, the program providers, and the evaluators.

A second important feature of the boot camp evaluation arises from the relatively complex intervention model implied in the Request for Proposals. While the ultimate goal of boot camps is to reduce delinquent behavior and the risk of an adult criminal career in a cost-effective way, they aim to do so by employing a quasi-military boot camp experience to instill prosocial values, enhance self-discipline and a work ethic, reduce drug use, and increase literacy skills and academic achievement. One of the first research tasks was to determine the logic underlying each of the three boot camp programs. We worked with the policy makers at the three program to make explicit their conceptions of how they planned to bring about improvements in the youths' values, self-discipline, self-esteem, and improved work and academic skills and, if these improvements occurred, how they would contribute to the ultimate outcome of law-abiding behavior. The evaluation team then translated these

ideas into specific hypotheses about the effect of specific program activities on various attitudinal and behavioral outcomes, which in turn reduce future delinquent or criminal behavior. (These hypotheses are discussed in Chapter 6.)

From the Request for Proposals and from the hypothesis-building process we were able to specify the following objectives for the impact evaluation:

- To implement an experimental design with random assignment to provide a rigorous assessment of program outcomes.
- To assess the impact of the boot program on intermediate or short-term outcomes, including changes in basic values, self-esteem, attitudes toward work and education, basic literacy and work skills, and attitudes toward drug use.
- To assess the impact of the boot camp program on longer term or ultimate outcomes, including recidivism, drug abuse, school completion, stable employment, and restitution to the victim.

- To measure the quality and quantity of program training and treatment (e.g., hours of remedial reading, drill, skill training, etc.) in order to relate possible variations in outcomes to variations in program content.
- To analyze the cost-effectiveness of the boot camp intervention compared to alternative interventions for juveniles.
- To document and describe the organizational structure and processes for each boot camp program so as to interpret potential differences in outcomes across programs.

The details of the rigorous impact evaluation design that we produced are provided in the document/proposal titled **Evaluation of Boot Camps for Juvenile Offenders**, submitted to NIJ on June 3, 1992. In the remainder of this section we briefly describe these plans for research design, data collection, and data analysis.

Research Design.

The evaluation employs a strict, randomized experimental design, comparing experimental and control group youth at a baseline point (the time of randomized assignment) and at a set follow-up point. In addition, some interim measures will be available for the experimental group.

Screening is conducted by the juvenile court and/or the department of juvenile correctional services. As soon as one of the boot camps has a pair of youths waiting in the eligible pool, boot camp program staff telephone ICR/Rutgers and list the names and identification numbers of the two boys. ICR/Rutgers has prepared a computer-generated list of random numbers that is used to decide whether the first boy listed is to go to boot camp or to the control group. If the first boy is randomly selected for the boot camp, the second boy is selected for the control group. Similarly, if the first boy listed is randomly selected for the control group, the second boy is selected for the boot camp.

In spite of the care with which a randomized experiment is designed, a number of conditions can undo the randomization feature, particularly in a field experiment such as this. Given that the integrity of the randomization process has been maintained, perhaps the next most critical design threat is subject attrition prior to program completion. Attrition can

arise from a number of factors, including quitting (which can occur at some sites), continued delinquent behaviors, disciplinary problems, illness, and family moves. It can also add appreciably to the cost of collecting follow-up data, since these lost subjects may be much harder to locate. Such subject losses can bias the remaining boot camp sample, compared to the control group. Because of these concerns, we have concluded that baseline assessments of all persons assigned to either boot camp or control groups are necessary.

Baseline measures enable an assessment of bias; they also permit use of statistical techniques to adjust for treatment-control differences after taking subject attrition into account. Such measures also enable assessment of the degree of change in various outcome characteristics such as self-discipline, fitness, values, and literacy, rather than relying simply on differences between boot camp and control-group outcomes to infer that change has occurred.

Data Collection Plan.

The data collection plan is based on the fact that a thorough and rigorous evaluation of the boot camp programs requires a considerable amount of information about both the programs and the youth who enter and complete them. No one instrument can collect all of the pertinent data; instead, a series of different instruments is proposed, administered at different times and using various administration methods. (Our data collection plan and instruments were approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board.)

Some of the data needed for this evaluation can be extracted from official records (post-release recidivism, for example). However, the type of data needed to test the process model implied by the boot camp concept -- such as changes in values, attitudes, discipline, literacy -- requires a fairly costly administration of a youth survey (administered by an on-site data collector trained and monitored by the evaluation team) and a literacy test (administered by teachers on the boot camp staff). Our plans for data collection went through several iterations because of strict budget constraints. Although we would like to have included baseline and follow-up surveys of both boot camp youth and control group youth, budget constraints made it impossible for us to conduct these surveys.

Our impact evaluation design called for collecting information on individual participants at three points in time: upon entry into the program, or the *baseline* point; at the end of the boot camp, or the *interim* point;¹ and at eight months or more following entry, or the *follow-up* point. Baseline measurement allows assessment of youth characteristics prior to the intervention and also permits assessment of potential differences among sites and between boot camp and control groups. Interim measurement collects short-term outcomes for the Intensive Training phase of the intervention (the period while the youth are in residence at the boot camp). This will be used to evaluate the postulated process outcomes of the boot camp experience (e.g., changes in attitudes, values, discipline, literacy, fitness, etc.). Follow-up measurement will (1) assess the persistence and stability of any short-term changes in process outcomes and (2) will focus on rates of recidivism and longer term educational and employment outcomes as determined from official records. Program-level measurement will be continuous throughout the evaluation.

¹ We realize there is some potential for confusion between the "interim" point of data collection and "intermediate" outcomes. The former refers to a fixed point in time — i.e., three months past intake. The latter refers to measures that are intermediate conceptually between measures of activities and measures of longer term outcomes.

Instrumentation.

Our impact evaluation data collection plan included five types of individual-level instruments for use at all three sites: an Intake Form, a Staff Rating Form, a Physical Fitness Test, a Status Report, and an Outcome Record. We describe each of these products/instruments in Chapter 6.

The strategy for **program-level measurement** covers several other types of data collection: review of administrative records and other program documents; interviews with program staff, other system personnel, and youth participants; and field observations. These techniques will yield a detailed description of the boot camp program and elicit assessments of its strengths and weaknesses that are not linked to individual cases. Our plan is to apply these same methods, albeit in a briefer version, to the control interventions. We will structure these activities using two kinds of instruments, a comprehensive Field Guide and Interview Guides.

Data Analysis Techniques.

During this first year we have devoted some time to reviewing the hypotheses to be tested, the experimental design, and the types of data available for analysis in order to decide upon the statistical analyses that will be appropriate. Our plan of analysis centers on

repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) and analysis of covariance. However, because some outcome variables will be dichotomous or rank-ordered, some of our analyses may entail logistic regression or log-linear analysis. Because youth who enter the boot camp earlier will return to the community earlier and have a much longer period of time to commit new crimes, our plan is to include sophisticated techniques of recidivism analysis: survival analysis. Since our plans for statistical analysis constitute an important part of the outcomes of this Phase I of our research project, we discuss them in more detail in Chapter 6.

B. Conducting the Implementation Evaluation

Our second major set of activities in year one were concerned with assessing whether each of the three boot camps would be "evaluable" (prepared for rigorous impact evaluation) by the start of year two, and providing tentative assessments of each program's operation by the end of year one. To gain an in-depth understanding of the boot camps, we: reviewed all program documents including proposals, progress reports, and program archives; conducted several rounds of site visits to each program, including interviews with local policy makers and program staff, field observations, and youth interviews; developed and pre-tested all

project instrumentation; and began collecting baseline data on the social and criminal backgrounds of experimental and control group youth.

When the project began in October 1991 we studied the proposals of the three sites that received the program award (Cuyahoga County, Denver, and Mobile), and formulated questions to be raised during the Cluster Meeting and during site visits. We participated in the Post-Award Cluster Meeting in Arlington, Virginia on November 7 and 8, 1991 with NIJ, OJJDP, and the Boot Camp program participants. We discussed the goals of this evaluation research project, and the major criteria to be used in examining how evaluable each of the programs will be.

At this meeting the research team found two potential problems for the research. First, we observed that the time allotted for the boot camp demonstration project would restrict the recidivism analyses to rather short periods at risk (on the average). A corollary of this problem is that the relatively modest numbers of youths who would have time to pass through the entire program (including the Aftercare component) meant that program effects of small but still practically significant size might not be statistically detectable. The second problem that we identified was that no provision had been made when funding the overall Boot Camp Initiative for the collection of survey data on the youth's attitudes, self-report

delinquency, drug-use, and association with delinquent friends. After pointing out the problems in telephone conversations with NIJ, a meeting was arranged at NIJ February 21, 1992 to delve into these matters further.

In our first site visits (in December, 1991) we visited each of the boot camps and engaged in two-and-a-half-days of discussions with persons involved in developing the program proposal, those primarily responsible for the program's implementation, and those who provide collateral support for the program. We also collected documentation about the program and the local jurisdiction. During our subsequent site visits in the spring and summer of 1992, the focus shifted to observations of boot camp operations and interviews with staff and youth, and pre-tests of instrumentation.

During the site visits in the spring and summer of 1992, we began pre-testing the forms and instruments for the impact evaluation. At each of the program sites we pre-tested a youth survey, intake forms, a literacy test and staff rating forms. Our main methodological concerns were the following:

Youth survey. Our prime methodological concerns were to ascertain whether the boys would be able to understand each one of the items on the survey. We knew

that a substantial percentage of the boys had literacy problems. Thus, we realized in advance that in many cases the survey could not be self-administered; it would have to be read aloud to some of the boys. Another important consideration was estimating the degree of veracity we could expect from the youths. This problem is most clear-cut in the sections in which the boys are asked to report on the delinquency of their (unnamed) friends, and also in the subsequent section that ask the individual himself about his own delinquency during the previous three months in which he was free. As is discussed in Chapter 6, we found that the boys did understand the items and significant percentages of them did self-report delinquency.

Intake forms. Our main concerns here were whether the boot camp programs had sufficient cooperation from the broader juvenile justice system to obtain accurate and timely retrieval of official records information on the boys -- the control group youths as well as those in the boot camp. Assuming that accurate data retrieval was possible, our second methodological concern was whether we could understand the intricacies of the information system, and thus avoid mistaken inferences. As mentioned in Chapters 3 and 6, we did discover some problems of the latter type, but with some more effort and continued help from the staff at the sites, we expect to be able to deal with these difficulties of understanding the complexities of the system.

Literacy test. The main methodological consideration we addressed was whether we could obtain a test that would be a valid and reliable measure of the youths' ability to read and that would also be sensitive enough to register significant improvement in reading skill over spans of time as short as three months. Because skill in reading is a combination of several sub-skills, we hoped to find a test that would measure the particular sub-skills that instructors in these particular programs were trying to teach. (On the other hand, we did not want to tempt instructors to try to "teach the test," rather than teach the reading skills and sub-skills most likely to be helpful to the boys.) Since many of the boys had presumably learned to dislike "school-bookish" reading material, we also hoped to find a literacy test that would be interesting to them and not seem "school-bookish."

As discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, we did find a test that appeared to meet these criteria well. In the pre-tests that were conducted at the sites, however, there did appear to be some problems with the test. Some instructors thought it did not satisfactorily measure the kinds of skills they were trying to teach. We think that more consultation is needed before making a choice of literacy test.

Staff Rating Form. Our main methodological concern for this instrument parallels that for the literacy test. We conducted pre-tests of this form to explore

whether the staff rating form that AIR had devised would be an adequately valid and reliable measure of several dimensions of the youths' behavior patterns. Again, we needed a rating form that would be sensitive enough to register significant improvement in a boy's behavior over the three months spans of time that the youths would be in the residential boot camp. The details of our conclusions are presented later, but the gist is that the rating scales appear to have satisfactory reliability and they do seem to have adequate face validity.

Thus, our implementation evaluation has been based upon a combination of conventional research methods. These have included in-depth interviews with the key policy makers and staff who control and operate the boot camp programs and the alternative dispositions that the control group youth experience. At the boot camps we spent days observing the program activities in action (the military-style discipline, the physical conditioning, the classroom instruction, and the counseling). We have also conducted in-depth interviews with samples of youth in the boot camps. We also pre-tested the various instruments at the program sites. Most important, methodologically, the evaluation team has reviewed the methodological issues thoroughly and planned so that these research methods fit together to produce a

unified, informative study of the formation and implementation of these boot camp programs.

In the next three chapters we summarize the results of the implementation evaluation, describing each of the three boot camp programs in turn.

Chapter 3.

The Cleveland Boot Camp Program

The Cleveland Boot Camp Program is a joint initiative of the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court (CCJC) and the North American Family Institute (NFI) of Boston, Massachusetts. The Cuyahoga County Court is the prime contractor. It subcontracts with NFI to operate both the three-month residential phase and the three- to six-month aftercare phase of the boot camp program.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention awarded a cooperative agreement to the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court on September 15, 1991 to develop and test the boot camp program. The federal share of operating costs in the first year was \$779,001, to be supplemented by \$434,750 from the state subsidy for community corrections. In addition, Cuyahoga County contributed the two cottages that house the boot camp, as well as utilities, equipment, and medical and food services for the residential program.

A. Program Goals and Objectives

The primary goal of Cleveland's boot camp initiative is to develop intermediate sanctions that would help alleviate the severe overcrowding in juvenile correctional facilities, while providing adequate supervision and treatment. Although Ohio's Juvenile Code encourages supervision and rehabilitation in a family environment, separating the child from its parents only when necessary for his welfare or in the interests of public safety,¹ the State has the second largest number of children in custody of any state in the nation. Judge Leodis Harris, the Administrative Judge of the Cuyahoga Juvenile Court, reports that reducing this number is a major emphasis in the State.² To achieve such reductions, the State awards subsidies to counties to reduce the number of youth sent to the Department of Youth Services (DYS), and funds Community Corrections programs to keep youth in the county who otherwise would be incarcerated elsewhere.

¹ Chapter 2151, Ohio Revised Code, Ohio Revised Code, December 31, 1986.

² From opening remarks at a meeting of the Cuyahoga Juvenile Court, the North American Family Institute, Boot Camp Program staff, and the evaluation team on December 9, 1991.

Despite these efforts, serious overcrowding in state facilities has continued. During 1992, the first year of Boot Camp operations, it had reached crisis proportions: DYS was considering "block releasing" large numbers of youth to bring the census within legal guidelines. And a series of articles in The Columbus Dispatch in May 1992, billed as "a close look at the Ohio Department of Youth Services and some of the nightmares uncovered behind the bars of the state's nine juvenile jails,"³ had prompted public scrutiny of the problem. The articles claimed that rehabilitation was a myth at such facilities and that youth were mistreated by an underqualified, untrained staff. Reported recidivism rates for youth sent to state facilities are high, estimated at between 30 to 40 percent, thus aggravating the overcrowding problem as youth cycle back into correctional facilities for new offenses.

Cost of institutionalizing youth are rising too. Over 750 male delinquents from Cuyahoga County were committed to state or county facilities in 1990, at a cost of \$104 a day per youth or \$37,960 for a one-year commitment.⁴ Since the costs of supervising a youth in the community are usually lower than those of institutionalizing him, the relatively

³ The Columbus Dispatch, May 17, 1992.

⁴ From the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court's proposal to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, October 24, 1990, p. 17.

short Boot Camp residential phase of three months was attractive as a potential cost-saving mechanism as well.

Within this context, the Boot Camp initiative set five major goals:

- to divert youth from the Ohio Department of Youth Services and the Youth Development Center to an intermediate sanction
- to reduce recidivism for the experimental group versus the control group
- to reduce costs for services provided to the experimental group versus the control group
- to fulfill all federal grant requirements to ensure that the boot camp project is evaluable and replicable
- to evaluate the effectiveness of the various components of the boot camp model upon the experimental group.

As an alternative to longer-term institutionalization, the Boot Camp program would "minimize the need for a youngster to spend a lengthy period of time away from his family while at the same time providing structure, accountability, and close supervision and programming to protect the community and hopefully reduce recidivism."⁵ For the youth involved, the Boot Camp intervention would:

- provide discipline through physical conditioning and teamwork
- develop good work habits and accompanying skills
- promote pro-social values and accountability through restitution
- increase academic achievement and literacy
- reduce alcohol and drug abuse.

⁵ From the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court's October 24, 1991 proposal to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, p. 18.

B. Development and Implementation History

As part of the proposal development process, Cleveland had conducted a needs assessment that included visits to a number of adult boot camp programs, a literature review, analysis of costs and caseloads, agreements for the use of two cottages on the campus of a Cuyahoga County-run institution, and a delineation of the model.

In the development of the model, the influence of The North American Family Institute was apparent. NFI was established in 1974 to create alternatives for youth previously sent to institutions in Massachusetts. NFI favors: a non-institutional approach, employing small projects that maximize intimacy and are individualized; normalizing environments -- creating a "home-like setting" in residential programs, emphasizing "cleanliness, home-like decor, and active client participation in every aspect of the living milieu;" and learning social and survival skills -- developing skills to deal with the social environment and to live independently in the community.⁶ NFI also is experienced with specific strategies such as "guided group interaction" that employ peer group pressure rather than coercion. Likewise, after reviewing the literature on the effectiveness of military-like interventions on youth and visiting a number of adult boot camp programs, the court rejected

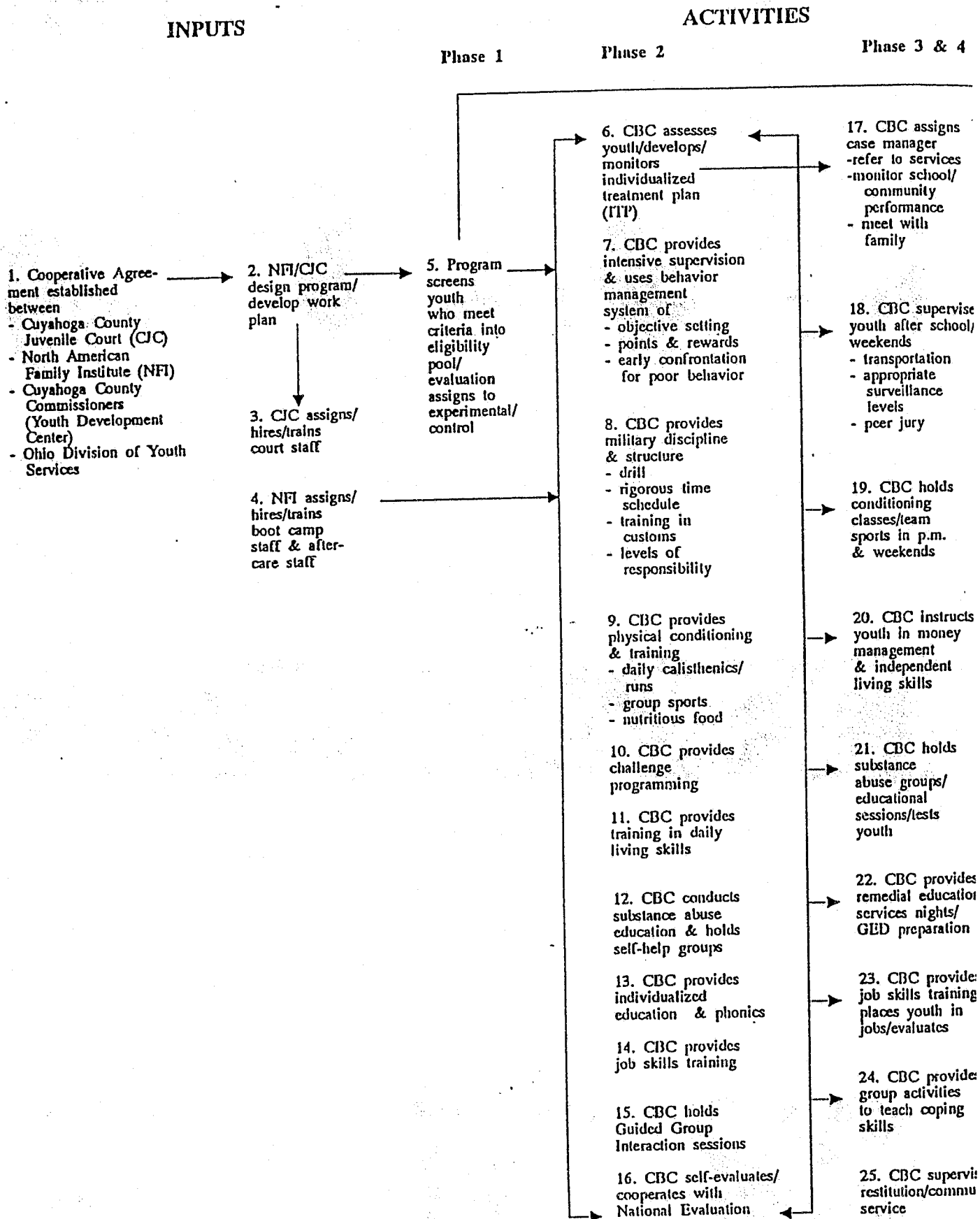
⁶ North American Family Institute promotional brochure.

the more negative and punitive aspects of some quasi-military programming -- degradation, excessive punishment, and yelling in one's face -- while retaining its ordered, predictable, and highly regimented environment. The Boot Camp program was designed to motivate youth and to assist them in setting their own limits and order, rather than to exert a negative, external control.

This emphasis on fostering positive youth behaviors is apparent in Figure 1, a rationale depicting the logic underlying the Cleveland program. Program staff are extremely precise as to the activities that will be provided during each phase of the program, and the improvements in youth knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviors hypothesized to occur as a result. These intermediate, youth-related outcomes such as increased self-confidence and an increased sense of responsibility are the critical links in the logic chain between program inputs and activities and the longer-term goals of diverting youth from existing correctional facilities, reducing costs, and reducing recidivism.

When OJJDP and BJA awarded the cooperative agreement to the court on September 15, 1991 the broad parameters of the program were set. In the first quarter, the court and NFI hired staff and developed lines of accountability, finalized the site development for the residential program, started renovations, began searching for an appropriate aftercare site,

Figure 1. Program Rationale for Cleveland Boot Camp Programs (CBC)



INTERMEDIATE OUTCOMES

26. More appropriate services delivered

27. Youth improve knowledge & skills

- increased physical fitness
- increased leadership & interpersonal skills
- increased literacy & educational performance
- increased knowledge of sexuality, parenting
- increased task efficiency & time/money management
- increased self-discipline
- increased management of stress
- increased orderliness
- increased attention span
- increased problem-solving skills
- increased understanding of drugs -- effects & etiology
- increased understanding of American civic values
- increased work skills
- increased ability to delay gratification

28. Youth show positive changes in attitudes & values

- increased self-confidence
- increased trust, sense of belonging, commitment to the community
- increased commitment to traditional values
- increased work ethic
- increased commitment to abstinence from drugs
- increased motivation to continue schooling
- increased sense of responsibility

30. Youth held accountable to victims & community

- restitution to victims maximized

31. Parents improve parenting skills

LONG-TERM IMPACTS

32. Diversion of youth from ODYS & YDC to intermediate sanctions

35. Reduced costs for services provided to Boot Camp youth

33. Increased self-sufficiency in community

- employment
- peers
- schooling
- socialization

34. Reduced crime & delinquency

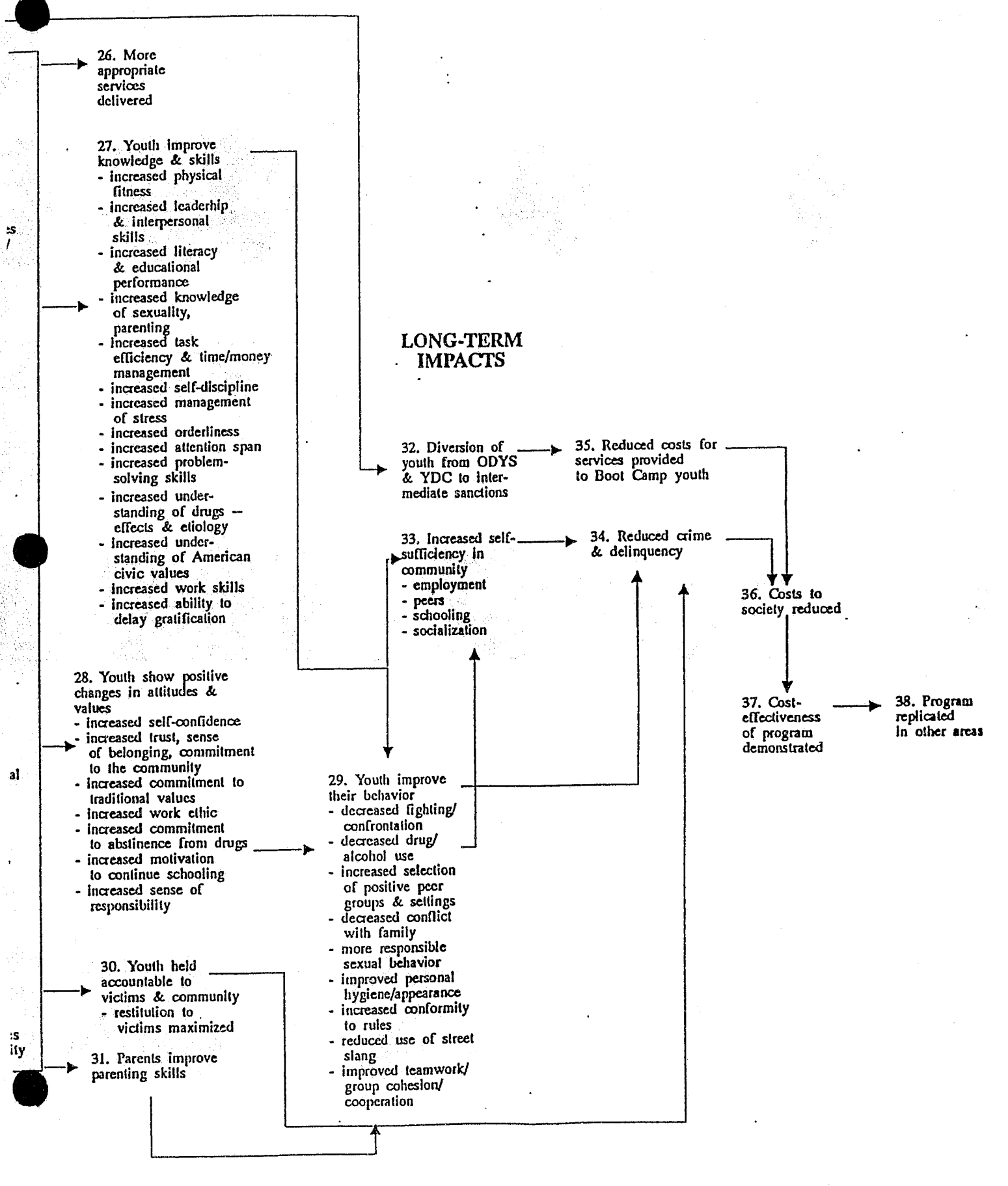
36. Costs to society reduced

37. Cost-effectiveness of program demonstrated

38. Program replicated in other areas

29. Youth improve their behavior

- decreased fighting/confrontation
- decreased drug/alcohol use
- increased selection of positive peer groups & settings
- decreased conflict with family
- more responsible sexual behavior
- improved personal hygiene/appearance
- increased conformity to rules
- reduced use of street slang
- improved teamwork/group cohesion/cooperation



and refined the program model. Over the next quarter, they completed a program operations manual and trained staff. The court tested selection procedures and began selecting the first cohort of youth in March 1992. These youth were transferred to the Boot Camp on April 1, 1992.

The first cohort of youth graduated from the boot camp at the end of June 1992 and entered the aftercare program over the July 4 weekend. At that juncture plans for the aftercare program were not fully developed, the program was not fully staffed, and it was located in temporary quarters. However, by September 1992 the aftercare program had moved to a second location, and under a new director it had begun taking shape. The first cohort will complete the aftercare program between October and December 1992.

C. Program Structure and Resources

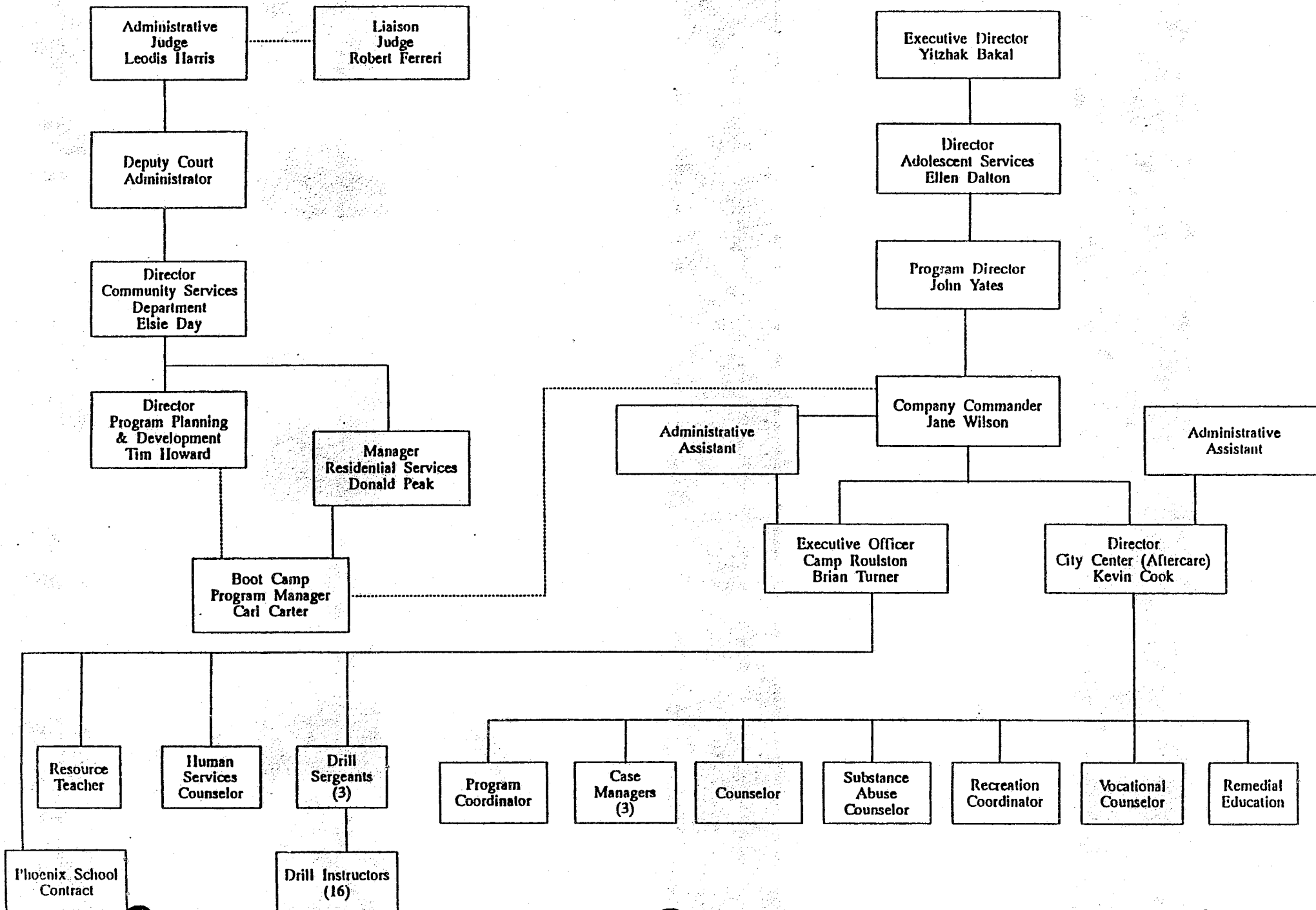
The Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court holds the cooperative agreement with OJJDP and BJA. The court in turn has an agreement with the North American Family Institute (NFI) to develop and operate the residential boot camp and aftercare phases of the program. The court coordinates all program activities and has sole responsibility for program planning, research and evaluation, and fiscal matters. NFI is responsible for program operations and training and technical assistance. In terms of programmatic assignments, the Juvenile Court is responsible for Phase 1-Selection. NFI is responsible for Phase 2-Intensive Training and the two aftercare phases, Phase 3-Preparedness and Phase 4-Accountability.

The organizational structure of the Cleveland program is complex with multiple lines of authority governing day to day operations, as shown in Figure 2. Ultimate authority for the program is vested in the Community Services Department of the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court. The Community Services Department provides coordinating functions and fiscal and administrative supervision on an in-kind basis. The team also includes one

Figure 2. Organizational Chart for the Cleveland Boot Camp Program

Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court

North American Family Institute



member paid out of grant funds -- the Boot Camp Program Manager. He is responsible for overseeing the selection process, serving as the liaison between the court and the Coordinator of the Boot Camp Program, and regularly updating the court on the progress of the youth as they move through the different stages of the program.

The judges of the Cuyahoga Juvenile Court are committed to the boot camp concept and serve in an advisory capacity. In addition, the program proposal calls for the establishment of an advisory committee of five to nine members that would provide comments and recommendations regarding: strategies and activities for the program; the advisability of establishing permanent boot camp programming; and monitoring and evaluation strategies. In August 1992 the program began soliciting members for the panel. The first meeting is scheduled for December, 1992.

NFI has assigned primary responsibility for coordinating and administering the Boot Camp and Aftercare programs to a Company Commander, located at Camp Roulston. In NFI's organizational structure, she reports to the Director of Adolescent Services in Boston, Massachusetts and to an NFI Program Director who runs an institution in Baltimore, Maryland. During the planning and first few months of primary operations, NFI also assigned an on-site representative to oversee program implementation.

Program staff at the boot camp include: the Company Commander; an Executive Officer; an Administrative Assistant; a Human Services Counselor; three Senior Drill Instructors; and 16 Drill Instructors. The commander is a social worker who has over 15 years' experience as a court officer and probation coordinator in the Summit County, Ohio Court of Common Pleas. While she has no military background, the second in command served in the United State Marine Corps reserves for six years. He also brings experience as a detention center group counselor and an exercise physiologist and fitness instructor for a youth program. The Senior Drill Instructors all share prior experience in the military and in youth-serving organizations. The backgrounds of the Drill Instructors are more varied. Some come from predominately military backgrounds, some from work with delinquent youth either through probation or corrections, and some from community-based youth programs.

The director of the aftercare component reports directly to the Company Commander for NFI. The Aftercare staff include: an Administrative Assistant; a Program Coordinator; three Case Managers; a Counselor; a Substance Abuse Counselor; a Recreation Coordinator; a Vocational Counselor; and a part-time Remedial Education Specialist.

The organizational structure of the program is further complicated by the involvement of the Cuyahoga County Board of Commissioners and the staff of the county's correctional facility, the Youth Development Center. The Board of Commissioners donated two cottages at the YDC for the residential phase of the Boot Camp Program. Organizationally, the Boot Camp Program is autonomous from YDC, but the co-location of the two programs produces many interdependencies. Boot Camp youth share the use of common facilities such as the school and gymnasium with YDC youth and are provided with YDC medical care and food services. Any alterations to the boot camp that affect YDC's scheduling, space allocation, or medical and dietary services require clearance through YDC.

Because of the complexity of these arrangements and in order to avoid disputes, the program has developed interagency agreements between the court and NFI, and between Cuyahoga Country, the court and NFI. These agreements stipulate responsibilities and timetables for the program.

D. The Intervention Model

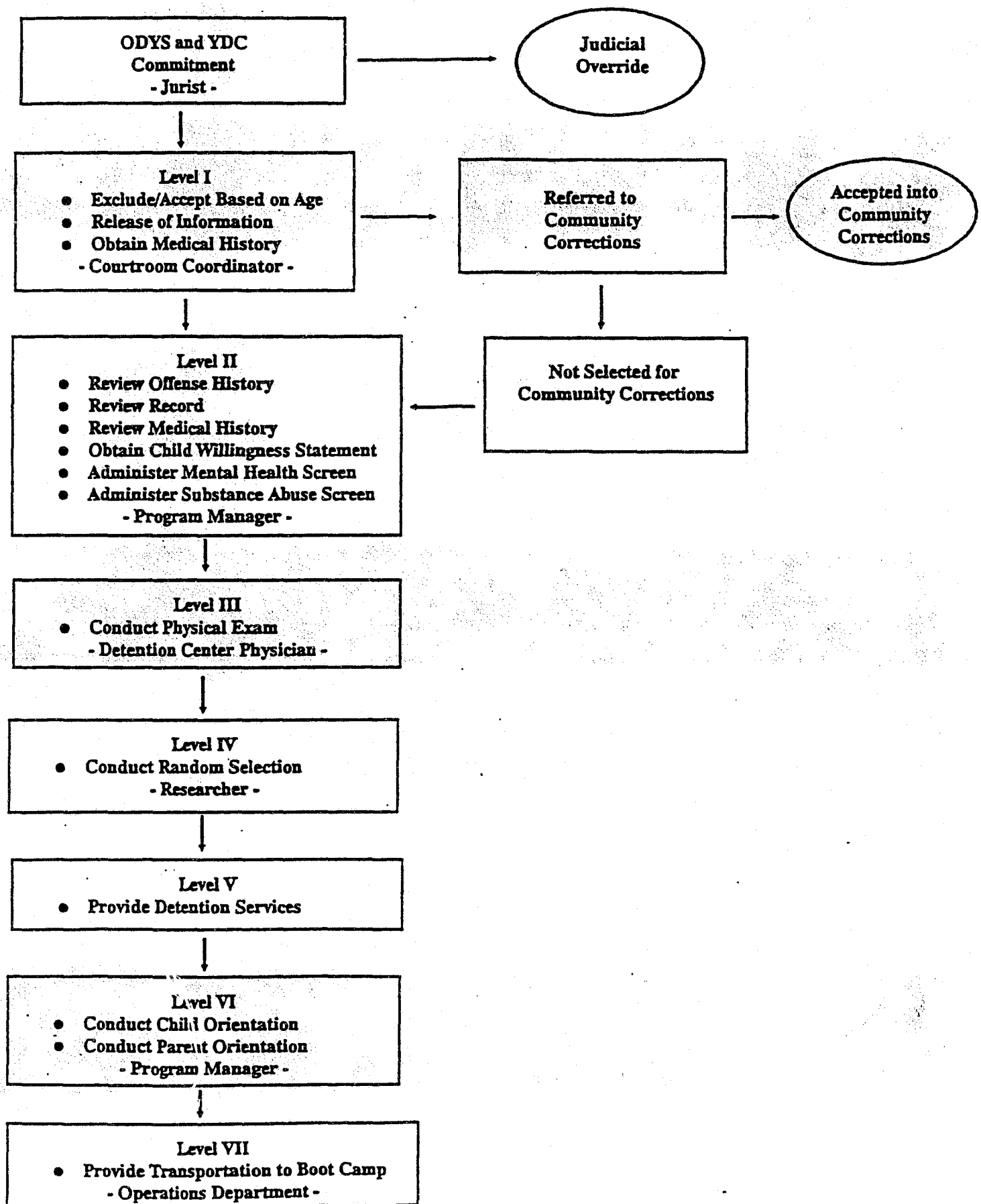
The program combines military regimentation and conditioning with rehabilitative components, a challenge program, and a range of aftercare and follow-up services. Youth will move through the four phases of treatment specified in the Program Announcement for the Boot Camp Program:

1. Selection, including random assignment, voluntary participation, and criminal history, psychological, medical and drug screening. A new cohort of 10 youth enters the Boot Camp on the first of each month. The selection process begins with a court order committing the youth to ODYS or YDC, and ends upon transport to the Boot Camp, approximately two days to three weeks later.
2. Intensive Training, a quasi-military, residential program of three months duration, with extensions of an additional month for youth unable to complete the requirements for graduation. The program is highly structured and regimented, with youth moving through three levels of 30 days each, each level characterized by more complex challenges.

3. Preparedness, an intensively supervised six- to ten-week aftercare program in downtown Cleveland, with intensive supervision provided from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., for a minimum of one month. The length and intensity of supervision is gradually diminished in several stepdown phases as the youth adjusts to the community.
4. Accountability, a six- to ten-week extension of aftercare activities, involving case management support and vocational placements, restitution or community service, and monitoring. At the conclusion of this phase an aftercare plan will be developed, including follow-up.

Phase 1. Selection. The program attempts to recruit 20 youth who meet criteria for participation each month, and then to randomly assign them either to Boot Camp or to the control conditions — an Ohio Department of Youth Services (ODYS) facility or the county's Youth Development Center (YDC). In order to reach this target of 20 youth by the first of each month, the program begins screening early in the month. As pairs of youth enter the final eligibility pool, the research team assigns them to the experimental (Boot Camp) or control condition. Boot Camp youth are held at the Cuyahoga Juvenile Court Detention Center, and transported as a group to camp at the first of the month. Control youth are sent

Figure 3. BOOT CAMP
RECRUIT SELECTION PROCESS



At this stage youth can be taken out of the eligibility pool by a judicial override or by selection for the Community Corrections Program.

Next the Project Manager (Level II screen) reviews the youth's record, conducts a mental health and substance abuse screen, and holds a joint interview with the youth and a parent or guardian. The criteria applied at this stage are:

- exclusion of serious, habitual offenders and those believed to pose a risk of escape
- absence of serious mental disturbances
- not requiring detoxification
- voluntary agreement to enter the random assignment pool.

Youth who have survived the screening to this point undergo a physical exam (Level III screen) by the detention center medical staff to determine if they are physically fit for the boot camp regimen. Then youth enter the final eligibility pool and are randomly assigned to

boot camp or control conditions by the researchers. Once youth have been notified as to their assignments, the Project Manager completes an intake form for the evaluation and administers the baseline survey of attitudes and behaviors.

Phase 2. Intensive Training (Camp Roulston). Camp Roulston is an intensive, quasi-military residential program located on the campus of the Youth Development Center in the countryside about 30 miles from Cleveland. The boot camp program operates out of two 20-bed cottages on the outer edge of the YDC campus adjacent to the highway. Boot Camp shares use of the grounds, the gymnasium, the school, and medical facilities with YDC, but primarily through scheduling, they avoid commingling the two populations.

Camp Roulston is a staff secure program with supervision and behavior management provided through a system of levels of confrontation, rewards and contingencies, and sanctions for negative behavior. Youth progress through three 30-day levels designed to provide opportunities for achieving intermediate goals and being recognized for them, and to offer occasions for rites of passage, including a formal graduation ceremony. As the youth become accustomed to the routines and learn the requisite behaviors, they earn increased responsibility and leadership opportunities, as well as other rewards. The three levels are:

- *"Recruit."* Designated by red shirts, the focus during the first month is on assessment and intensive orientation to make the transition to a more structured environment and training in military customs, procedures, and protocols.
- *"Cadet."* Designated by yellow shirts, cadets continue the activities and regimen established during the recruit phase at progressively challenging levels, and are required to complete and pass the military leadership training. During this phase they rotate in on-ground jobs and are eligible to earn rewards such as off-site trips.
- *"Commissioned."* Designated by green shirts, commissioned emphasize the transition back into the community, through techniques such as the preparation of an essay on concepts learned at boot camp, the development of a detailed aftercare plan and meetings with their aftercare case managers, participation in work projects, and post-tests of their progress. Before release, youth participate in a weekend trip with their aftercare case manager.

In many respects the boot camp program is indistinguishable from more traditional correctional programs for delinquent youth. The services provided build upon NFI's

successful experience at institutions such as the Thomas O'Farrell School in Maryland. They include individualized educational programming, guided group interaction sessions, substance abuse education and treatment, and individualized case management. What sets Camp Roulston apart is the military discipline and structure and the intensive physical conditioning and training. The backbone of the military-like atmosphere is a tightly controlled, rigorous daily schedule that includes physical training, military drills, training in military customs, courtesies and protocols, and instruction in daily living skills. Youth wear uniforms and are required to maintain high standards of comportment, personal hygiene, space and cottage upkeep, and food preparation. The military flavor permeates all of the activities in the Intensive Training phase.

Other core service elements for the Intensive Training Phase include:

- the development of an individualized treatment plan for each youth.
- physical conditioning and training including daily calisthenics and runs, group sports, and nutritious meals.
- drill and ceremony

- challenge programming employing a ropes course.
- training in daily living skills by requiring youth to maintain their own living quarters, to pass daily inspections, to perform kitchen duties, to wash and iron their uniforms, and to develop basic personal hygiene routines.
- substance abuse prevention activities and optional weekly meetings of Narcotics Anonymous and Alcoholics Anonymous groups.
- Guided Group Interaction (GGI) groups for one hour, five days a week. GGI is a group process that attempts to establish a positive peer culture. Following written rules of interaction, the group discusses problem behaviors or feelings and attempts to develop acceptable solutions.
- individualized education and phonics. Schooling is provided through a contract with the Phoenix School, an alternative school certified by the Cleveland Board of Education. Boot camp youth attend classes at the YDC school in segregated classrooms. In addition, they attend a remedial English class daily and are tutored on an as-needed basis.

- job skills training through assignments to on-grounds projects and sessions on work ethic and habits.

During the last month of the Intensive Training phase the focus is on reintegration of the youth in his community. Each youth participates in the development of an individualized aftercare plan and meets with his aftercare case manager. A graduation ceremony attended by parents and court officials marks the end of boot camp, offering an opportunity for the participants to demonstrate and achieve recognition for their progress. Following the ceremony there is a three-day trip to ease the transition back into the community.

Phase 3. Preparedness. The aftercare program is part of the Juvenile Court's Community Corrections Program, funded by a subsidy from the State of Ohio. It is located at City Center, in a neighborhood that is proximate to the residences of many of the youth. NFI leases the building from a social services agency with extensive linkages to the community.

During the first six- to ten-week portion of boot camp aftercare youth live at home, attend their own school, and are supervised at the City Center after school until 9 p.m. and on weekends. The aftercare program is case management-driven, with each aftercare worker supervising a caseload of no more than 10 youth when the program is at maximum capacity.

Surveillance of youth is more intensive than in traditional aftercare programs. The program transports youth daily from their home or school to the City Center where they are supervised continuously. In addition youth may be subject to electronic voice monitoring and to unscheduled urine tests for drugs. Infractions are handled through a variety of sanctions including a peer jury system.

Many of the services provided during this phase build upon the progress and objectives established during the Intensive Training phase. However, because the emphasis during Preparedness is on interrelating with the community, the military emphasis of the program is discontinued. The core service elements include the following:

- case management including referral of youth and their families to social services agencies and regular review and updating of their plans.
- physical conditioning including organized sports that emphasize teamwork and calisthenics after school and on weekends.
- remedial education services four nights a week at the City Center. The services consist of educational assessment; language, reading and math

instruction; GED preparation; and meetings with parents to address family and youth issues related to educational development.

- instruction in survival skills such as money management, meal preparation, and independent living.
- group counseling and substance abuse support groups.
- vocational education training such as development of job skills, placement of youth in jobs, and monitoring and evaluation of job performance.

Phase 4. Accountability. During the Accountability Phase the supervision and program activities initiated in the Preparedness Phase are gradually diminished over a six- to ten-week period. In addition, youth who have committed property offenses and for whom restitution to the victim is ordered will be placed in jobs in the nonprofit sector to pay off their restitution.

Toward the conclusion of this phase, the youth and case manager will develop weekly and monthly objectives for the year after release. Monthly meetings of youth and case managers are planned to monitor the youth's progress in achieving these objectives.

E. Offender Characteristics: The Selection Process

In Cleveland intake data are available for youth in the four cohorts to enter the boot camp from June to September, 1992. Intake data were provided by boot camp staff on the basis of the information available in the youth's case file and in the Criminal Justice Information System. In reporting these data, we caution that the data collection effort was designed as a pre-test only. A number of changes were made to the forms and procedures during this period. In addition, the data analysis uncovered a number of inconsistencies that can only be resolved on-site while reviewing individual records. With these caveats in mind, the data do provide a snapshot of the characteristics of the youth in the boot camp program.

Demographics. The 38 boot camp youth ranged in age from 14 to 18, with the vast majority (85 percent) age 16 or over. For the 36 youth whose race was designated, 22 (61 percent)

are African Americans, 12 (33 percent) are white, and 2 (6 percent) are Hispanic. The youth range in height from 5 feet 2 inches to 6 feet 2 inches and in weight from 100 to 245 pounds.

Instant Offense. At the time of the offense that prompted consideration by the boot camp program, only 16.2 percent of the youth were free from juvenile justice system involvement. Almost 70 percent of the youth were on probation or parole, and the remaining 13 percent either had charges pending or were already under commitment. For 18.4 percent of the youth, the instant offense consisted solely of a violation of probation or court order for a previously adjudicated offense. For another 13.1 percent a formal complaint was filed for a violation of a court order or a suspended commitment was activated, but the youth were also brought before the court on a new offense. For 31 youth (68.4 percent), the boot camp commitment was solely for a new offense regardless of the youth's probation status.

Table 3.1 shows the most serious charges brought against the 31 youth who entered the program on new offenses. The most serious charge was a person-to-person offense for nine youth (29.0 %). Two of these offenses required the victim to be hospitalized, and two others caused minor injuries. The most serious charges levelled against 15 youth (48.3%)

Table 3.1. Most Serious Charge for Instant Offense

	Frequency	
Person-to-Person Crimes	9	(23.6%)
Felony Assault	4	
Aggravated Assault	1	
Assault	1	
Aggravated Robbery	1	
Robbery	2	
Property Crimes	14	(36.7%)
Burglary	1	
Breaking and Entering	1	
Theft	1	
Receiving Stolen Property	11	
Drug Crimes	8	(21.0%)
Drug Trafficking	6	
Drug Abuse	1	
Conspiracy	1	
Violation of Court Order	7	(18.4%)

were property crimes, with estimated value losses ranging from zero to over \$1,000. And there were seven youth (22.5%) charged with drug trafficking or abuse. All of these offenses are felonies. Two of the youth committed offenses designated as Felony "1's", the most serious offenses. Seven committed Felony "2's", 17 committed Felony "3's", four committed Felony "4's", and one case was unable to be coded. Five youth used a gun in the commission of the instant offense, but the vast majority of cases did not involve a weapon.

Upon referral to the court for the instant offense, 20 of the 28 youth for whom there are data were held in secure detention and another 3 were held in nonsecure settings. Only 5 youth were released. About 70 percent of the youth were sentenced to the ODYS and 30 percent to YDC. Restitution was ordered for only three youth.

Family Characteristics. At the time of their arrest 13 youth (36.8%) were living in two-parent families, six of them with both parents and seven with a parent and step-parent. Eighteen youth (47.4%) were living with their mother only and two were living with their father only.

Four youth were living with a non-parent relative. Compared to the living arrangements of youth in Ohio as shown in Table 3.2 below, fewer boot camp youth live in two parent families and more live in single parent families or with relatives.

Table 3.2. Comparison of Living Arrangements of Boot Camp Youth and Youth in Ohio

Living Arrangement	Ohio	Boot Camp Population
Living in Two Parent Family	70.3%	36.9%
Living in Single Parent Family	21.7%	52.6%
Living With Other Relatives	6.1%	10.5%
Living Outside Family	1.9%	0.0%

The households of over half of the youth receive public assistance. Twelve families participate in the AFDC program and two families receive SSI benefits. None of the families were reported to be eligible for Medicaid or Social Security benefits.

Many of the boot camp youth come from families already known to the criminal justice system. The records of 21 youth (55.5%) indicated that their parent or guardian has a criminal record. And 14 youth (36.8%) have at least one delinquent sibling. For 12 families ((31.6%) the records show a prior dependency proceeding for child abuse or neglect.

Social and Education Status. Eleven (29.7%) of the boot camp youth were not enrolled in school when they entered the program, and the social histories of another 21 youth (56.8%) showed very poor school attendance. Ninth grade is the highest grade completed successfully by any of the boot camp enrollees. Eleven youth had completed ninth grade, 13 youth had completed eighth grade, and 12 youth had not yet completed middle school. A comparison of age and grade completed indicates that 79 percent are more than two years below the modal age for their grades.

Most of the boot camp youth had been enrolled in a regular or mainstream educational program, with only two youth coming from learning disabled classes and one youth from emotionally disturbed classes.

Table 3.3 shows ratings of the seriousness of problem behaviors exhibited by boot camp youth. These ratings were made on the basis of information available in the court records.

Table 3.3. Ratings of Youth Problems

	No Problem	Minor Problem	Major Problem	Unknown
Discipline at School	5 (13.2%)	3 (7.9%)	29 (76.3%)	1 (2.6%)
Discipline at Home	1 (2.6%)	16 (42.1%)	21 (55.3%)	
Drug Use	25 (65.8%)	6 (15.8%)	4 (10.5%)	3 (7.9%)
Alcohol Use	21 (55.3%)	7 (18.4%)	7 (18.4%)	3 (7.9%)
Drug Sale	12 (31.6%)	3 (7.9%)	17 (44.7%)	6 (15.8%)
Fighting	8 (21.1%)	16 (42.1%)	12 (31.6%)	2 (5.3%)
Gang Involvement	8 (21.1%)	4 (10.5%)	11 (28.9%)	15 (39.4%)
Psychol. Diagnosis	6 (15.8%)	2 (5.3%)	2 (5.3%)	29 (76.3%)

Discipline at home and at school had been a serious problem for many of the boot camp youth. Over three-quarters of the youth had major disciplinary problems at school and over half had major problems at home. Seventy-three percent of the youth have a history of fighting, and thirty-nine percent are known to have engaged in gang activities. While most of the youth do not have a known history of drug or alcohol use, over half of them have been involved in drug sales. Although these youth's histories showed fairly serious, disruptive behaviors, only three of them had been diagnosed to have a psychological disorder.

Intake data were available for 13 youth assigned to the control group. Because of the small number of cases, no frequencies are reported for the control youth. However, information from the control and experimental cases was compared, using statistical tests of differences of means or differences of proportions as appropriate. No statistically significant differences were found between the two groups on any of the items. This is an indication that the assignment procedures are successfully producing equivalent groups on the baseline measures, providing an appropriate foundation for the assessment of subsequent impacts of the Boot Camp experience.

F. On-Site Observations

The Selection Process. A youth's and parent's or guardian's first orientation to the Boot Camp Program occurs in an intake interview with the Boot Camp Program Manager. The meetings are hastily scheduled and held in whatever space can be located on short notice-- a noisy, open reception room at the detention center or a small office in the court. The Program Manager gives a brief overview of the program, describing it as a challenging military program that helps youth develop discipline. He explains that the residential phase of the program is shorter than what they can expect under their current commitment and that the youth must volunteer for the program to be considered, but that researchers will make the final assignments on a random basis.

From observations of a few of these meetings, both the youth and the parents appeared to require no more than the brief overview of the program to decide that they wanted to participate in the boot camp. Parents expressed the hope that the program would give them discipline and was a "last chance for him to change his ways". A mother and grandmother begged for their child to be included, since he was not really a "bad person," but just needed some help to keep him out of trouble. The motivation for participation in the

boot camp program may, of course, simply reflect a fear of ODYS and YDC and a desire for a shorter-term commitment.

Camp Roulston. The boot camp cottages are on the edge of the bucolic YDC campus, with eight brick cottages set among rolling green fields with geese ambling about. Upon entering one of the two cottages assigned to the boot camp, the most immediately striking observation is the fact that the facility is absolutely fastidious, sparsely furnished, and devoid of any decoration. The floors are immaculate, the beds are neatly made, and spare uniforms are neatly hanging in the appointed space. It looks like a military boot camp.

The youth mirror the military theme. They are dressed in neatly pressed uniforms and appear extremely proud of their appearance. Youth use military jargon — addressing each other as "Recruit Jones" or "Commissioned Smith" and responding to orders with a crisp "yes, sir." They were extremely polite to both staff and observers, opening doors and waiting for adults to be seated before them. As in the military, youth have daily KP assignments and inspections of their quarters. They appear to relish participating in drills, and were observed practicing maneuvers during their free time. While youth march to and for classes in groups, it is not a sharp, precision march. It is, however, enough of a display

to have attracted the attention of the non-boot camp YDC youth, some of whom have begun copying the marching and requested uniforms.

The rigid time schedule and physical conditioning requirements continue the military theme. Reveille is at 0600 followed by calisthenics and a run. Then youth shower, dress, and prepare for inspection. By 0800 they have finished breakfast, held a meeting and are marching to the school. School is in session until 1125, followed by another meeting and lunch. Afternoons are devoted to drills, guided group interaction, challenge activities, and daily living instruction. Then following dinner the youth engage in counseling sessions, prepare their homework, and are in bed by 2200. It is a grueling schedule with almost no down time and no provision for entertainment such as television. (The contrast between the activity level at the boot camp and that at one of the nearby ODYS facilities where over 50 youth were observed watching television is startling.) In fact, the schedule was so wearing on the youth that the boot camp has scheduled an afternoon nap time. All of the recruits were sound asleep on the days of the site visits.

While the boot camp has borrowed military dress, courtesies, and scheduling and requires adherence to a strict set of rules, it has not incorporated the negative, punitive aspects of some military discipline. The drill sergeants do not yell at the youth and do not

appear to seize unwarranted opportunities for punishment. Disciplinary problems mostly consist of "lack of bearings" or not following through on what they have been told to do. When problems arise, staff try to negotiate with the youth first, then resort to physical removal of the youth from the situation (a restraint). Much of the discipline is exerted by the group since points and rewards are earned or lost by the platoon as a whole as well as by individuals. If one youth does not pass inspection or is disobedient, the entire group loses. As a consequence, the rebels are not looked upon favorably by the platoon, and youth expressed relief that some of the more egregious offenders had been dropped by the program.

As a means of establishing a positive peer culture, the program holds Guided Group Interaction (GGI) sessions five days a week for one hour. Following written rules of interaction, the group discusses problem behaviors or feelings and attempts to develop acceptable solutions. Each youth is asked if he has experienced a problem that day and other youth are then asked to comment on the problem or add their own observations about him. The facilitator attempts to keep the youth focused on each other rather than on the adults present, asking them to look each other in the eyes, and to talk to the recruit whose behavior is under discussion. Youth are encouraged to divulge their life stories and to discuss family issues.

One group observed in their third week in the program was impressive in the degree of group cohesion and support they exhibited. The group started with monosyllabic responses to questions, but as they moved around the circle, the problems aired became more personal and the discussion more intense. For instance, one recruit reported that he was angry because the others were accusing him of being "butt buddies" with his roommate. In the ensuing discussion, the other youth claimed that they called him names primarily because he and his friend were always talking during platoon maneuvers and getting the entire platoon in trouble. The group's solution was for the friends to refrain from talking during drills and for the rest of the group to refrain from name-calling and inappropriate accusations. The group leader concluded by stressing that only the two friends really know what the relationship is and that it is good to have friends.

Underlying much of the discussion was concern about whether an individual was "fronting" or covering his true feelings in order to slide through the program. One youth who had been in trouble fairly consistently received a number of compliments from the other youth about his behavior for the past few days, followed by, "I hope you're not fronting man."

Another element of the program model intended to build a positive peer culture is challenge programming. However, implementation of the challenge programs was delayed because of disagreements between the boot camp and YDC staff on the location of the challenge course. Construction of the course is in progress, but none of the boot camp staff have yet been trained in conducting challenge activities.

The boot camp employs individualized educational programming under contract with a local alternative school. Supplementary classes in English and reading are taught by a professor from a local university. During observations of several boot camp classes, youth were actively engaged in the activities and behaving appropriately, possibly because of the presence of a Drill Sergeant outside of the door. The teachers used traditional didactic methods such as lectures, class discussions, and paper and pencil tests. For instance, an English class was reviewing a fill-in-the-blank test covering homonyms and common grammatical mistakes. For each item the teacher asked the group for the correct answer and repeated it several times. During the test review, she gave a lecture on the necessity of practice to improve their reading. Attention began to wane towards the end of the hour, but given the topic and the length of time the youth had to sit, it was impressive nonetheless.

The program is not without its problems and implementation difficulties. Staff turnover has been higher than expected and the program has had difficulty recruiting experienced staff at the salary levels available. Some youth have not adjusted to the program and have either been removed by program staff or gone AWOL. And the interplay of the various agencies involved has not always been smooth. Particularly for YDC and the boot camp where there are a myriad of interdependencies, the early history was fraught with a number of near-crises. But as precedents are set and the program settles into a routine, the relationship is less strained.

G. How the Youth Perceive the Experience

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with youth in the first two cohorts to enter the program. On the brink of their graduation from Camp Roulston, their responses were as follows:

- Why did you volunteer for the program? The military aspects of the program appealed to the youth, and all except one of them offered positive reasons for participating. One youth admitted that he had chosen boot camp because it

was shorter than an ODYS commitment. However, he felt he had been hoodwinked, because he had not understood that there would be 6 months of intensive aftercare supervision, which, in his estimation, makes boot camp more onerous than ODYS.... *"It's like being in jail in your own house."*

"I wanted to be in the military." My uncle was in the Marines and my goal is to go into the military. It is better than going to ODYS.

"I volunteered to pick up learning skills."

"I volunteered because, for once, I wanted to change, have a good learning experience."

"I like the military." The program people convinced me that I could make it here.

"I talked with (the Program Manager) and felt discipline was what I needed."

"When I heard 3 months it appealed, but it was the appeal of making you change your ways."

- Is the program what you thought it would be? Most of the youth reported that boot camp was what they had anticipated, but several of them thought it would be more like the Marines. They seemed slightly disappointed that it was not more rigorous physically. Several youth reported that they had some difficulty originally with following orders, but had soon realized that they would either have to fall in with the group or be dismissed from the program. Staying in and completing the program became a challenge. One youth said that he *"wanted the self-confidence to finish it... and self determination."*

Another said that he had expected that the program would be conferences, and that it wouldn't change him. *"Then on the 15th day I found I had changed."* He wasn't sure what had changed him, but believed it was the attention the drill sergeants gave. They *"pull you over to the side and talk to you."* He contrasted his experience at boot camp to his experience on probation. On probation, he *"let me do what I wanted to do. The only time I saw the probation officer was at court."*

"What they said about boot camp is true. I like it. It's what I expected."

- What do you like best about the program? All of the youth interviewed said they liked the boot camp program (except one who was ambivalent) and felt that it had helped them accomplish major changes in their attitudes, self-discipline, and confidence. Youth mentioned GGI, the exercise regimen, activities like going fishing and movies, and *"teaching you to take care of yourself."* Two youth singled out the education program as the most helpful program component. One youth attributed the difference in his progress at the boot camp school (proudly reported as two "A"s, two "B"s and one "C") to the fact that he had to go to school here, whereas *"at home I had an attitude."* One youth said that the best part of the program was achieving awards in school so that you *"feel smart."* Discipline was the most positive aspect of the program for one youth, because *"he never had respect for people that much before."*
- What do you like least about the program? Because the youth interviewed were in the first cohort to enter the program, a number of them felt that they had been guinea pigs and that the rules and structure of the program had

changed as they progressed through the program. For instance, one youth said that *"they should have had it down before we came."* Another reported that the staff were inconsistent. They *"don't know how to interact with kids... They let things slide, they let things go by...they go by the schedule and if you don't do it it's your fault."* *"Some staff acted the same as the kids."* He then tempered his criticism by explaining that one staff member gets more respect than anyone, and that a lot of the new staff are good, particularly the afternoon shift. No one mentioned that the discipline was too strict. In fact, one kid reported that the *"worst punishment is 25 pushups."*

One youth explained that the weekend schedule bothered him. However, he then reported that he did not mind studying for an hour on the weekends, and that he was glad that they only had access to television for a few hours a week so that it would not interfere with study time. He seemed to like the education program at boot camp, contrasting it to the detention center, *"a place you go to sit with no education."*

- What has the program done for you? The kids were extremely optimistic about the magnitude of the changes in self-confidence, self-discipline, and "attitude"

that had occurred as a result of their participation in the boot camp. They all appeared nervous about their impending reentry to their home environments, but seemed confident that they would be able to make it in a straight life. Some of their comments are as follows:

"I liked learning respect and discipline....which is good because I never had respect for people that much." Also, I got skills for job interviews and applications, self-awareness, and a better mental attitude.

"I learned how to talk to people and face up to situations, say what I feel."

"I learned discipline and respect." They taught us how to do applications. *"I just don't believe that we are leaving so soon."*

It has taught me self-confidence because I finished it. I wanted self-determination. *"At first I thought it was my program and I was taking advantage of people, but I started realizing that I had to follow orders or leave."*

"I just want to say that I hope it gets to help everybody else out just like it helped me out. It's a good thing."

"It has helped a little bit. It's better than DH [the Detention Center]. I hated DH, because I was always fighting and stuff."

"It's taught me to go out and do the right thing."

- What do you plan to do when you return home? Except for one youth who planned to attend college, the aspirations and plans of the older youth were to locate blue collar jobs. The younger ones all planned to return to school. In responding to the question about future plans, a number of youth brought up concerns about their living arrangements, their families, and fear of pressure from gang peers.

(An 18 year-old.) I don't like school and would probably just play hookey if I returned, so I plan to take the GED and get a part-time job. I want landscape work or carpentry, because they are the best jobs besides shoveling snow. Landscape work is a problem because I am allergic to grass and trees, but I cut the grass at my grandmother's house in Kentucky, and it was not a

problem. I will probably go back to live with *"one lady and her husband"*. I haven't been in trouble since I have been living with them, because they are friends. "I have enemies at my mother's house, so I am better off living with my friends. I haven't called my mother since I got locked up, but I did write to her, and she came up for visitation one time. I haven't seen my sister in a long time because she has been in an institution. Mom locked her into a second story bedroom, and then when she tried to jump out, Mom had her locked up in an institution.

(A 17 year-old.) *"Going back to school is heading for trouble. How would people accept me when I have made a change? They will think I betrayed the gang."* Because of the peer pressure I want to go to Job Corps far out of town. (When questioned about what he would do about the gang tatoo on his face, he responded that his mother had saved enough money to have his tatoo and a serious knife scar on his neck removed.) When I do my resume, I have done landscaping and janitor experience from boot camp. Also I have been a Squad Leader so I can help with kids.

My goal is to be in the military. I will go back to the 11th grade at my same high school. My family is supposed to be moving, because I am in a gang, and they will kill me. *"I have to stay away from the wrong people."*

(A 17 year-old.) I want to be an electrician or a carpenter, but I really want to play basketball. I couldn't play basketball at school because of my grades. I got B's and C's here, because they explain stuff, and you learn more. There are fewer kids per teacher. I like electrician work. I learned it from my father. I will live with my mother.

(A 16 year-old.) I will return to the ninth grade. *"I know I will finish high school and know I will go to college."* My brother is just getting ready to go to college.

I plan to try to get a summer job and get out of aftercare in 4 months. I plan to go to high school. I will be in ninth grade. *"At public school I just drank beer, smoked, and talked back to teachers. I didn't care."*

I will go back to school in 11th grade. *"I will try to be a role model for my younger brothers and sisters....try to help them out....try to better myself."* I have learned to volunteer for jobs and take initiative.

"I will return to eighth grade and finish school." I will be at a different school, because I start high school.

In summary, youth from the first two cohorts volunteered for the boot camp program because they believed it offered the opportunity to alter the course of their lives, possibly opening the avenue of future military service. Also, the commitment required of them was not too daunting, given the fact that the residential boot camp phase lasts only three months compared to an average four to eight months in the control placements. Nor were the physical regimen and military aspects of the program perceived as negatives. Thus far, the experience of the boot camp had met their expectations, although there were disappointments with staff, rules, programs, and a general frustration with the fact that not all of the programs or policies had been in place for their cohorts. Awareness that the program was still developing was particularly apparent for the youth who were nervously preparing to enter the aftercare phases of the program.

H. The Program Environment: Juvenile Court and Corrections

The Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court. Juvenile courts in Ohio are a division of the Common Pleas Courts in each county. The Juvenile Court has jurisdiction over delinquency, unruly behavior (status offenses), dependency, neglect and abuse, custody matters, and traffic offenses involving youth through 17 years of age. The Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court has six judges and ten referees who handle lesser felonies and misdemeanors.

When a youth is taken into custody for delinquency, detention intake decides whether he or she should be held in detention until the first court hearing. For a youth to be held, there must be a threat of absconding, no parent or guardian willing to provide care, or a need to protect the child or others or their property. If held, youth must have a hearing set within 72 hours to determine if continued detention is indicated.

The court strives to resolve delinquency matters within 90 days from date of filing. If the youth admits the offense or is found delinquent by the court, the judge has several dispositional alternatives. These include probation, commitment to the county's Youth Development Center, commitment to the Ohio Department of Youth Services, suspension of driver's licenses, commitment to parents, restitution, fines, and fees for costs, or some

combination of the above. Youth who are eligible for the boot camp program are sentenced either to YDC or ODYS, with random assignment occurring afterward. Control youth proceed to either YDC or ODYS as sentenced. Youth assigned to the experimental group get a "stay" of their original sentence but it can be reactivated if they fail in boot camp.

Ohio Department of Youth Services. The Ohio Department of Youth Services is responsible for ten institutions, nine of which are available to youth in the control group. (Cuyahoga County youth are not eligible for the Paint Creek Youth Center, another OJJDP-funded demonstration program.) Youth are assigned to the different institutions based on the degree of community control they require (classified as minimum, medium, maximum according to prior history, age, and committing offense) and their special programming needs. Some institutions have special drug treatment, special education, or sex offender treatment programs, for example. Of the nine institutions that serve Cuyahoga youth, two are minimum security, four are medium security, and three are maximum security.

Commitments to ODYS are limited to youth found guilty of Felonies 1 - 4 or homicide. The judge must impose a minimum stay of 12 months for those convicted of Felony 1 or 2 (e.g., murder, aggravated robbery, burglary) and 6 months for those convicted of Felony 3 or 4. A youth may be held until his or her twenty-first birthday. However,

youth can apply to the judge for early release or be released early if they meet DYS guidelines. As a result, in FY 1990 the average stay was 9.8 months for Felony 1, 9.5 months for Felony 2, and about 5.6 months for Felonies 3 and 4. Murder and aggravated murder resulted in average sentences of 43.0 and 46.5 months respectively. As most of the boot camp youth are convicted of a Felony 3 or 4, their three-month residential phase in boot camp is just 2.6 months shorter than that of the control population sentenced to ODYS.

Upon release, ODYS youth are assigned to one of five regional offices staffed by 161 aftercare counselors. Cuyahoga County currently has 250-270 youth in aftercare managed by 17 youth counselors.

Youth Development Center. Alternatively, control group youth may be sentenced to the Youth Development Center (YDC), a residential treatment center in Hudson, Ohio that shares its campus with the boot camp. YDC is operated by the Cuyahoga County Department of Youth Services. This coeducational facility serves youth aged 12 to 18 sentenced there by the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court for felony, misdemeanor, or truancy/unruly offenses.

YDC comprises six cottages accommodating 20 youth each, exclusive of the boot camp cottages. Two of the six cottages are used for a 90 day substance abuse program. Schooling is provided by the Cleveland Board of Education in a separate program building.

Judges sentence youth to the Youth Development Center for an unspecified period. When a youth arrives at YDC, he or she spends approximately two weeks in a closed cottage for orientation and assessment. At the same time, staff prepare an individual treatment plan that draws on information obtained from the youth and from a home visit, cottage behavior, medical information, and psychological, psychiatric and substance abuse assessments. The comprehensive plan states the problems that have been identified, goals of treatment, and the services to be provided, specifying how frequently the service will be provided and by whom.

When a student is recommended for a less restrictive environment, he or she moves to an open cottage. At this point the focus is on programming to address the problems in the individual plan. Students move through a series of levels, earning privileges for appropriate behavior. Staff review the youth's progress in meeting the goals of the individualized plan monthly, and hold multidisciplinary case conferences at three and six months. Youth are

released from YDC when the treatment goals are completed. The average stay is six to eight months, but it can range from three to twelve months.

Aftercare workers supervise youth who are released from YDC for one year. YDC aftercare supervision is less intensive than that contemplated for the Boot Camp youth.

I. Adequacy of Numbers of Cases

The Cleveland program is not having any problem locating enough youth who fit the program criteria and volunteer to participate. In fact, parents and youth are begging for the boot camp assignment despite program assurances that the process is random. In the first six months of program operations (April - August 1992), the program selected 59 recruits and 59 controls, only one short of their capacity of 60. To avoid leaving a slot empty again, the program has started selecting cases for the monthly cohort earlier in the month. Therefore, we expect that the program will continue to reach its target of 10 experimental and 10 control group youth per month throughout the remainder of the data collection period. We project that we will have total sample sizes of 119 boot camp and 119 control youth.

As of August 31, 1992 five of the 59 youth who had entered the program had dropped out during the Intensive Training Phase. Three of the five dropouts absconded from boot camp, and two were expelled by the program because of behavior problems at the camp. All five youth eventually had their original commitments to either ODYS or YDC reactivated. Four of the five instances of program attrition occurred among the first two cohorts to enter the program. By setting strict policies on the reentry of runaways to boot camp (no reacceptance to boot camp unless the youth turns himself in within the first 24 hours of absconding) and by developing more stringent selection criteria for emotional and behavioral disturbances, the program hopes to reduce the attrition rate.

It is too early to estimate attrition from aftercare. However, of the 16 youth who had entered the aftercare phase by September 1, 1992, two had failed and been remanded to ODYS.

J. Adequacy of Random Assignment Procedures

Random assignment procedures worked smoothly for the first six cohorts of youth to enter the program. The judges are enthusiastic about the process and committed to ensuring

that the study conditions are met. Since random assignment occurs at the end of the screening process after the youth has passed the eligibility screens and after judges and community corrections officers have had the opportunity to take them out of the pool, there is little opportunity for introducing a selection bias. A comparison of the experimental and control cohort lists maintained by the researchers with those kept by the program did not show any discrepancies.

K. Adequacy of Data Collection Systems

The two primary sources of archival data on individual experimental and control youth are the case files maintained in the Juvenile Court and the computerized Criminal Justice Information System.

The case files are the most complete source of information about the youth. They contain:

- copies of the "Goldenrod" form, summarizing basic information about the youth and his family and prior court appearances and outcomes

- copies of petitions filed against the youth
- predisposition reports
- when relevant, a Probation Department form assessing the youth's degree of probation risk.

The Boot Camp Program Manager is able to complete the evaluation Intake Form for experimental and control group members by consulting these files.

The Criminal Justice Information System is the most accurate source of information on the youth's prior criminal history, although there are some gaps. Since the system was designed primarily to be used as a docketing and calendaring tool, important dates and information about case outcomes may be overwritten when a youth is brought back into court a second time for the same offense. In addition, constructing a complete history on a youth requires consulting three different screens: the CJSI or summary screen showing the complete list of delinquency, unruly, and traffic offenses; the CJCI screen for each individual case which provides the charges and felony/misdemeanor levels; and the detention screen which shows dates in and out of detention. On the positive side, the staff at the Juvenile

Court have been extremely helpful in providing the numerous printouts for each youth and assisting in deciphering the information.

By piecing together information from these two sources — the case file and the CJSI — we can construct complete social and criminal histories on both the experimental and control youth. In addition, as of August 1992, data on suspensions and absences from all public schools in the Cleveland system will be available directly from a computer located at the Juvenile Court. This will enable the evaluation to track the school experiences of any boot camp or control youth enrolled in school during the aftercare phase.

Chapter 4.

The Denver Boot Camp Program

At the time of submitting the proposal to OJJDP to institute this juvenile boot camp, Colorado's juvenile training schools were operating at 120 percent of capacity. As a result of this overcrowding (in the opinion of Denver's policymakers on this project), problem youth in the Denver metropolitan area seemed to think that local officials were unable to control delinquent behavior. It was widely known that juvenile delinquents were commonly diverted from secure residential correctional facilities. Within this context, the Colorado Division of Youth Services (DYS) and New Pride, Inc. formed a public-private partnership in 1990 to propose instituting a juvenile boot camp program. DYS is the state agency in Colorado that manages all of the long-term facilities and services for all committed delinquents (e.g., training schools), among other functions (e.g., juvenile parole supervision). New Pride is a private corporation that provides a variety of community-based services for high-risk juvenile delinquents, including a learning center and a treatment program for high-risk, substance-abusing youth.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) awarded a cooperative agreement to DYS/New Pride in September 1991 to work out the details of their proposed plans for a juvenile boot camp program, to organize the program, and to put the program into actual operation about six months later. The Denver program began fleshing out their action plans for the program in September, and they screened staff for the program early in 1992. The first youths were selected for the eligible pool in April 1992. Pairs of youths were submitted to Institute for Criminological Research (ICR) at Rutgers University, and ICR used a strict random procedure to assign one of each pair to the boot camp and the other to the control group. The first platoon of youths assigned to the boot camp started the program on April 15, 1992, and graduated on July 11, 1992. Subsequent platoons entered the boot camp program in May, July, and October.

A. Goals and Objectives

Based in part upon program documents and several discussions with boot camp policy makers over the past year, it is clear that the Foxfire Boot Camp includes the following goals:

- Reduce recidivism.
- Operate at lower cost than conventional alternatives.
- Reduce crowding in the Division of Youth Services residential facilities.
- Provide an acceptable sanction for delinquent behavior.
- Provide a model for public/private partnerships in the treatment of juvenile delinquency.
- Contribute to the body of knowledge about "what works" in juvenile corrections.
- Instill pro-social values in the youth.

The program objectives were laid out in the Denver program proposal to OJJDP.

The following is their statement of the objectives of the program.

1. Through the DYS assessment process to identify target youths who qualify to participate in the Boot Camp Project and to randomly assign these youths to either the boot camp or to the control Group.
2. To insure that Control Group youths are referred to services as currently provided by the Division of Youth Services and to insure that Project youths are referred to the Boot Camp Project and are served according to the following objectives.
3. To provide drug- and alcohol-abuse assessment and prevention services and, if necessary, further diagnostics and both in- and out-patient treatment and aftercare throughout all phases of the project.
4. To design and pilot test a 3-month, residential Intensive Phase of the project that emphasizes discipline though incorporating a daily physical conditioning regimen and team work through "Outward Bound"-type wilderness experiences, and includes classroom educational and vocational services.
5. To obtain Parole Board and Community Review Board support for immediate parole and community placement of youths who successfully complete the 3-month, residential Intensive Phase of the project.
6. To provide family services to keep each Project youth's parents informed and involved with the youth's rehabilitation process, and to provide the support and

empowerment necessary for the family to serve as a positive living situation for those youth who can be returned home after the intensive residential phase of the program.

7. To design and pilot test an intensive 6-month community-based Preparedness phase of the Project that emphasizes a continued physical conditioning regimen; vocational and work skills training and employment experience in order to instill a work ethic; and remedial, special and alternative education, including systematic phonics, in order to enhance employability and/or prepare youths for further academic education.
8. To design and pilot test a 3-month community-based, Accountability Phase of the Project that emphasizes a continued conditioning regimen; school and/or job placement and supervision; and family and/or community reintegration.
9. To require and supervise youth's restitution to victims either by service provision or monetary compensation through salaries earned at jobs.
10. To provide specialized, intensive case management services throughout all phases of the Project which include development and continual revision of detailed individual performance work plans and monitoring and recording of all service delivery.

11. To develop, test and disseminate information on a model public/private partnership for providing services to high risk juvenile delinquents.
12. To develop a detailed policy and procedure manual to guide the implementation and future dissemination of the program strategy for replication by other appropriate state and local agencies.
13. To provide data/research/information liaison services with OJJDP and the National Implementation Evaluation staff to insure continual monitoring and analysis of all Project activities.

B. Organizational environment and resources

The Colorado Division of Youth Services (DYS) and New Pride, Inc. have formed a public-private partnership to institute and manage their juvenile boot camp program. Since the late 1960s DYS has been the state agency that manages all of the long-term facilities and services for all committed delinquents (e.g., training school facilities). DYS also runs detention centers for arrested youths who must be held pending court disposition and for adjudicated youth serving short-term sentences. In addition, it administers parole supervision and a variety of other supplementary and alternative services for juvenile delinquents. In

1990 DYS served about 6,000 youths. It has a staff of over 500 and a budget of over \$30 million. Its facilities include a management information system unit that operates a computerized client data base.

The Boot Camp project falls within the administration of the Youth Treatment Services section of DYS. Betty Marler, Director of Treatment Services, and John Riley, Project Coordinator for the Colorado Boot Camp, are the key personnel. John Riley supervises the teacher on-site at the boot camp and two client managers. These client managers screen and select cases to constitute the pool of youth eligible for random assignment. The eligible youth are drawn from the population of boys on probation supervised by DYS and from youth with a residential correctional disposition who are awaiting placement at the Mount View Youth Center.

New Pride is a private corporation that provides community-based services for high-risk juvenile delinquents. New Pride operates a juvenile diversion program for multiple offenders; a day treatment program for adolescents at risk of out-of-home placement; a learning center designed to remediate educational deficiencies; and an intervention and treatment program for high-risk, substance-abusing youth. Among their services are

- Youth 2000 Drug Treatment Program.

- Gilliam Center School, where certified teachers provide education to detained youth.
- Gilliam Center Gang Initiative, which provides training designed to lead youth away from involvement with delinquent gangs, violence, and substance abuse.

New Pride programs have been evaluated in the past by respected research firms, including ABT Associates of Cambridge, Massachusetts and the Behavioral Research Institute of Boulder, Colorado).

New Pride supervises the commander and the five drill instructors at the boot camp and also supervises the principal and a teacher at the Wyatt Academy who provided aftercare instruction for the youths. Tom James, the president of New Pride, and Jean Granville are New Pride's key personnel for this project.

The planning decisions for the boot camp project came from a management team consisting of Betty Marler, John Riley, Tom James, and Jean Granville. Most of the hiring of the original staff for the project was done by John Riley, Tom James, and Jean Granville. After Major Lockett, the commander of the boot camp, was in place, he participated in the decision to hire a new drill instructor.

C. Offender characteristics: the selection process

In Denver DYS client managers screen and select cases to constitute the pool of youth eligible for random assignment. The eligible youth are drawn from the population of boys on probation supervised by DYS through the Gilliam Center and from youth with a residential correctional disposition who are awaiting placement at the Mount View Youth Center. Eligible youth are 14 to 18 years old. The youth have not been adjudicated for crimes of violence, but it is possible for youth who have carried a gun or who have had a history of fighting to be admitted to the program. Beyond this, there is no specific list of offenses that will exclude youth from eligibility. The selection is done by prudent case managers on a case-by-case basis. Examples of offenses for which the boys were charged and adjudicated include such felonies as burglary and sales of drugs.

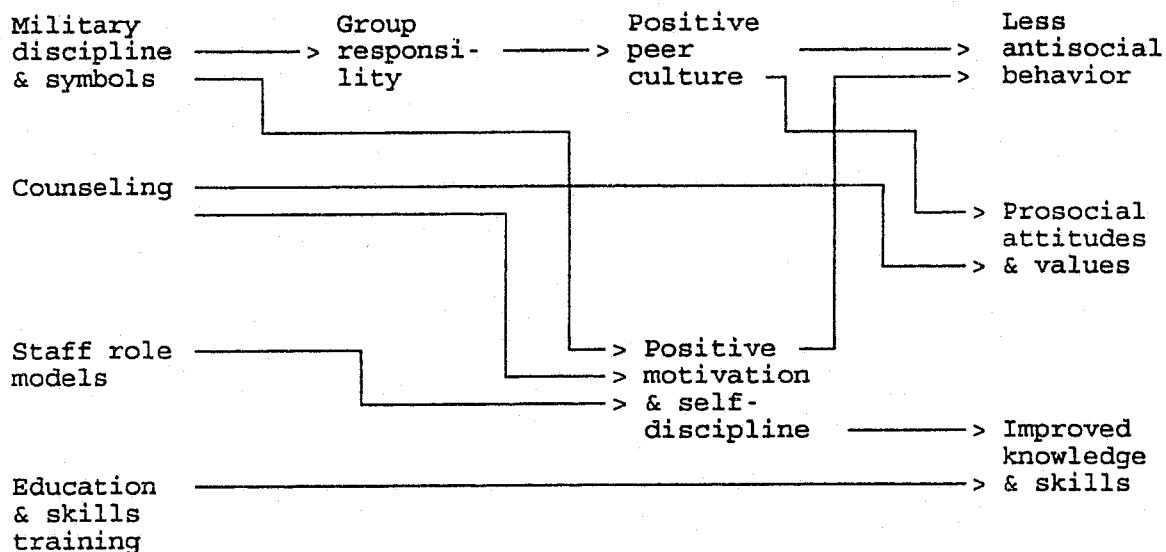
Youth who have had a history of drug use can be admitted to the program, but those with serious psychological problems are excluded. Youth with a history of gang involvement can be admitted to the boot camp. Also excluded are boys with histories of running away from residential correctional facilities. Of course, also excluded are youth with medical

problems that would prevent them from engaging in the rigorous physical activities of the boot camp.

D. The intervention model

As depicted in Figure 4.1, the Denver policy makers believe that four components of their boot camp have especially important beneficial outcomes. The discipline and symbols of military boot camp, the counseling programs offered, the positive role models that the boot camp staff provide, and the education/training component of the program are expected to produce better attitudes and values in the youth, less antisocial behavior, and improved knowledge and skills. Most important, in the view of the boot camp commander, Douglas Lockett, and the Drill Instructors, is the idea that the externally imposed **military-style discipline** that the drill sergeants administer helps to train the youths in **self-discipline**. The ideology of the program, relentlessly repeated to the recruits, is that their lives have been lived without self-discipline, and that the objective of the constant verbal harassment, the disciplinary push-ups, the taunts and the group punishments is to give them the self-discipline that they need to "turn their lives around."

Figure 4.1. Core of the Denver Boot Camp Intervention Model.



Another recurrent theme is **group responsibility**. This is the principle that the entire group of youth will be held responsible for the misbehavior or incompetence of any individual. The people who operate the boot camp believe that, after a while, a **positive peer culture** is generated among the youth. The youth begin to help one another -- and they begin to hold one another to basic standards of what is right and wrong. Thus, the attitudes and the values of the boys become less antisocial, as does their behavior.

Another major theme is the idea that many of the participants have not had strong, respectable adult male role models. The belief is that the imposing demeanor of the Drill Instructors, their competence, and their rectitude will serve as attractive role models for young men, encouraging them to develop **positive individual motivation** (which complements positive peer culture) and to become more self-disciplined.

Program activities designed to actualize the ideas for rehabilitating the youth include the use of intimidating drill instructors who indoctrinate the youths in military drill and tough physical training as a means of achieving self-discipline. The emphasis is on group responsibility for success or failure in order to foster a sense of loyalty to the platoon, a positive peer culture. Thus, each day includes about four hours of physical training and/or drill, three hours of work assignments that the group is responsible for. Because education

and skills training are also part of the intervention model, four hours per day are spent in two different classes: one in social adjustment topics and another in literacy upgrading. Another hour is devoted to work skills training or counseling. Perhaps another hour each day involves rehabilitative counseling -- and much of this is oriented in terms of preventing drug or alcohol abuse. In aftercare programming at the Wyatt Academy, the academic education component grows enormously at the expense of military drill; about one hour a day of physical training remains.

E. On-site observations (by Jackson Toby)

(1) **The Foxfire Boot Camp.** The atmosphere of the boot camp clearly simulated the toughness of a marine boot camp. The recruits snapped smartly to attention; they hustled from place to place on the double; the drill sergeants yelled at them in tones so loud that the echoes reverberated from the walls; there was a lot of "Yes sir and "No sir" when spoken to. While waiting for me to talk with them, the recruits stood at attention facing a blank wall outside of the empty classroom where I was conducting my interviews.

On May 8, 1992, about three weeks after the Foxfire Boot Camp took in its first platoon (April 15) I interviewed all of the boys at the camp except one who was off site for

The same recruit, Hitchcock, suggested that a basic problem with the boot camp program is that it not only takes in gang members, who tend to be loyal to the gang, but it takes in multiple members of the same gang who form a clique and do not cooperate fully with the other recruits. (Since cooperation is crucial for success in avoiding group punishment, Hitchcock regarded this as a serious problem. He cited the current situation, where, according to him, there were three Crips in the boot camp and two members of a small local Denver gang, the Inca Boys.)

I obtained a somewhat different perspective on Stone from several recruits and from Major Lockett. The recruits told me that they had conspired together to get Stone thrown out of the program because they regarded him as someone who "messed up" the platoon by his poor performance. (For example, if all of the bunks were properly made and Stone's was not, the D.I. would rip up all of the bunks and make the platoon start over.) A short, slight white recruit explained that he provoked Stone into starting a fight with him with the encouragement of other recruits. Stone threw a punch at him, which landed Stone in the brig. The provoker received one Article 15 for his part in the plot but did not get put into the brig because he did not throw a punch. ("Article 15" refers to the code of military justice from the Articles of War. Despite use of the term the boot camp does not follow the

actual procedures specified in the Articles of War.) Other recruits confirmed the story of the plot, and so did Major Lockett.

(2) **Aftercare: The Wyatt Academy.** I arrived about noon on September 10 at the Wyatt Academy, located on the 7th floor of a modern office building in downtown Denver. I learned that this was only a temporary arrangement while renovations are being made in the Wyatt School, which is a public school that will house not only the New Pride aftercare program but also public school classes and activities.

I was warmly greeted by Mrs. Kerr, the principal of Wyatt Academy, and by Willie Scott, the director of the aftercare program. (Scott is a retired Army sergeant-major. He does not dress in military garb but rather in civilian clothes: a blazer and slacks, expensive-looking shirt and tie, well-polished shoes.) After a short chat with Mrs. Kerr and Mr. Scott, I was introduced to a substitute teacher, Mr. Seymour, for whom this was the first day of teaching at the Wyatt Academy. (Seymour had been teaching in England for four or five years and had recently returned to the United States, too late to get a regular appointment for the current academic year. So he took the substitute job at Wyatt and hopes that it will become a regular job.)

I learned that the eleven students currently enrolled were divided into two groups. Group I (6) consists of those with greater academic ability and Group II (5) consists of slower students who suffer from more serious academic deficiencies. One of the things that struck me about the atmosphere of the school is that Mr. Scott, Mrs. Kerr, and the other teacher address the students as Mr. _____ or Mr. _____ and refer to them as "the young gentlemen." This is quite different from the "Recruit _____" in boot camp or the first name basis typical of most public schools.

I ate lunch with a group of boys whom I knew well from the boot camp. They seemed very glad to see me, and I was glad to see them. I was surprised at how they were dressed. They wore the blazers, white shirts and ties, grey slacks, and loafers that had been purchased for them as a graduation uniform. Although I thought they looked great and said so, I had learned earlier from Mrs. Kerr and Mr. Scott that this school uniform required by the program was a sticky issue. The boys did not like setting out for school from their neighborhoods in the morning dressed that way. They felt that wearing such a costume was regarded as weird; hence they felt so self-conscious that most of them wore their ordinary street clothes when they left home and carried their uniforms in a shopping bag. Where did they change? Some of them changed behind trees on the street because they were supposed

to be in uniform when they were in the building itself. (Some wore jogging shorts over their underwear to avoid undressing too much.)

I discovered from my conversation with Mr. Scott that the top management of the program (John Riley and Tom James) are not in complete agreement about the uniforms. Apparently John Riley is not as sure as Tom James that uniforms are such a good idea. My impression is that Willie Scott, who has to enforce the dress code, is closer to John Riley's position.) It is not clear to me exactly why Tom James feels so strongly about them.

After lunch, I sat in on Mr. Seymour's English class for Group I from 12:45 to 1:30. It consisted of a discussion of the novel they were reading, To Kill a Mockingbird. The discussion was good; the boys apparently found the story interesting, and they all participated in the discussion. Then there was a short break, after which I sat in on the Social Studies class for Group I from 1:30 to 2:15 taught by Mrs. Kerr. At 2:15 Mr. Scott ordinarily conducts physical education training for the entire group, e.g., running through the neighborhood (for which the boys change into gym clothing) or conducts an academic session called "leadership." He offered to give the time to me because he knew that I wanted to hold a discussion with the boys about their attitudes toward school uniforms. I was delighted to accept his offer.

Nine of the eleven boys enrolled at the school met with me in a seminar-like room with large picture windows. (No staff member from the Academy was with us.) Two boys had been absent that day, supposedly for illness. There are telephone checks if they do not show up by 9:15 when they are supposed to start school. (They are late if they do not arrive by 9:00 A.M.) Mr. Scott sometimes goes to the home of a boy who does not show up and cannot be reached, gets him out of bed, and brings him to school in his van. Nevertheless, attendance is a problem. Either these boys are plagued by an unusual amount of illness or they are skillful truants.

I announced to the group that I was impressed with how good they looked in their school uniforms but that I had learned that they were not as impressed with wearing them as I was at seeing them wearing them. I asked them to explain their dissatisfactions. I heard a variety of complaints:

- (1) that the uniforms made them appear ridiculous in the eyes of their friends.
- (2) that they only have one uniform and keeping it clean is a problem for them, e.g., laundering white shirts, getting the trousers dry cleaned.

- (3) that the idea of dressing up for school is all right, but why do they all have to wear exactly the same clothes all the time?
- (4) that there ought to be some days when they are allowed to relax and wear informal clothing, especially on days when they have to walk around downtown Denver on some school outing.

I was not able to keep the attention of the group as a whole. Two or three drifted over to the picture windows where they excitedly observed girls in the street and made comments to one another about them. Another couple of students seemed to lose interest in the topic of school uniforms and engaged in private conversations. So at times I found myself talking with one, two, or three students. Two of the academically best students in the group simply stayed off to the side most of the time, neither participating in the discussion, nor joining in the gawking at the windows. (I later learned from them that they felt ashamed of the childish behavior of the other boys.)

The next day (9/11/92) I arrived at 9 A.M. for the start of classes. During the first period both groups were taking math tests [post-tests on material on which they had taken pre-tests before exposure to the math material]. I sat off to the side while the students

worked silently. Occasionally one asked Mrs. Kerr a question. During the second period they again split into two groups. I attended the English class with Group 2 (containing five students on that day) taught by Mr. Seymour. He read from To Kill a Mockingbird, while the boys followed the text. The majority had their heads on their desks, while the books sat on their laps. Presumably they were following the text, but an observer could not be certain whether they were inattentive or even asleep. Since Seymour asked questions every once in a while and they did respond, sometimes quite intelligently, the likelihood is that they were paying attention.

I had lunch with the boys again. Some of them asked me about Rutgers University, how hard it was to get in, whether financial aid was available, etc. This seems to indicate that they are thinking about their futures. After lunch I told Mrs. Kerr and Mr. Scott that I felt that the group that I spoke with the day before was too large for me to deal with effectively, and I suggested that I would like to talk with Group 1 and Group 2 separately, still on the subject of the school uniforms. They offered to cancel classes for each group and substitute a session with me. Both Mr. Scott and Mrs. Kerr said that they wished that they could listen in on those discussions. I suggested that we leave it up to the boys as to whether they would invite them. But in any case they could only listen, not participate in the discussion. They agreed. In Group 1, the boys voted to permit both Mr. Scott and Mrs.

Kerr to listen; in Group 2 they only permitted Mr. Scott to attend. The discussions were very orderly and, I believe, useful. (I tape-recorded them.) Whether the improvement of the discussions was due to the presence of Mr. Scott and Mrs. Kerr or to the much smaller size of the group I do not know.

What I did with each group was to point out that they did not seem to be impressed with the fact that adults like me felt that they looked good in their school uniforms. They were overwhelmingly concerned with the presumed opinions of their friends: that they looked foolish. But shouldn't they be at least as concerned with what adults think of them as what juveniles think of them? After all, they can't remain children. A couple are already 18. They have to live in a world of adults -- inevitably. They hemmed and hawed, but essentially they conceded my point. They realized that they would have to live in an adult world, but does it have to close in so abruptly?

I raised a second question. Were they dealing in a mature way with their problem of the conflicting pressures from adults to wear the uniform and from the peer group not to wear it? Was changing behind trees the best response? Their answers tended to be, "We have no choice." I suggested that they did have a choice. Well, yes, they said, they could refuse to wear the uniform and take the consequences. No, I argued, they had other options.

After some discussion, one boy mentioned that they could negotiate with Mr. Scott. Some boys said that he wouldn't negotiate with them, and some said that he couldn't make any changes because it wasn't up to him. I pointed out that negotiation doesn't mean getting what they want. It means discussing the issue with some possibility of modifying the rule. It might be that the rule wouldn't be changed, but negotiation over differences is the way adults ought to handle such situations. Mr. Scott was present at both sessions. At one of them he remained completely silent, although it was obvious to me that he wanted to clarify his own policy. At the second the boys turned to him and asked him to comment, thereby relaxing the rule of silence they had imposed. He expressed a willingness to talk with them and hinted at the possibility of modifying the dress-code rules.

At the end of the day from 2:15 to 3:15 Mr. Scott conducted his "leadership training." On September 11 his topic was "effective listening." He distributed a handout and asked the group to fill it out. These were the instructions at the top of the sheet:

Some subjects attract our interest more than others. We tend to listen more easily to subjects that hold our interest. The challenge is to actively listen to those topics that do not excite us. Mark each subject with a Y, an N, or a question mark. Y means, "Yes, this subject would be found on the front

page." N means, "No, it would not appear on the front page." Question mark means you are not sure whether or not the topic is worthy of front page coverage.

He then spent the rest of the hour explaining why, even when people are talking about things that do not interest us, we should listen to them and how we should go about being active listeners. Among his rules for active listening were the following:

- (1) Stop talking.
- (2) Listen to the speaker.
- (3) Be patient.
- (4) Don't interrupt. Get the complete message.
- (5) Hold your temper.
- (6) Go easy on argument and criticism. Attack the idea, not the person.
- (7) Ask questions.

This material sounded as though it came from an Army training course that Scott had used when he was in the Army. I found it extremely interesting and wise. How the boys reacted to it I do not know, but they seemed to be paying strict attention. Although the

material may have been developed to facilitate communication in work situations in the Army among adults, following these rules would have useful consequences for these juveniles in their interactions with friends and family members. But they would have to appreciate the difficulties of communication and the frequency with which people talk past one another. Whether they do I could not tell.

On September 12 and September 13 I spent most of my time at the Foxfire Boot Camp interviewing recruits and pretesting the baseline survey instrument for Phase 2. But on the afternoon of September 12 I interviewed Jim Pettit from the first platoon who had failed the aftercare program and was currently in detention at the Mount View Youth Services Center. (The Foxfire Boot Camp is a separate compound on the grounds of the Colorado Division of Youth Services correctional facility for juveniles, Mount View Youth Services Center. I thought that an interview with a failure of the program would throw light not only on why he had failed but on why other graduates of the boot camp program succeeded in the aftercare program.

Other youths besides Jim Pettit had adjusted poorly to the aftercare portion of the program. This is part of the explanation for the small number of boys who were present at the Wyatt Academy on 9/10 and 9/11 -- no more than ten at any one time. Larry Stone had

absconded and no one knew where he was, although there were rumors that he had gone to Los Angeles to be with fellow gang members in the Crips. Donald Adams had been involved with Jim Pettit in the theft of some guns in the foster home placement where they had been put, and he was in the Gilliam Youth Center in Denver awaiting trial in juvenile court. Before he absconded completely, Larry Stone had not been coming to school regularly, and he had been incarcerated in the Foxfire Boot Camp brig over a weekend as a disciplinary measure.

Malcolm Anderson had also been given weekend detention at the Foxfire Boot Camp; he had a surly, uncooperative attitude at school. But he was still in the program during my visit, although he had called in sick that day. Finally, Albert Wolf was not at the Wyatt Academy for logistical rather than disciplinary reasons; he was at the Foxfire Boot Camp simply because, after he graduated with the second platoon, there was no foster home placement available for him. A shortage of appropriate foster homes ("Proctor Care" in the Colorado nomenclature) is apparently a bottleneck for the boot camp program because some homes of the recruits are not considered capable of giving them adequate supervision.

I interviewed Jim Pettit in a private visiting room of a new, sparkling, almost elegant facility.) Jim was very pleased to see me but somewhat embarrassed. He was embarrassed

because he felt that he had let down those who had faith in him. His father, of course, was furious. But he also felt that he had let down the Drill Instructors and perhaps me. He expressed some bitterness too at the fact that nobody from the boot camp had communicated with him. Perhaps he felt that they had given up on him, which was probably true.

He had no good explanation of what he had done. He had found two guns in his foster home; one of them was an antique gun and very valuable. He and Donald Adams had together stolen them in order to sell them. They had had no intention of using them. He claimed that he had a change of heart and tried to retrieve them and put them back. He claimed also that he had in fact replaced one of them. Unfortunately, although Jim was embarrassed, he was not uncomfortable. He lifts weights and engages in other recreational activities in the facility. He wore a new pair of glasses that looked quite nice. He told me that the grapevine provides him with lots of information about the outside world as well as about the Foxfire Boot Camp. (For instance, he knew that one of the Drill Instructors at the boot camp, had been fired.) In short, the cost of Jim's impulsiveness has not been too great.

Looking back at the experiences of the graduates of the Foxfire Boot Camp in the aftercare program, the majority seem to have survived so far, and some seem to be thinking about college. But there have been a number of missteps, some so serious as to result in

removal from the program. My assessment is that, although the discipline of the boot camp itself looks hard, it is really easier than the challenge posed by the aftercare program.

Whereas all that the recruits had to do was to follow orders and permit drill instructors to yell at them without exploding, the students at the Wyatt Academy have to resist the temptations of the street, do homework, and get to school on time every day in a uniform that marks them as very odd in their neighborhoods. It is not really surprising that some of them give up.

F. How the boot camp youth perceive the experience (by Jackson Toby)

The interviews on May 8, 1992 with boys in the Foxfire Boot Camp focussed in part on whether it was a good deal to come to the boot camp. I got two answers. Sometimes I immediately got an answer like, "Sure it's a good deal. I was facing 0-2 years in detention (Colorado Youth Services) and this is only 90 days away from home." But sometime I got answers like, "Sure. I was undisciplined. Here I get a chance to turn my life around by learning self-control." My response to this answer was "Yes, but you didn't know exactly what boot camp would be like before you came here, did you?" Most of them said they

didn't. Some said that if they had known how tough it would be, they probably wouldn't have volunteered to come. "Suppose you hadn't come here," I asked, "Where would you have gone?" I expected all of them to reply that they would have faced a longer stay at a State correctional institution. But some surprised me by replying that they would have remained at Gilliam Detention Center for a month and then gone to a group home for three or four months or maybe home on community supervision.

Then what was the incentive for choosing the boot camp program?

(1) Some seem to have been intrigued by the macho image of boot camp. They spoke of how fit they had become, how much better shape they were in than before coming to the boot camp. Although they complained of the relentless pressure of the drill instructors to do calisthenics, including disciplinary push-ups that seemed beyond their endurance, they were proud that they could "take it." Four or five recruits stole a Polaroid camera that was used in the education program from the desk of one of the teachers. They took ten to fifteen photographs of one another, presumably revealing their improved physiques. When the teacher reported the camera missing, Major Lockett investigated. He located the camera and a couple of the pictures. The boys claimed they were all that had been taken, but the teacher said that at least ten were missing. Major Lockett examined the outgoing mail, found

envelopes that seemed to contain Polaroid pictures, and confronted the boys whose letters they were. He asked them to open the letters in front of him. When they did so, he confiscated both the pictures and the letter and gave each of the offenders a Article 15 charge.

The point of the story is that their pride in their physical achievements was great enough to make them willing to risk serious punishment. Major Lockett told me that one of the boys boasted in the letters of being able to run three to four miles as part of boot camp training. He assured me that so far they had never run more than a mile. Some of the macho attraction of the boot camp can be traced to the influence of relatives. The older brother of one recruit now in a California Marine boot camp had written long letters to his brother about the tough training he was undergoing. Others had fathers who were in one of the Armed Services and had spoken of their boot camp experiences.

(2) Related to the macho attraction of the boot camp was its challenge. Recruits thought of boot camp the way some youngsters think of wilderness experiences or Outward Bound programs. Because they regard it as a challenge, some recruits are very sensitive to the admonition, "Don't be a quitter." That's why the weekly head-shavings had a double meaning: (a) loss of long-hair that had been lovingly cultivated and believed to enhance

appearance and (b) a visible symbol of failure once the recruit leaves the boot camp program. That is to say, the short hair trapped some recruits who, if they could have gotten their long hair back, might have given up.

(3) As I mentioned before, some recruits readily repeated the official mantra that they were learning discipline, which they had never gotten before. I'm a little skeptical. Even if the recruits believe that the highly structured program will teach them self-control, it is not necessarily true that being forced to get up at 5:00 a.m. while in boot camp will help them get up at 7:00 a.m. for school or work. But I am not certain what they truly believe.

Maybe they are "sliming" through the program and telling me what they think I want to hear.

I did ask one question the answer to which may tap their commitment to the program. I asked them how they felt about being yelled at by the drill instructors. All of them said that the first few days were horrible, possibly the worst days of their lives. Drill instructors were constantly berating them at the top of their loud voices, taunting them, assigning punishments to them until they were ready to cry with rage, fear, and frustration. Some continued to feel that the drill instructors were hostile toward them and that the yelling reflected this hostility. Those who said the yelling stopped bothering them because they became convinced that the

drill instructors actually cared about them and wanted them to get something out of boot camp seemed to me more committed to the program, more likely to survive until graduation, and more likely to carry over some benefits into their community adjustment. On the other hand, those who did not feel that the drill instructors were essentially on their side resented the yelling and were less likely to believe that they were being helped.

In addition to asking the recruits to name the two best features of the program, I asked them to name the worst. The following received the most mention:

(1) Cleaning the barracks. Apparently they spent a good portion of each day scrubbing, cleaning, and polishing, and they hated it. If the work was not done to the satisfaction of the drill instructor, he would order them all to do disciplinary push-ups. One recruit mentioned that he was looking forward to the arrival of the new platoon because they would share the work. If I understand them correctly, they also did outside work, like working on an obstacle course, but this they liked much better.

(2) Being yelled at. What was most onerous about being yelled at was having to take it without responding with physical violence. As one recruit put it, they were not used to this. Even though they disliked being yelled at, some said that they felt it helped them to learn

self-control. "When we get in the outside world, people yell at you. And you have to learn to take it." Related to being yelled at was the constant pressure to do things quickly, get up, shower, defecate, eat, dress. Each had a short time allocated to it, and those who were slow were not only yelled at individually but caused the group to be yelled at.

Some mentioned the deprivation of not being able to smoke -- there is a rule against smoking in the boot camp -- but at least one said that he had planned to quit smoking anyway. It was bad for his asthma. No one complained about the food.

The culmination of boot camp was graduation. I attended the graduation ceremony for the first platoon, which took place on July 11, 1992. I went over to the gym and then waited in the hall with the Drill Instructors, other Foxfire Boot Camp staff and their spouses, and a few special guests, who were to speak at the ceremony, such as Tom James and Barbara McDonnell, Director of the Colorado Department of Correction. A much larger group, consisting of the parents and other relatives of the recruits, waited outside the gym. Shortly before 11, we were given the signal to take our places. I was seated with the special guests in a section consisting of about two dozen folding chairs. Then the parents and relatives were let in; considering that only eight recruits were graduating, I was amazed that the parents, relatives, and friends pretty well filled the bleachers, which held at least 100

people and perhaps more. There were mothers, fathers, cousins, brothers, sisters, brother-in-laws, sister-in-laws, friends of both sexes.

In short, the relatives and friends of the graduates treated this graduation as AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT OCCASION. (Although the graduation was deliberately scheduled for a Saturday, some had to take off from work and thereby lose income in order to come.)

The recruit-graduates also treated the graduation as AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT OCCASION. Let me give three examples of this attitude. Mickey Oliver had somehow injured his leg. On Friday, the day before the graduation, he was hobbling so badly that I thought he ought to have crutches. When I saw him in class on Saturday morning, he was a little better but still hobbling. I asked him whether he would be able to march; I knew that an important part of the ceremony was a drill in which the graduates would demonstrate their marching skills. "I'll march, no matter what," he replied. The importance Mickey placed on the graduation was especially interesting in light of his gang membership; Mickey is a loyal Crip. I watched him during the drill. Everyone marched splendidly. Mickey didn't limp.

After the graduation ceremony the relatives and the graduates were invited to have non-alcoholic punch and cookies with the staff and other guests. I used this opportunity to congratulate each of the eight graduates and to exchange a few words with their relatives. When I shook Mickey's hand, I asked him how he had managed to march so well. He said that as soon as he got on the gymnasium floor, he didn't feel any pain at all.

Malcolm Anderson, another Crip, apparently hoped that his parents would somehow come to the graduation, although he knew that they had to be out of town and were driving a long distance to get back to Denver in time. At the end of the ceremony (and before I could congratulate him) I saw Malcolm leaving the main part of the gym, looking either angry or very unhappy. I was told later by a Drill Sergeant that he went to the Men's Room to cry. About fifteen minutes later, as people were starting to leave, an elderly black and a somewhat younger black woman rushed in. They were Malcolm's father and step-mother. They had missed the ceremony, of course, and they looked unhappy. But Malcolm was smiling broadly. I suppose that the important thing for him was that they tried very hard to make it. I congratulated Malcolm and chatted with the parents. To make conversation, I mentioned to Mr. Anderson that I was glad to hear that Malcolm would be working with him. "He will?" Mr. Anderson replied, "Doing what?" Malcolm joined the conversation. "Loading trucks."

Mr. Anderson seemed thunderstruck. Malcolm had told me that he was going to work with his father loading diesel trucks for \$50 a day, so I thought that this had been discussed and prearranged. Apparently not. But obviously Mr. Anderson was delighted, probably because he knew that Malcolm had been selling drugs and making a lot of money and he thought that he would go back to that risky but profitable occupation. Later I asked Malcolm whether I had said something wrong, and he said, "No." But I wonder whether he had really intended to work with his father and had just neglected to tell him of whether he told me what he thought I wanted to hear.

A third example of the impact of the graduation on the recruits was the response of Jim Pettit, whose parents, his two younger sisters, his older married sister, her husband, and their little girl all attended the ceremony. After I congratulated Jim, he remarked spontaneously, "This is the first time I graduated from anything. I felt like a failure. My family thought I was a failure. At least I succeeded this once." Jim told me that his father was so proud of him that he offered to buy him a car. (Jim's father works as a tow-truck driver and gets opportunities to buy abandoned cars or cars seized by drug agents for as little as \$50. Thus, although Jim's father is not rich, he is capable of getting quite a good car for John.)

G. Adequacy of numbers of cases

If the Denver program continues to place people in their boot camp at the same rate that they have since April, 1992, it appears that they will have an intake rate of about 85 to 90 in their first year. With this intake rate, although modest outcome differences may escape statistical detection in Denver, the inflow of cases will be sufficient to detect any large effects (e.g., differences in recidivism) resulting from the program.

At present Denver is constrained by the fact that it has only has room for two cohorts in the boot camp at the same time. The next cohort cannot be admitted until a cohort graduates from their facility.

H. Randomized Assignment

Since April, 1992 (when the first cohorts of youth were admitted to the boot camp) random assignment of real cases to the experimental and control group has been working successfully in Denver. The checks that have been conducted so far indicate that the actual assignments of youth do indeed match the computerized random assignments generated by ICR/Rutgers. In fact, checks covering from April through August, 1992 show that every single random assignment we transmitted to Denver was in fact carried out at the program site. Thus, whether a youth goes to boot camp or to the control group is determined by chance and not by the inclinations of judges or boot camp program staff.

I. Adequacy of data collection systems

The Intake form designed by the evaluation team was pre-tested on 14 youth in the Colorado project: 8 boot camp youth and 6 control group youth. As Tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 show, the Denver project was able to collect intake information on the vast majority of variables we asked for. The Column labeled "N" designates the number of cases with the desired information for the various variables. The first tabulation covers all 14 pre-tested

youth. The next two tables present the information separately for the boot camp youth and for the control group youth, respectively.

We are pleased to find that there does not seem to be any intrinsic difficulty in obtaining this background information on the control group youth as well as on the boot camp youth. An apparent trouble spot in this data collection is the coding of information on the youth's offense characteristics. This is not an insoluble problem. If necessary, the evaluation team should be able to get documents describing the offense, and we can code the offense appropriately on our own.

Table 4.1. Descriptive Statistics on the Pre-tests of the Intake Forms in Denver: All Cases Pre-tested.

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum	N	Label
MOBIRTH	7.36	3.56	1	12	14	Month of birth
DABIRTH	17.14	10.36	3	31	14	Day of birth
YRBIRTH	75.21	1.25	74	78	14	Year of birth
RACE	2.50	1.45	1	6	14	
HEIGHT	512.50	25.36	501	600	14	
WEIGHT	131.29	23.89	75	165	14	
VIOLPROB	.07	.27	0	1	14	Curr Offense Viol Pr
DEGCHAR	2.75	2.55	1	7	8	Degree of offense ch
DEGADJU	2.75	2.55	1	7	8	Degree of Offense Ad
INJVICT	.00	.00	0	0	8	Physical injury to v
VALPROP	5.63	3.89	0	9	8	Value or property ta
WEAPON	.25	.71	0	2	8	Weapon involved?
SERCHAR1	264.25	323.48	15	999	8	Most serious offense
SERADJU1	193.00	159.98	15	429	8	Most serious offense
OFFENMO	8.08	3.40	2	12	13	Offense Month
OFFENDA	10.31	8.48	0	29	13	Offense Day
OFFENYR	91.08	.64	90	92	13	Offense Year
SENTMO	5.79	2.58	1	11	14	Sentence Month
SENTDA	16.79	8.60	4	29	14	Sentence Day
SENTYR	91.86	.53	90	92	14	Sentence Year
DETDISP	3.43	3.08	0	9	14	Detained before disp
COURSENT	1.00	.00	1	1	13	Court Sentence
SENTLGTH	35.77	36.44	12	99	13	Sentence length (mon
RESTORD	4.17	4.28	0	9	12	Restitution ordered?
JJSSTAT	2.00	.00	2	2	14	Juv Justice Sys Stat
SCHATTEN	2.71	3.56	0	9	14	School attendance
LSTYRSCH	15.00	24.21	6	99	14	Last year of school
LEDPROG	3.64	2.10	1	6	14	Last Educ Program
WORKSTAT	2.86	4.09	0	9	14	Employment status
LIVSIT	5.07	3.91	2	12	14	Living situation at
PARNCRIM	2.14	3.74	0	9	14	Parent crim record?
PARNABUS	.86	2.38	0	9	14	Parent abusive?
DLQTFRND	4.43	3.08	1	9	14	Delinquent friends
DLQTSIB	.43	.65	0	2	14	Delinquent sibling
DSCPSCH	1.50	.65	0	2	14	Discip problem at sc
DSCPHOME	2.00	2.11	0	9	14	Discip problem at ho
DRUGUSE	1.79	2.12	1	9	14	Drug use by youth?
ALCUSE	2.43	2.82	1	9	14	Alcohol use by youth
DRUGSALE	3.43	4.35	0	9	14	Drug sale by youth?
HISTFITE	3.46	3.91	0	9	13	History of fighting?
GANGINVL	1.64	2.31	0	9	14	Gang involvement?
PSYCDIAG	2.36	3.67	0	9	14	Psych prob diagnosed
DTESTSCR	50.00	.	50	50	1	Drug test score
DTESTPOS	6.83	3.93	0	9	12	Urine test positive?
RSKASSCR	10.20	3.65	2	13	10	Risk Assess Score
ASGNMENT	1.43	.51	1	2	14	Assigned Boot/Contro
ASSIGNMO	6.00	1.96	3	8	14	Month random assign
ASSIGNDA	17.14	9.72	2	31	14	Day random assign
ASSIGNYR	92.00	.00	92	92	14	Year random assign
TRANSMO	3.29	3.27	0	8	14	Month transfer Boot/
TRANSDA	10.79	10.58	0	27	14	Day transfer Boot/Co
TRANSYR	52.57	47.25	0	92	14	Year transfer Boot/C
SECURSET	1.57	2.14	1	9	14	Secure facility befo
TRANSLOC	1.33	.49	1	2	12	Where transferred?

Table 4.2. Descriptive Statistics on the Pre-tests of the Intake Forms in Denver: Boot Camp Youth Pre-tests Only,

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum	N	Label
MOBIRTH	6.62	3.29	1	12	8	Month of birth
DABIRTH	14.88	9.30	3	31	8	Day of birth
YRBIRTH	74.87	.83	74	76	8	Year of birth
RACE	2.38	1.30	1	5	8	
HEIGHT	518.00	33.25	502	600	8	
WEIGHT	136.75	21.05	105	165	8	
VIOLPROB	.00	.00	0	0	8	Curr Offense Viol Pr
DEGCHAR	2.60	2.30	1	6	5	Degree of offense ch
DEGADJU	2.60	2.30	1	6	5	Degree of Offense Ad
INJICT	.00	.00	0	0	5	Physical injury to v
VALPROP	4.40	4.34	0	9	5	Value or property ta
WEAPON	.40	.89	0	2	5	Weapon involved?
SERCHAR1	382.00	368.58	95	999	5	Most serious offense
SERADJU1	268.00	158.08	95	429	5	Most serious offense
OFFENMO	7.50	3.46	2	12	8	Offense Month
OFFENDA	13.75	9.02	0	29	8	Offense Day
OFFENYR	91.00	.76	90	92	8	Offense Year
SENTMO	5.13	3.27	1	11	8	Sentence Month
SENTDA	18.75	8.29	6	29	8	Sentence Day
SENTYR	91.75	.71	90	92	8	Sentence Year
DETBDISP	2.75	2.66	0	9	8	Detained before disp
COURSENT	1.00	.00	1	1	8	Court Sentence
SENTLGTH	36.75	38.78	12	99	8	Sentence length (mon
RESTORD	2.75	3.88	0	9	8	Restitution ordered?
JJSSTAT	2.00	.00	2	2	8	Juv Justice Sys Stat
SCHATTEN	2.25	2.96	0	9	8	School attendance
LSTYRSCH	8.87	1.25	7	10	8	Last year of school
LEDPROG	4.13	2.23	1	6	8	Last Educ Program
WORKSTAT	2.75	3.96	0	9	8	Employment status
LIVSIT	5.88	4.16	2	12	8	Living situation at
PARNCRIM	1.38	3.11	0	9	8	Parent crim record?
PARNABUS	1.38	3.11	0	9	8	Parent abusive?
DLQFRND	4.25	3.01	1	9	8	Delinquent friends
DLQTSIB	.38	.74	0	2	8	Delinquent sibling
DSCPSCH	1.25	.71	0	2	8	Discip problem at sc
DSCPHOME	1.25	.71	0	2	8	Discip problem at ho
DRUGUSE	1.13	.35	1	2	8	Drug use by youth?
ALCUSE	1.38	.52	1	2	8	Alcohol use by youth
DRUGSALE	2.63	4.00	0	9	8	Drug sale by youth?
HISTFITE	2.14	3.13	0	9	7	History of fighting?
GANGINVL	1.13	.99	0	2	8	Gang involvement?
PSYCDIAG	.63	.92	0	2	8	Psych prob diagnosed
DTESTSCR	Variable is missing for every case.					Drug test score
DTESTPOS	6.43	4.39	0	9	7	Urine test positive?
RSKASSCR	9.14	3.93	2	13	7	Risk Assess Score
ASGNMENT	1.00	.00	1	1	8	Assigned Boot/Contro
ASSIGNMO	4.88	1.89	3	8	8	Month random assign
ASSIGNDA	17.38	9.55	2	31	8	Day random assign
ASSIGNYR	92.00	.00	92	92	8	Year random assign
TRANSMO	5.75	1.91	4	8	8	Month transfer Boot/
TRANSDA	18.88	5.77	14	27	8	Day transfer Boot/Co
TRANSYR	92.00	.00	92	92	8	Year transfer Boot/C
SECURSET	1.00	.00	1	1	8	Secure facility befo
TRANSLOC	1.00	.00	1	1	8	Where transferred?

Table 4.3. Descriptive Statistics on the Pre-tests of the Intake Forms in Denver: Control Group Youth Pre-tests Only.

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum	N	Label
MOBIRTH	8.33	3.98	1	12	6	Month of birth
DABIRTH	20.17	11.79	3	31	6	Day of birth
YRBIRTH	75.67	1.63	74	78	6	Year of birth
RACE	2.67	1.75	1	6	6	
HEIGHT	505.17	3.31	501	510	6	
WEIGHT	124.00	27.43	75	150	6	
VIOLPROB	.17	.41	0	1	6	Curr Offense Viol Pr
DEGCHAR	3.00	3.46	1	7	3	Degree of offense ch
DEGADJU	3.00	3.46	1	7	3	Degree of Offense Ad
INJVICT	.00	.00	0	0	3	Physical injury to v
VALPROP	7.67	2.31	5	9	3	Value or property ta
WEAPON	.00	.00	0	0	3	Weapon involved?
SERCHAR1	68.00	45.90	15	95	3	Most serious offense
SERADJU1	68.00	45.90	15	95	3	Most serious offense
OFFENMO	9.00	3.46	4	12	5	Offense Month
OFFENDA	4.80	3.42	0	9	5	Offense Day
OFFENYR	91.20	.45	91	92	5	Offense Year
SENTMO	6.67	.82	6	8	6	Sentence Month
SENTDA	14.17	9.04	4	26	6	Sentence Day
SENTYR	92.00	.00	92	92	6	Sentence Year
DETBDISP	4.33	3.61	2	9	6	Detained before disp
COURSENT	1.00	.00	1	1	5	Court Sentence
SENTLGTH	34.20	36.72	12	99	5	Sentence length (mon
RESTORD	7.00	4.00	1	9	4	Restitution ordered?
JJSSTAT	2.00	.00	2	2	6	Juv Justice Sys Stat
SCHATTEN	3.33	4.46	0	9	6	School attendance
LSTYRSCH	23.17	37.17	6	99	6	Last year of school
LEDPROG	3.00	1.90	1	6	6	Last Educ Program
WORKSTAT	3.00	4.65	0	9	6	Employment status
LIVSIT	4.00	3.63	2	11	6	Living situation at
PARNCRIM	3.17	4.54	0	9	6	Parent crim record?
PARNABUS	.17	.41	0	1	6	Parent abusive?
DLQTRND	4.67	3.44	1	9	6	Delinquent friends
DLQTSIB	.50	.55	0	1	6	Delinquent sibling
DSCPSCH	1.83	.41	1	2	6	Discip problem at sc
DSCPHOME	3.00	2.97	1	9	6	Discip problem at ho
DRUGUSE	2.67	3.14	1	9	6	Drug use by youth?
ALCUSE	3.83	4.02	1	9	6	Alcohol use by youth
DRUGSALE	4.50	4.93	0	9	6	Drug sale by youth?
HISTFITE	5.00	4.43	0	9	6	History of fighting?
GANGINVL	2.33	3.39	0	9	6	Gang involvement?
PSYCDIAG	4.67	4.76	0	9	6	Psych prob diagnosed
DTESTSCR	50.00	.	50	50	1	Drug test score
DTESTPOS	7.40	3.58	1	9	5	Urine test positive?
RSKASSCR	12.67	.58	12	13	3	Risk Assess Score
ASGNMENT	2.00	.00	2	2	6	Assigned Boot/Contro
ASSIGNMO	7.50	.55	7	8	6	Month random assign
ASSIGNDA	16.83	10.85	2	30	6	Day random assign
ASSIGNYR	92.00	.00	92	92	6	Year random assign
TRANSMO	.00	.00	0	0	6	Month transfer Boot/
TRANSDA	.00	.00	0	0	6	Day transfer Boot/Co
TRANSYR	.00	.00	0	0	6	Year transfer Boot/C
SECURSET	2.33	3.27	1	9	6	Secure facility befo
TRANSLOC	2.00	.00	2	2	4	Where transferred?

The staff rating form of boot camp participants was pre-tested at the Foxfire camp by having four drill instructors using the rating scale to rate the behavior of 10 youth from the first platoon. Recall that the items comprise the following categories:

- A: RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY
- B: SELF DISCIPLINE/CONTROL
- C. RESPONSIBILITY
- D. INTEGRITY
- E. TEAMWORK
- F. PERSONAL APPEARANCE
- G. SOCIAL BEHAVIOR
- H. EFFORT (WORK ETHIC)

On each of these dimensions the boy was rated on a seven-point scale, with "1" being the lowest possible rating, and "7" being the highest possible rating.

Table 4.4 first presents descriptive statistics of how the four drill instructors rated each one of the ten boys. For categories A through H for each boy we list the mean (the arithmetic average) of the ratings by the four drill instructors, the standard deviation

(S.D.), and the range of the four ratings. For example, the four ratings given to the first boy on A: RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY by the four drill instructors were 5, 6, 6, and 6. Thus, the average rating of this first boy on category A was 5.75. The standard deviation of the four ratings was 0.43. The range was 1.

At the bottom of the table (on the second page) appear the averages of these ratings for all ten boys. As would be desirable on a rating scale like this the average ratings cluster around 4, which is the mid-point of this seven-point scale. The scale also shows that the ratings did not diverge excessively from one another. The average standard deviations are not too large, and the average range for the four raters was about 2 points on the scale. It thus appears that the four drill instructors had similar characteristics in mind when rating these boys. We believe that, with a little more time to deal with questions about the rating scheme, the scale will be a reasonably reliable indicator of relevant aspects of the youths' behavior.

Of more substantive interest, we note that category B (self discipline/control) received the lowest average scores for this group of boys. Thus, it appear that the boot camp staff are rating the youth realistically, rather than optimistically -- which is, of course, what we want them to do. It may be of interest to note that category F (personal appearance) received the highest scores, followed by category H (effort).

Table 4.4.B. Pre-test Boot Camp Staff Rating of Recruits, Denver, September 1992 (Continued)								
ITEM:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Boy 6:								
Mean	3.00	2.50	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.50	3.25	3.00
S.D.	0.71	1.12	1.41	0.71	0.00	0.87	0.43	1.22
Range	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	3.00
Boy 7:								
Mean	4.50	3.00	4.25	3.00	2.75	4.50	3.25	4.75
S.D.	1.12	0.71	0.83	1.00	0.83	0.50	0.83	0.43
Range	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
Boy 8:								
Mean	1.50	1.25	1.00	1.50	2.25	1.75	2.25	2.00
S.D.	0.87	0.43	0.00	0.50	1.09	0.83	0.83	1.22
Range	2.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00
Boy 9:								
Mean	6.00	6.00	6.50	5.75	6.25	7.00	6.50	6.25
S.D.	0.71	0.00	0.50	0.43	0.43	0.00	0.50	0.43
Range	2.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
Boy 10:								
Mean	4.25	3.75	4.00	4.25	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
S.D.	0.43	1.30	0.71	0.43	0.71	0.71	1.00	0.00
Range	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	0.00
MEANS OF THE MEANS, S.D.S, AND RANGES								
Mean	3.85	3.55	3.98	3.70	3.90	4.75	4.10	4.28
S.D.	0.78	0.76	0.66	0.70	0.72	0.75	0.89	0.78
Range	2.00	1.90	1.70	1.70	1.80	1.80	2.20	1.90

In Denver, 17 boot camp youth were administered the **youth survey** as a pilot test. In contrast to pre-test administrations of the survey in the other two sites, here the survey was administered to the youth by a member of the research team who was known to the boys as an independent researcher not connected to the boot camp staff. The last section of the survey was, in effect, a self-reported delinquency section. The stem for this section was "In the last 3 months when you were free (not held by the police or the court), how often have you ... ?" Self-reported delinquency by these 17 youths over this three-month period included:

13 had carried a hidden weapon.

11 had stolen something worth more than \$50.

10 had broken into a building or motor vehicle.

10 had stolen a motor vehicle.

10 had hurt someone so badly that bandages or a doctor was needed.

10 had knowingly bought/sold stolen goods.

7 had sold illegal drugs.

The Youth Survey does seem promising as part of an evaluation effort -- if it can be administered by a researcher who is known to be independent of the boot camp staff and who is trusted to keep the responses confidential.

Our conclusion is that the Denver boot camp is prepared for rigorous evaluation. They have a plausible program for attempting to produce better outcomes with these youth than conventional dispositions. They are complying with the experimental design. They have the ability to provide the essential background information needed and the data on the youths' progress in the boot camp. The main weakness of the Denver boot camp is that it does not provide the program to as many youth as we would like to have for statistical analyses. Nevertheless, their intake rate does approach the criterion we set, and there will be enough cases to detect substantial differences between the boot camp youth and their control group counterparts.

Chapter 5.

The Mobile Boot Camp Program

The setting for the Mobile boot camp program is Mobile County in extreme southwestern Alabama bordering Mobile Bay. Known locally as the Environmental Youth Corps, this OJJDP-funded program serves all Mobile County (population 400,000), which includes the City of Mobile (population 200,000). Mobile is one of four Alabama counties with more than 100,000 population.

Local interest in providing a community-based intermediate sanction program stemmed from the same pressures found throughout the nation. A large and increasing number of juveniles between the ages of 10 and 17 are arrested each year for engaging in some form of deviant behavior. The vast majority of these youth come from single parent families; three-quarters are male and over half are black; eighty percent have experimented with drugs and alcohol; theft is the usual primary offense; but few have committed serious, violent crimes.

Juvenile court and law enforcement officials in Mobile believed that these youth would have a chance of changing their lives for the better if they could be temporarily removed from their home environment and exposed to a more positive life style. Moreover, Mobile area elected officials and civic leaders believed that community services and juvenile justice resources could be meshed to meet the needs of troubled youth. A boot camp

theoretically seemed a way to effect an intermediate sanction that would provide appropriate justice and rehabilitation for non-violent juveniles under age 18.

A. Goals and Objectives

The overall goal of the Environmental Youth Corps (EYC) is to enable youth to take positive control of life so that they become productive, law abiding members of society. The general goals are to:

- create juvenile peer groups and family training programs supportive of law-abiding and productive behavior;
- provide training and experiences that promote honesty, responsibility, self-worth, and respect for authority and others;
- provide a sanction for offenders that incorporates restitution;
- provide chemical abuse prevention through testing, assessments, and education;
- increase reading skills;
- increase awareness of the environment and appreciation of community service.

To meet the established goals, the overall objective is to create an Environmental Youth Corps that will provide discipline, education, and work experience suitable for delinquent youth. The general objectives of the Corps are to:

- identify and refer appropriate candidates for selection to the program;
- teach discipline to juvenile offenders through military regimen, physical conditioning, and group cooperation;
- provide alternative educational programs and phonics training that improve academic skills;
- use combined community and juvenile justice system resources to provide drug and alcohol awareness and prevention;
- institute restitution and community service requirements;
- establish treatment teams of professionals that address the individual needs of each youth.

B. Development and Implementation History

A striking feature of Mobile's program is that the needs determination, proposal development, and program implementation involved collaboration among various community and government agencies. State and local law enforcement and criminal justice agencies

along with community medical, business, and human service organizations agreed that the Mobile area had a growing problem with juvenile crime and there was a need to do something about it. The proposal submitted to OJJDP reflected the community-wide concerns and the willingness to orchestrate public and private resources to develop a prototype intermediate sanction program.

Mobile's proposal was a joint effort of the Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Mobile (B&GC), the Strickland Youth Center of Mobile, and the University of South Alabama. The B&GC was designated as primary applicant because its programming flexibility and structure intrinsically support the requirements of the proposed aftercare phase of EYC, and this phase was viewed as having the most potential to positively influence long-term behaviors of juvenile offenders. The Strickland Youth Center was an applicant because it constitutes the local juvenile justice agency responsible for intake processing, sentencing, and supervising probation of youth under its charge. The University of South Alabama (USA) was an applicant in order to make phonics and research expertise available to EYC and to provide graduate student support for other specialized program areas.

Mobile's proposal to OJJDP was submitted in the fall of 1990 and the award was announced in the fall, 1991.

As a response to local interest in applying military-like discipline to counter growing juvenile crime, the Strickland Youth Center developed and implemented a two-week "mini" boot camp that started in the summer of 1991. This initiative, called Camp BASIC (Behavioral Adjustment Social-survival Instructor Course), was accomplished with local resources and was independent from the proposal submitted to OJJDP.

Camp BASIC served both delinquent and status offenders. The program combined military style discipline, physical conditioning, remedial education, and behavioral counseling. Military veterans were retained as Drill Instructors (DIs), "cadets" wore uniforms, military drills and courtesies were required, strict standards of physical appearance were maintained, and daily activities were rigidly scheduled. While there was no empirical assessment of Camp BASIC, the program was deemed by local officials to be effective and it received wide coverage by the local media. Significantly, Camp BASIC served as a testing ground for concepts and procedures incorporated into EYC.

Development of EYC began upon receipt of the Federal grant in October 1991. Development of Mobile's program occurred in three major phases.

Planning and conceptualization (Oct-Dec 1991)

The first three months focused on planning and conceptualization under the direction of the Project Directors -- Mr. Robert Martin, Chief Probation Officer, and Mr. Clyde McGuire, Executive Director, B&GC of Mobile. The process included an orientation and clarification meeting in November 1991 with key program staff from the Cleveland and Denver programs, NJJ and OJJDP officials, and the evaluation team.

Early planning activities involved securing agreements among the different agencies involved in developing the EYC. These included defining the spheres of responsibility of the Strickland Youth Center and the Boys and Girls Club, modifying juvenile court intake and processing procedures, allocating probation department staff to support EYC, acquiring and preparing administrative, academic, and residential facilities, and developing staff position descriptions and hiring schedules. Two important decisions were made during this time: 1)

to defer detailed development of the boot camp portion of EYC until the executive director was hired, and 2) to take in the first cohort of boot camp recruits in April 1992.

Early conceptualization activities centered on developing the general specifications for the various components of the EYC program, including both the boot camp and aftercare phases. Staff defined the boundaries of each component, agreed on the goals of each, articulated the logic connecting program services and procedures to goals, and outlined how the different program components would interact. At this stage of development some components were more clearly thought through than others. For example, the structure and main features of the military component was specified in detail because of Mobile's experience with Camp BASIC. The features and impact of the remedial education component were specified in less detail because of the uncertainties involved in adapting an existing curriculum for EYC youth. The procedures and objectives of the planned adventure therapy were only vaguely specified because Mobile had no firsthand experience with the approach.

Program development (Jan - April 1992)

Actual development of the different boot camp components began in January 1992 with the arrival of the new director, Mr. Thomas Matthews. A retired U.S. Air Force officer, Mr. Matthews came to Mobile from the Corrections Department of Arkansas where he had developed boot camp programs for adults.

Under the leadership of Mr. Matthews, the various program components were designed, discussed with appropriate Strickland Center and B&GC staffs, and documented at an intensive pace. The major development activities included:

- Preparation of physical facilities - purchase of two double trailers to serve as administrative offices and classrooms; renovation of an existing building to provide a recruit dormitory and office space for probation officers.
- Staff recruitment - specification of position descriptions, recruitment and hiring of staff.
- Military component - specification of the military routines and requirements expected of recruits; development of a detailed EYC Procedures Manual; development of a detailed Recruit Handbook for the Boot Camp Program.
- Educational component - selection of the PACE curriculum, a self-paced, individualized remedial education program, as the main educational intervention; purchase of course materials; training of educational staff in PACE procedures.
- Life skills component - purchase of several substance abuse counseling and motivational programs and adaptation of other developmental programs used in Strickland Center; selection of the ROPES program for adventure therapy; training of staff.

Concurrent with these program development efforts, the procedural planning and coordination that had been initiated during the first three months were finalized. This primarily consisted of detailing the working relationships among the juvenile court, EYC, the probation department, and the B&GC.

Program implementation (Apr 1992 - present)

Mobile's program was sufficiently organized and developed in time to start its first cohort of recruits on the target date of 6 April 1992. This group of 14 youth - formally designated "Flight A" - was randomly assigned to EYC's boot camp from the pool of eligible youth. Their control counterparts were randomly assigned to different correctional facility and probation alternatives. The cohorts entering the program at the time of this report, their start dates, and number of recruits are shown below:

Flight A	6 April 1992	14
Flight B	27 April 1992	13
Flight C	8 June 1992	11
Flight D	6 July 1992	7
Flight A	17 August 1992	10
Flight B	8 September 1992	8

The planned target for Mobile is to start a new cohort of 13 recruits every three weeks. Maximum capacity is designed to be four cohorts totalling 52 recruits. As one cohort graduates, another will enter. The shortfall from the planned intake can be attributed to start-up problems, such as coordinating the flow of youth through juvenile court, anticipating seasonal differences in numbers of youth entering the juvenile justice pipeline, and staff turnover.

Flight A graduated from boot camp as scheduled on 6 July and entered the aftercare phase immediately afterward. As of 10 September, graduates from Flights A, B, and C are in aftercare.

EYC staff considered the first several cohorts as program "shakedowns." They anticipated that the program would have to be modified in the early stages in order to better mesh program procedures to recruits' needs. This indeed happened.

One major program change consisted of softening the military atmosphere. Camp BASIC and the first EYC boot camp iteration featured a relatively aggressive military setting where DIs yelled orders and were often "in the face" of recruits. This was gradually replaced by a less militarily extreme approach where DIs still maintain firm control but also work to foster a trusting relationships with recruits. Several DIs were replaced in an effort to strike a satisfactory balance between military process and providing rehabilitative services.

Modifications were made to other program components as well. Some trial and error was required to determine how to deploy instructors and tutors so as to optimally monitor and reinforce the individualized educational curriculum. Counselling sessions on violence prevention were moved from late to early in the program because it was deemed that recruits would benefit more. Several staff members were reassigned or given different responsibilities in order to take advantage of their special talents.

Overall, the kinds of modifications that were made to the boot camp portion of EYC appear to be reasonable. Given the variety of services being integrated by EYC and the complexity of instituting new procedures within existing juvenile court processes, some

program changes have to be expected. It is too early at this time to predict the extent to which planned aftercare procedures will need to be modified.

C. Program Organization and Resources

The Environmental Youth Corps organizationally straddles the juvenile justice system and the community. On the one hand, youth assigned to EYC are received, assessed, determined eligible, and sentenced by juvenile court. Case management of each youth is further assigned to one of three probation officers delegated to serve EYC. While daily activities of youth are dictated by EYC, any serious misbehavior is considered a violation of probation and the youth reverts to court control for disposition.

On the other hand, the Boys and Girls Club of Mobile, is a community organization. The boot camp and aftercare phases both operationally function under B&GC supervision. Aftercare activities are centered in seven B&GCs located throughout Mobile County. In addition, many aftercare activities involve such other community organizations as the school systems, park and recreation departments, and local businesses. However, each youth remains under the legal supervision of the court until he has fulfilled all court-imposed requirements.

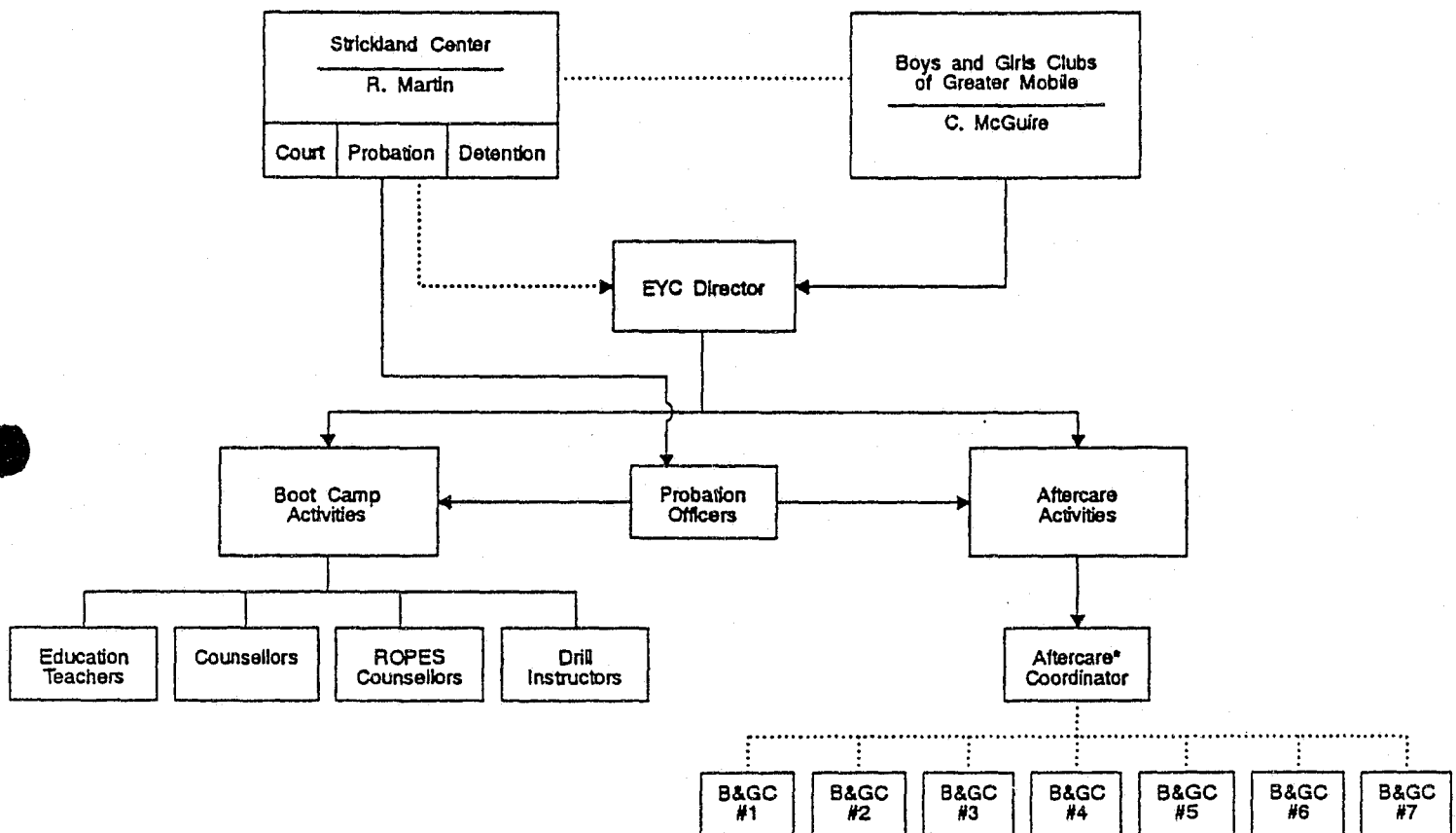
Because EYC is a federally-funded project, Mr. Robert Martin, Chief Probation Officer, who serves as the Project Director, and Mr. Clyde McGuire, Executive Director of

the Boys and Girls Club of Mobile, who serves as Co-Project Director, maintain overall accountability to the government. Day-to-day EYC operation is the responsibility of the EYC Director who reports to Mr. McGuire. The staff organization of EYC is shown on the next page.

EYC comprises both full-time and part-time staff. All but one of the full-time positions are for the boot camp portion of EYC. These are: Director, Secretary, Adventure Therapist (2), Chief Drill Instructor, Drill Sergeant, Drill Instructor (5), Educational Specialist (2), Probation Officer (3), Records Coordinator, and Night Security Officer (3). In addition, there is a full-time Aftercare Coordinator who monitors boot camp graduates in Aftercare. Part-time staff include a Bookkeeper, Program Evaluator, and graduate students who assist in the educational and phonics programs. Various Physical Education Instructors, Recreation Supervisors, Counselors, Teachers, and Unit Leaders working at the different B&GCs also are partially supported by EYC funds.

EYC's staff on paper and observed firsthand seem to be well-qualified for their assigned roles. The Director has extensive military experience in security operations and law enforcement and has directed an adult boot camp correctional program. The Educational Specialists have Master Degrees in Special Education and have professional experience working with disadvantaged youth. The Drill Instructors all have military backgrounds and some have experience with recruit training. Both Adventure Therapists have college degrees and experience working with inner city youth. The Aftercare Coordinator has an academic specialty in criminal justice and experience as a social worker. The evaluator and the phonics specialist are Ph.D.-level faculty from the University of South Alabama.

EYC Staff Organization



* Aftercare Coordinator monitors EYC Cadets assigned to B&GCs, but is not responsible for B&GC programming and operations.

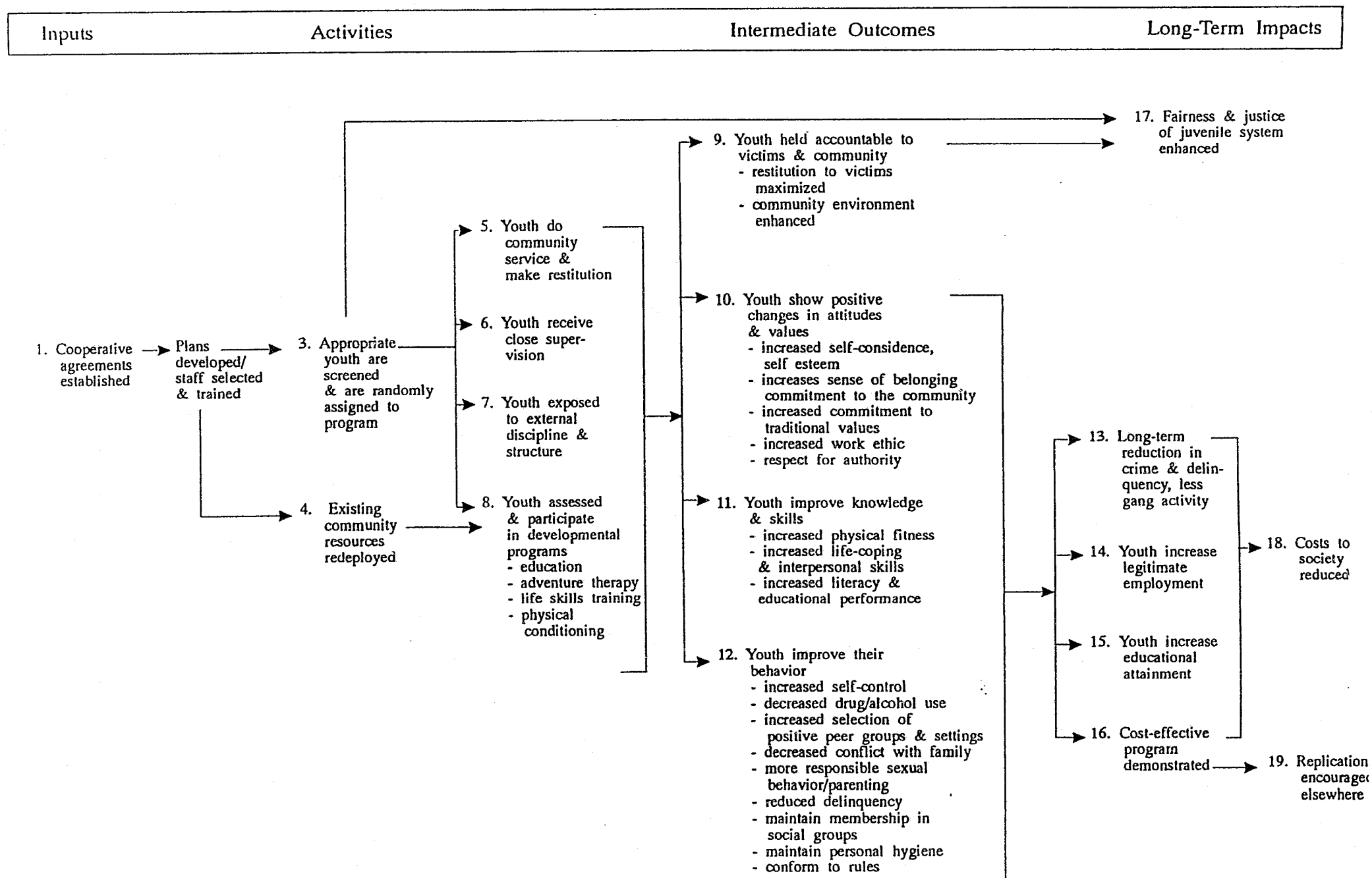
Both federal and local resources are used to support EYC. Salaries for boot camp and aftercare staff mentioned above are largely paid from federal grant monies. The grant also supports the purchase of recruit uniforms, the purchase and installation of the ROPES course, the rental of a van, the purchase of a trailer, and the purchase of work tools, a lawn mower, and miscellaneous other items. In-kind contributions to EYC include the barracks building, land for the boot camp facilities, dining facility and all meals, and the three full-time probation officers assigned to EYC. In addition, Alabama Power Company set the poles for the B&GC ROPES course at no cost to EYC. This ROPES course will be used by EYC youth during aftercare. The University of South Alabama provided one student intern to EYC during the summer and intends to provide two to four interns each academic quarter for the duration of the project.

D. The intervention model

In response to OJJDP's funding guidelines, Mobile's goal was to create an intermediate sanction intervention for non-serious male juvenile offenders between the ages 13-17. The intervention would combine strict disciplinary measures with educational and counselling treatment services. Military-style structure would provide an atmosphere of discipline through tight control of recruits' behavior, physical conditioning, and regimented routines. This in turn would help improve attention spans of recruits and instill in them the confidence and sense of responsibility needed to profit from education and counselling.

The rationale of Mobile's program is shown on the next page. Basically the rationale makes explicit the reasons why program designers expect the program will result in socially

Sample Program Rationale for Mobile Boot Camp Program



desirable and law-abiding behavior. In simple terms, the rationale hypothesizes that properly qualified staff will deliver services and activities that will influence recruits' behavior. Exposure to military discipline and close supervision, educational courses that remedy academic deficiencies, drug abuse counselling, and adventure experiences will lead to desirable intermediate outcomes such as better recruit attitudes toward themselves and others, more self-confidence, tolerance for others, better academic skills, and decreased use of alcohol and drugs. And these changes in attitudes and behavior will, with time, lead to desirable long-term impacts like holding a job, staying in school, and no or reduced criminal activity. By expressing EYC's program logic in this way, each link connecting EYC activities, the intermediate outcomes, and the long-term impacts can be assessed to determine whether specific EYC program components "cause" the intended result.

EYC is the amalgam of people, materials, activities, and procedures actuating this logic. It is a comprehensive intervention program divided into two distinct phases -- boot camp and aftercare. Boot camp is a 90-day residential program built upon the military model where recruits are under constant staff supervision. Military drill and routine, education, counselling, physical conditioning, and regimentation are key features.

When recruits graduate from boot camp, they become "cadets" and enter a nine month aftercare program where the emphasis is on providing support and direction for the juvenile as he readapts to society. Cadets live at home but are required to join one of seven Boys and Girls Clubs, attend school or work, and spend up to 25 hours per week in B&GC activities, which will include a mixture of recreation, education, rehabilitation counselling, and community service. In the last three months of aftercare, EYC youth lose their identity as "cadets" and are treated by program staff as B&GC members; however, they remain

under legal supervision of juvenile court and still meet regularly with probation officers until they graduate from aftercare.

Description of boot camp program

The typical day in the life of an EYC recruit starts at 5 AM and ends with 9 PM bedtime. As is shown on the next page, daily activities are tightly scheduled and recruits are exposed to each major program component. Program components are summarized below.

Military. This component consists of the overall atmosphere and is implemented by seven Drill Instructors who wear military uniforms and "Smokey Bear" hats. DIs closely supervise recruit behavior and activities. The DI position of authority is clearly demarcated from the subordinate recruit position. Each Flight of recruits is commanded by a DI who is responsible for the recruits of that Flight. DIs expect prescribed forms of responses and courtesies from recruits. While DIs are responsible for maintaining discipline and order, they also are expected to serve as positive role models and to counsel and instruct recruits as appropriate. DIs may not verbally or physically abuse recruits.

Recruits are expected to follow rules, respect authority, participate in program activities, and get along with others. Recruits who misbehave or violate rules are subject to punishment. Recruits are expected to work together and with staff and are held responsible for their actions. Recruits are required to maintain their bunks, clothing, and physical appearance to high standards and to participate daily in military ceremonies, drilling, and formations.

EYC SCHEDULE

****** DAYS 8-45******

MONDAY - FRIDAY

Flights A & B	-0500-0515-	REVEILLE/Standing Count/Sick call/Clean up
Flights A & B	-0515-0615-	Physical Training
Flights A & B	-0615-0630-	Clean up barracks/Trash out Laundry turn in
Flights A & B	-0630-0700-	Breakfast
Flights A & B	-0700-0715-	Flag Reveille/Pledge of Allegiance
Flights A & B	-0715-0800-	Standing Count/Drill/Prepare for class
Flight A	-0800-1130-	Literacy/Phonic
Flight B	-0800-1130-	Life Skills/Drugs and Alcohol training/PMA
Flights A & B	-1130-1230-	Drill
Flights A & B	-1230-1300-	Standing Count/Lunch
Flight A	-1300-1630-	Life Skills/Drug and Alcohol Training/PMA
Flight B	-1300-1630-	Literacy/Phonic
Flights A & B	-1630-1730-	Drill
Flights A & B	-1730-1745-	Laundry Issue/Standing Count
Flights A & B	-1745-1800-	Retreat
Flights A & B	-1800-1830-	Supper
Flights A & B	-1830-1845-	Showers
Flights A & B	-1845-1945-	Barracks clean up
Flights A & B	-1945-2045-	Study Hall
Flights A & B	-2045-2100-	Mail Call/Letter Writing
Flights A & B	-2100	LIGHTS OUT

Education. The core of this component is an individualized, self-paced curriculum (hence called PACE) adapted from the Community Intensive Treatment for Youth program administered throughout Alabama. It is administered by two state-certified teachers with special education experience, assisted by graduate student tutors. The objective of PACE is to remediate academic deficiencies and to prepare recruits for return to school or obtaining a G.E.D.

On entering EYC, each recruit is given diagnostic tests to determine his skill level in mathematics and language. Based on test results, an individualized educational plan that prescribes specific self-study modules is developed for each recruit. Under the supervision of the teachers, the recruit completes a prescribed module, takes a test and, if he has mastered the content, proceeds to the next module. If the recruit fails to achieve the required proficiency level on the test, he is given additional study and help. One teacher and a tutor are always present to review each recruit's work and to assist as needed. DIs are on call and are often present in the classroom to ensure that an orderly environment conducive to learning is maintained.

Every effort is made to assure that each recruit gets proper credit in the public school systems for his academic work at EYC. The teachers contact the school system and report the academic levels attained by recruits on PACE so that they get attendance and academic credit for PACE upon their return to the public school. In addition, the teachers coordinate with the public schools to verify school performance for all entering recruits.

Phonics instruction is another aspect of the educational component. It is given twice weekly by Dr. Bryce Evans, a nationally recognized expert in phonics on the faculty of the University of South Alabama, and his selected graduate students. The instruction focuses on

helping recruits better pronounce words and speak "more conventional" English in preparation for school and work when they leave EYC. The teachers sit in on most phonics classes so that they can reinforce what was taught in phonics with other class work.

Life skills. This component consists of several activities, all of which involve different forms of group discussion and counselling. For the first nine weeks of boot camp, group sessions are built around the Positive Mental Attitude (PMA) program and the 12-step process of Alcohol Anonymous. The groups are facilitated by qualified EYC staff counselors. Group activities center on substance abuse education, violence prevention, communication, interpersonal skills, self-esteem, personal feelings, values clarification, and positive attitudes. The purpose is to create an open environment where the recruits can speak freely, discuss their backgrounds and the reasons for their behavior, and talk about how they can change their lives. Recruits are encouraged to have follow-up discussions with the counselor, their DI, or other EYC staff.

Adventure-based therapy. This component complements classroom-based group discussions during the last three weeks of boot camp by allowing recruits to actually experience classroom material and concepts. The activities are organized around the ROPES program developed by Adventure Inc., of Covington, Georgia. ROPES has been used in numerous programs dealing with high risk and adjudicated youth. ROPES provides multi-learning and growing experiences that foster development of self-confidence, problem solving skills, and teamwork. The ROPES program consists of telephone poles of different heights and other obstacle-course configurations. ROPES requires recruits to work together to climb poles, cross chasms by rope, and rappel down poles and barriers. Working together is essential for recruits to complete the tasks and to ensure safety. EYC staff trained and

Education. State-certified teachers are available to provide tutoring and computer literacy training. For cadets, these teachers administer and score PACE modules that may have been prescribed in ATPs and they tutor homework assigned by school systems. The teachers coordinate with the public school system to receive the report cards of cadets. Local school officials and the B&GC teachers are available to help cadets set scholastic goals. Field trips are arranged for all club members (including cadets) who have perfect school attendance records.

Recreation. B&GCs have basketball courts and other sports equipment for members. The clubs also have a variety of music, arts and crafts, and cultural tour activities. Cadets are free to use these services along with other members.

Leadership development. Leadership skills are developed through B&GC programs and youth groups. The "Keystone Club" is a voluntary group for youth between the ages 14 and 18 to engage in leadership and to participate in citizenship. With minimal oversight by B&GC, the members of the Keystone Club organize voter registration, pack boxes for disaster victims (e.g., hurricane Andrew), and work in senior citizen homes. Cadets can join Keystone if they desire.

Personal development. The "Smart Moves" program has been developed by the B&GC for different age groups -- 6-12; 12-14; and 15-18. The program combines group discussion and workbook lessons on topics like drug prevention, teen age pregnancy, and self-esteem. Smart Moves meets weekly for 6-8 weeks. Cadets may be assigned to this program.

Substance awareness. "Connections" is a national B&GC program that serves youth from families where one or both parents are substance abusers. Trained staff members provide role models and help youth understand what substance abuse is and how to cope with their feelings. The program meets 1-2 hours weekly. Cadets will be assigned if appropriate.

Community service. Boys and Girls Clubs routinely use community service projects to foster thinking about others' needs and to develop a sense of self-worth and personal accomplishment. This is formalized for EYC cadets where once a month they clean up school buildings and grounds, maintain parks, clean roadsides, keep up public beaches, and collect materials for recycling. EYC work projects attempt to link community service to environmental issues.

Work experience. "Adopt-a-Cadet" is a program designed for EYC cadets. It consists of a local employer agreeing to hire a cadet and to work with him to instill good work habits. The employer also agrees to transport the cadet to the B&GC so he can attend other activities prescribed in his ATP.

When a cadet has completed all the requirements specified in his Administrative Transfer Plan he graduates from EYC by getting a written release from his probation officer.

E. Offender Characteristics

Two sources of information on EYC and control group participants were developed. One was an Intake Form developed by the evaluation team and completed by probation officers for each individual assigned to the boot camp or a control group. A second was a Baseline Questionnaire also developed by the evaluation team and completed by the youth.

The Intake Form contains information on the demographic characteristics of the youth (age, weight, education level, household composition), information on the instant offense, and information on performance in schools. The Baseline Questionnaire includes questions on attitudes and plans of the youth.

Demographics

The recruits assigned to EYC's boot camp ranged in age from 13 to 18, with an average age of 15.6 years old. The youth were of average height and weight. The average height was five feet seven inches tall, and the average weight was 136 pounds. Nearly 70 percent of the youth assigned to EYC were African American.

Education status

The youth assigned to boot camp had a range of educational experiences. Thirty-nine percent had completed less than the eighth grade at the time of arrest. Forty-five percent had completed the eighth grade, and sixteen percent had completed more than the eighth grade. A comparison of age to level of education completed indicated that 95 percent were more than two years below the modal age for that grade. Thirteen percent had dropped out of school prior to the time of arrest.

Of the youth still enrolled in school, 70 percent were enrolled in a regular or mainstream educational program, 16 percent were classified as learning disabled, and 2 percent were classified as emotionally disturbed. These numbers are slightly higher than the national average of all elementary and secondary students. In 1987, just under 11 percent of children were served by federally supported education programs for the handicapped, 4.8 percent were classified as learning disabled, and 1 percent was emotionally disturbed (National Center for Education Statistics, 1988).

The EYC youth still enrolled in school had poor attendance records. Twenty-four percent missed seven or more days per month. Thirty-six percent missed between three and six days each month, and thirty nine percent missed two days or less.

Living arrangements

At the time of their arrest, half of the EYC youth were living with their mother only. Twenty-seven percent were living with both parents or with one biological parent and a step parent. Fifteen percent were living with other relatives, and two percent (one youth) lived in a group home and another two percent (one youth) was a runaway. As shown below, these figures indicate that fewer of the boot camp youth lived with two parents, and more lived in single parent or other types of homes than was the average for all children living in Alabama. (SOURCE: Annie E. Casey Foundation, Center for Social Policy, (1992) Kids Count Data Book. Washington, D.C.)

Living Arrangement	Alabama	Boot Camp Population
Living in Two Parent Family	55.7%	29.2%
Living in Single Parent Family	32.6%	52.0%
Living With Other Relatives	10.0%	14.6%
Living Outside Family	1.7%	4.2%

Family participation in assistance programs

The households of 43 percent of EYC youth received public assistance, 34 percent participated in the AFDC program, and 4 percent received SSI. Another sources of support included Social Security benefits for 11 percent of the households, and 26 percent were eligible for Medicaid.

Criminal behavior by family and friends

The youth assigned to EYC had associated with others who were involved in delinquent or criminal behavior. As reported, 98 percent had at least one delinquent friend, and 86 percent had three or more delinquent friends. In addition, 37 percent of the youth had delinquent siblings and 15 percents had a parent who had been convicted of a criminal offense.

Prior disciplinary problems

Many youth assigned to EYC had presented major disciplinary problems in school and at home in addition to their criminal activities. Forty-four percent were rated as major disciplinary problems at school, and forty-five percent were rated as major disciplinary problems at home.

The majority of the youth had a history of fighting. Twenty percent were said to have a major history of fighting, and an additional forty-seven percent had minor histories. Three-quarters of the youth had been involved in gangs.

Substance abuse and sales

Relatively few of the youth were reported to be drug users. Sixty-one percent were said to be minor users of alcohol, and twenty-two percent were said to be minor users of other substances. No youth were said to be major users of alcohol or other drugs. Approximately one-fourth of the youth were given drug-tests at the time of arrest. None of the youth assigned to EYC tested positive for the presence of drugs.

Even fewer youth were said to be involved in drug sales. Eight percent were reported to have been heavily involved in drug sales, and another eight percent had minor involvement.

Other

The parent or guardian of fifteen percent of the youth assigned to the Mobile Boot Camp had been charged with abuse or neglect.

Eight percent of the youth were diagnosed as having major psychological problems, and twenty-two percent were diagnosed as having minor psychological problems.

EYC vs. control group participants

After screening and determined eligible, youth were randomly assigned to either EYC or a control treatment. From a scientific research viewpoint, the random assignment process would be expected to result in comparison groups that do not differ in any systematic way. As a check of the process used to randomly assign Mobile youth, we statistically compared EYC and control group youth on the dimensions discussed above using tests of the difference of means or proportions as appropriate. No significant differences were found.

F. On-site Observations

The evaluation team made four site visits to Mobile. Each visit was scheduled to coincide with the evolution of EYC from conceptualization to development and implementation. A summary of the development status of EYC and our observations of the program at the time of the visits follow.

16-18 December, 1991. This visit took place about one month after the kickoff meeting with NIJ and OJJDP. The purpose was to acquaint the evaluation team with key staff of the program and with the overall program plan.

Interviews with key staff from juvenile court, the probation department, and the Boys and Girls Clubs of Mobile gave the impression that all parties understood their respective responsibilities for developing EYC. They were committed to creating a program that would meet the required specifications of OJJDP, including random assignment to experimental and control treatments and cooperation with the evaluation team. While there was general agreement of program goals and structure, it was decided to defer specific program planning and staffing until the EYC director was hired.

Our major observations at this point were:

- as a result of their experience with Camp BASIC, the Mobile team seemed to have a firm grasp of what is needed to develop a military-like environment and on the most likely problems to expect;
- embedding the aftercare component within the B&GC organization seemed a good way of using the broader community to assist juvenile offenders and at the same time retain an effective administrative structure;
- the collegial attitudes of key staff should foster an environment where different agencies can work together.

12-13 March, 1992. At the time of this visit the director of EYC had been hired and planning of specific boot camp components was well underway. All planning activities were targeted toward an early April start date. Detailed drafts of the Operating Procedures for boot camp were written, most of the Drill Instructors, counsellors, and teachers had been hired, and staff training was either ongoing or scheduled. The barracks building was being renovated and the trailers housing the administrative officers and classrooms were in place.

It was clear during this visit that a tremendous amount of work had been accomplished since the last visit. The EYC staff that had been hired appeared to be well qualified and enthusiastic; all were confident the program would be ready in April. The military component and the educational program were completely specified and the other components were sufficiently advanced in their design. Our general conclusion from this visit was that Mobile was developing a prototype program that cohesively integrates military discipline and educational and counselling services. Moreover, juvenile intake data suggested there were sufficient numbers of juvenile offenders to support the evaluation of the program.

6-9 July, 1992. This visit was timed to coincide with the graduation of Flight "A," the first group of recruits to finish boot camp, and the entry of Flight "D." Thus, the program observed had the benefit of a shakedown of one cohort and was then being implemented for three additional cohorts. The evaluation team was able to observe the implementation of all program components.

The military aspect of the boot camp seemed to function very smoothly. EYC had softened its military tone some as they gained experience with working with juvenile offenders. Several DIs had been replaced in the process. We were impressed by the ability

of DIs to work firmly with recruits without resorting to "being in your face" postures or excessive yelling.

Our observations of other components were generally positive. Appropriate EYC staff were delivering the program as designed and this was being done in orderly classrooms to largely attentive and respectful recruits. The individually-paced educational course seemed to engage the recruits and the teachers visibly supported them when needed. Life skills counselling likewise was conducted by caring staff who patiently encouraged recruits to participate in group discussions. The ROPES program was carried out as designed and with great concern for safety.

While the boot camp program seemed to be functioning smoothly, the flow of recruits into EYC was uneven and overall less than planned. The EYC staff were acutely aware of this and attributed the problem to "learning" and "getting their act together." A reanalysis of intake projections revealed that there are enough juvenile offenders for the program.

2-4 September, 1992. The purpose of this visit was to observe the implementation of the aftercare phase of EYC. A total of 14 cadets from two different Flights were in aftercare.

Our observations were limited because aftercare was considered to be in a shakedown phase and the educational component was just beginning to operate with the start of the new public school year. However, we were able to review the planned activities with the newly appointed Aftercare Coordinator and with B&GC staff, and we did interview several cadets.

On paper, the planned aftercare program seems cogent. Because most aftercare activities are built around existing B&GC programs that have been in operation for many years, there is reason to believe the services will be delivered as designed. The administrative logistics for tracking cadet attendance at seven different B&GCs and ensuring they receive the services prescribed in individual Administrative Transfer Plans has yet to be demonstrated. Evaluation of the aftercare phase should be a priority of the next evaluation phase of juvenile boot camps.

G. Perceptions of the Youth

Eight of the eleven Flight B recruits were interviewed during the July site visit. Flight B was in its 9th week of boot camp so the recruits had ample opportunity to experience the different program components and had been in the program long enough to observe the impact of the program on themselves and each other.

We asked the same set of three basic questions about boot camp to each recruit. Each recruit was privately interviewed for about 20 minutes. The interviews took place while recruits were studying their individualized PACE modules. The teachers selected the recruits to represent the range of ages, attitudes, and problems of the cohort. The eight recruits were evenly split between African Americans and whites. Recruit responses are summarized below.

(1) What do you think about your boot camp experience? What has been good? What not so good? What will you get out of it?

The most common theme arising in responses to this question was self-discipline. Six of the recruits said that were much more disciplined than before. They "think more before I act," "don't act as dumb as before," and "learned not to fight everything." One recruit thought he "is now more a leader than a follower," and another recruit went so far as to say he would recommend boot camp for others because "it would help them as much as it helped me."

When probed about the DIs, most recruits gave positive reports. Five recruits specifically stated that the DIs were helpful and fair. "DIs were strict but helped me," "DIs and other staff will help if you help yourself," "They make you respect them, but that is OK because they also spend a lot of time with us," are representative comments. Four recruits volunteered that the DIs treated them well with "no hitting" and "no physical stuff." One recruit did report "uneven treatment for blacks and whites" and "some physical abuse." (This recruit thought boot camp was not helpful, not organized, and racist; his views generally were contrary to those of the other recruits.) Another recruit said he saw "one incident."

A feature most recruits reported liking was physical conditioning and drilling. This perhaps is not surprising, given the ages of recruits, but recruits reported that physical activity "helped my self-confidence," "makes me feel good about myself," and "I feel like I'm in good shape." Features not so well liked included "getting up so early," "always cleaning the barracks," "being yelled at," and "having to do push-ups for someone else's stupid mistake."

(2) What about the different things you do in boot camp? Are they worthwhile?

The strongest and most consistent recruit responses centered on the educational component. With one exception, the recruits believed that the PACE materials helped them to learn math and reading better than their own public schools. Six specifically mentioned the educational staff: "I was kicked out of the 9th grade but I can learn here because the teachers are there," "the teachers help when I don't understand hard things," "tutors are available when I need them," and "teachers help me to learn even though I don't like school things." Four recruits also thought they learned in boot camp because they were away from their friends and other distractions.

ROPES is the other program component widely liked by recruits. Seven saw ROPES as a positive experience that was fun, a little scary, but taught teamwork. Teamwork seemed to make a major impression, as evidenced by comments. "To get across the ditch or climb the pole you have to rely on others to help." "Working as a team really makes you feel good." "It is fun to do and it teaches you how to get along with others."

(3) What's next for you? What do you see yourself doing in the next year?

The recruits unanimously reported they would return to school and/or get a job. While these are necessary conditions for aftercare, the sense conveyed was that recruits understand that school and work are the way to stay out of trouble and do something with their lives.

Some cadet comments regarding aftercare.

During the 2-4 September visit to Mobile to observe aftercare, we were able to talk to four cadets during a tour of two B&GCs. These were informal interviews that took place in the middle of many ongoing club activities. In addition, public school had just started so the B&GCs were beginning a different cycle of services.

Three of the cadets thought that the B&GC would be a good place to spend time after school. These cadets each had homework from school that they were going to review with the teachers at the clubs. It was too soon for them to say how well this relationship would work. All four of the cadets were glad to be out of boot camp and thought aftercare would be an easier time.

H. Adequacy of Numbers of Cases

On two separate occasions we verified with the probation department and intake staff members that the juvenile justice system in Mobile County serves enough youth to be able to support a rigorous experimental evaluation of the program. On the basis of an analysis of intake numbers for 1991 and the first three months of 1992, it is reasonable to conclude that there are sufficient numbers of youth to meet screening requirements and to randomly assign about 120 youth each to boot camp and control groups. The shortfall of recruits for the first several cohorts of boot camp reflects procedural trial and error and communication problems among the different agencies that process offenders rather than a lack of offenders.

I. Adequacy of Data Collection Systems

EYC officials have indicated they will support the evaluation. Our experience from four site visits and numerous telephone calls indicates that the EYC staff are professional and willing to help. We envision few problems in obtaining recruit information at intake and while they are at boot camp and aftercare. We already are getting some of this information and the EYC staff are aware we will be asking for more. The logistics for collecting data for control group youth will be somewhat harder because many records will be maintained by other agencies outside Mobile County. Nevertheless, we have been reassured by EYC officials that they will provide necessary coordination and will assist in obtaining the needed data.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

Phase I of this evaluation research project, the Implementation Evaluation, had three major goals: (1) to complete preparations by the research team to conduct the rigorous experiment that would be the core of Phase II, the impact evaluation, slated for years two and three, (2) to assess whether each of the three boot camps would be "evaluable" (prepared for rigorous impact evaluation) by the start of year two, and (3) to provide preliminary assessments of each program's operation by the end of year one. Success in achieving the first goal required successful completion of several objectives: reaching a good working relationship with each of the three boot camps, producing a rigorous design of randomized assignment to experimental and control groups and testing that randomized design at each of the three sites, planning and pre-testing instruments for data collection, and planning methods for analysis of the data that would be collected in years two and three. Our successful completion of this first goal is reported in section A (next page). Section B reports our

assessment of the evaluability of the Cleveland, Denver, and Mobile boot camps. Section C of this chapter discusses some lessons we have learned about the process of operating juvenile boot camps and offers some tentative advice to policy makers who are considering establishing juvenile boot camps.

A. Preparedness of the Research Team for Phase II

1. Collaboration. The evaluation team enjoys full cooperation from the three boot camp projects. A successful field experiment on juvenile boot camps requires close cooperation and collaboration among the evaluation team, the boot camp program staff, and other components of the local juvenile justice system. During the course of our site visits, we have observed the dedication of program staff not only to the boot camp program, but also to maintaining the integrity of the evaluation process. We also are confident that the juvenile court judges at each site are cooperating fully in their sentencing procedures, thereby allowing the evaluation team to effectively assign cases to boot camp and control conditions.

2. Randomized Assignment. The evaluation team has devised an effective procedure for random assignment of cases to the experimental group and the control group. Screening

is conducted by the juvenile court and/or the department of juvenile correctional services. As soon as one of the boot camps has a pair of youths waiting in the eligible pool, boot camp program staff telephone ICR at Rutgers University and list the names and identification numbers of the two boys. ICR has prepared a computer-generated list of random numbers that is used to decide whether the first boy listed is to go to boot camp or to the control group. If the first boy is randomly selected for the boot camp, the second boy is selected for the control group. Similarly, if the first boy listed is randomly selected for the control group, the second boy is selected for the boot camp.

This procedure was checked and found to be practical by means of pilot studies with the boot camps in March, 1992 before they began admitting boys to the camps. Since April, 1992 (when the first cohorts of youth were admitted to the boot camp) random assignment of real cases to the experimental and control group has been working successfully at the three sites. The checks that have been conducted so far indicate that the actual assignments of youth do indeed match the computerized random assignments generated by ICR/Rutgers. In fact, checks covering from April through August, 1992 show only one case (out of 314 assignments made) in which our random assignment was not carried out in the field. (A judge in Cleveland received information revealing that a youth's offense was more serious than previously known. The judge assigned him to a more secure facility than the boot

camp.) Thus, whether a youth goes to boot camp or to the control group is determined by chance and not by the inclinations of judges or boot camp program staff.

3. Data Collection Plan and Pre-tests. A thorough and rigorous evaluation of the boot camp demonstration project and the program rationale it implies requires a considerable amount of information about both the programs and the youth who enter and complete them. No one instrument can collect all of the pertinent data; instead, a series of different instruments is proposed, administered at different times and using various administration methods.

Plans have been made for using at least five instruments at all three sites: an Intake Form, a Staff Rating Form, a Boot Camp Exit Form, an Aftercare Summary Report, and an Outcome Record. We describe each of these instruments below.

a. Intake Form. We have designed this form to capture information that is available in court files at the time the youth is assigned to the boot camp selection pool. Thus, the form captures information about control-group youth as well as boot-camp youth. This includes information about the youth's demographic characteristics (age, ethnicity); the offense that precipitated his referral to the selection pool; the sentence he received; his educational and family background; any known problem areas such as substance use or abuse, disciplinary problems at home or

school, gang involvement, or psychological diagnoses; and if available, drug screening results and risk ratings by local juvenile justice personnel. The boot camp program team is asked to attach a copy of the youth's offense history, which will be coded by the evaluation staff. All these elements will serve as covariates or indicators of the youth's baseline performance and attainment during the outcome analyses. Using these data, we also can check on the comparability of sites and of boot-camp and control-group participants at baseline. The form also includes identifiers and information that will be used to track the whereabouts of control-group members. Finally, the form elicits information on the youth's detention status between time of assignment to the boot camp or control condition and transfer to his respective correctional program. Since new boot-camp participants start monthly in groups of ten, for purposes of the cost analysis we need to know how much extra detention time, and therefore expense, is involved in assembling these groups. As mentioned in the chapters discussing each individual boot camp, the Intake Form has been pre-tested at all three sites.

b. Staff Rating Form. We have designed this form to systematize the assessments that Drill Instructors make about the behavior of the youth in the experimental group while they are in residence at the boot camp. The boot-camp instructors are to rate the behavior of each youth on his respect for authority, self-

discipline, personal responsibility, integrity, team work, personal appearance/hygiene, social behavior, and work ethic. AIR has used similar forms with great success in many job-performance measurement research projects conducted for military and civilian sponsors. The form has been designed as a pre-test, post-test measure. Our plan is that it will be completed by Drill Instructors during the first to third week of boot camp and again during the last week, just before youth are discharged to aftercare.

c. Boot Camp Exit Form. This is designed to record the youth's type of exit from the residential portion of the boot camp program, disciplinary history, height and weight, special assistance received, awards received, and (if applicable) the date and reason for dropout from the boot camp.

d. Aftercare Summary Report. This is designed to record the youth's type of exit from the aftercare program, disciplinary history in aftercare, type of aftercare programming offered and the level of participation by the youth in such programs, special assistance received, restitution and community service record (including the number of dollars or hours involved), and (if applicable) the date and reason for dropout from the aftercare program.

e. Outcome Records. This form will contain the youth's official offense history since the point of intake, which we will obtain from court files with the help

of an on-site data collector. We plan for this format to preserve the details about the dates, offense types, and court outcomes of each incident. This will allow us to develop a variety of official recidivism measures, including the time interval from intake to relapse, how often the youth recidivated during a given period, and how serious the offenses were.

We also recommend the use of four additional instruments, but the role that they will play in the impact evaluation is uncertain. The discussions we have had with NIJ so far indicate that the evaluation team will probably not have sufficient funding to administer the youth survey or the literacy test that we had been planning during Phase I of the evaluation research. We wish to encourage the sites to attempt some such measures on their own, but we would like to discuss these tasks with them to alert them to some problems they can expect to encounter if they try to use the following instruments.

f. Youth Survey. We have pre-tested at all three sites a survey questionnaire that was planned to serve as a pre-test and post-test of the youths' self-report of attitudes, values, and behavior. The items are designed to measure crime/delinquency, drug and alcohol use, association with delinquent friends, use of leisure time, and pro-social (or anti-social) attitudes. As mentioned, we learned from NIJ that the level of funding available for Phase II of this evaluation required scaling

back our research plans and that funding for the administration of the Youth Survey component and the Literacy Test (next item) was unlikely. We hope that the boot-camp programs can find some other effective way to make use of the Youth Survey that we have prepared, and we are willing to offer them advice about its administration. (Two major problems would stem from a boot camp attempting to administer the Youth Survey themselves, rather than using an independent research team to do so: (1) the results, if favorable, will not have a great deal of credibility in the criminal justice community because of skepticism about "in-house" successful evaluations, and (2) we know from our pre-tests of the Youth Survey during our site visits that the youth were much less likely to self-report delinquent behavior when the survey was administered by a boot camp or juvenile court staff member than when it was administered by an independent researcher who had no conceivable interest in punishing their misconduct and who had taken time to build rapport with the youth.

g. Literacy Test. We have reviewed various professionally constructed tests available in this area. We recommend that the program sites use a test of this type as a pre-test, post-test measure. One promising test is the Document Literacy Subtest of the Educational Testing Service's **Test of Applied Literacy Skills**.

h. Physical Fitness Test. Our recommendation is that the Drill Instructors administer this test at the beginning and the end of the boot camp phase. We have

selected the five-item test developed by the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports. This test is simple to administer and has national norms for boys aged six to seventeen, against which to compare boot camp participants. Another benefit is that youth can qualify for award emblems and certificates based on their level of fitness, should the demonstration sites be interested in obtaining them.

i. Youth Rating Form. We believe it would be useful to have a brief, self-administered survey form in which the boot camp youth will rate the boot camp experience and give their opinion of its experience on their lives. We hope to have a final version of this instrument available in a few weeks. Here, too, it would be much better to have this form administered by an independent researcher, both for external credibility of results and so that the youth will not be afraid to criticize the program for fear of reprisal.

4. Data Analysis Plans. It is clear from the report on this project's research methods presented in Chapter 2 and from the discussion of the intervention model in each of the three boot camps that many hypotheses can be tested during Phase II of this project. The following is a list of the major hypotheses we plan to test in Phase II:

- Boot-camp youth will have lower rates of crime and delinquency than control-group youth.
- Boot-camp youth will have better rates of fulfilling restitution requirements than control-group youth.
- Boot-camp youth will have better rates of attendance at school than control-group youth.
- Boot camp (including its Aftercare component) will cost less than the aggregate set of ordinary juvenile correction dispositions (including Aftercare) that control-group youth experience.

In testing our hypotheses we will be use several different data-analysis techniques.

The type of analysis will depend on a variety of factors including:

- whether the particular variables we are dealing with were measured on the control-group cases as well as on the Boot-Camp cases,

- whether a pre-test measurement is available as well as a post-test (or outcome) measurement,
- the level of measurement of the variables (nominal, ordinal, or interval),
- variable lengths of time of exposure to the Boot-Camp intervention,
- the stage of our analysis — ranging from (a) straightforward tests of our hypotheses and exploratory analysis of other bivariate relationships that seem promising after we have had a chance to examine the data to (b) the final stages in which we may be able to construct and test causal models that quantify interrelationships among several variables.

Below we list seven issues concerned with analyzing the data to be collected in Phase II of this research project. In the following sections we discuss the plans we have worked out for addressing these issues.

Treatment of Attrition. In analyzing the data, the overwhelming emphasis will be on comparing those randomly assigned to the experimental group vs. the control group,

regardless of whether individuals quit the experimental group. This reduces the bias that results from comparisons based on "successful" participants who stay with the program. This type of overall analysis asks how well the program worked based on all participants regardless of length of exposure to the program. We will also do *post hoc* analysis comparing stay-ins vs. drop-outs vs. controls, but these post hoc analyses will not have the inductive power of scientific experiments that stick to strict definitions of membership in terms of the original assignments.

The likelihood of dropouts from the boot camp during the course of the study raises the possibility that the boot camp and control groups will not be comparable in terms of some relevant variables in this project. For example, those entering the boot camp aftercare component will not necessarily be comparable to the control group youth; the less promising youth will have been ejected from the boot camp before that point. An appropriate statistical technique in this case is the analysis of covariance, where various background measures can be introduced as control variables to try to adjust for the pre-existing differences.

Single- or Repeated-Measures Considerations. For some variables we will have both pre- and post-intervention measures (e.g., the Staff Rating Form). For such variables our statistical analyses will include a repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA)

design and analysis of variance applied to change scores. (The analysis of covariance also can be computed for a repeated measures design.)

Level of Measurement Considerations. Some outcome variables will be dichotomous or rank-ordered rather than interval-level measurements. In analyzing these variables we can use logistic regression, log-linear analysis (collapsing covariates into discrete categories, see Goodman, 1978, 1984), or appropriate nonparametric techniques.

Longer Term Outcomes with Variable Periods of Exposure. For longer term outcomes, some subjects will have had a much longer period of time since the baseline than others. (The youth who enter the boot camp Intensive Training earlier will return to the community earlier and have a much longer period of time to commit new crimes, to find a job, etc.) The appropriate data analytic technique can be discussed most easily in the next paragraph using the key outcome of recidivism as an example.

Recidivism Analysis. Although recidivism is frequently measured as the percentage of persons at risk who engage in a criminal or delinquent behavior, such a simplified measure throws out a great deal of information about the patterns of recidivism — in particular, the length of time between recidivist behaviors (Maltz, 1984). We propose to use

more sophisticated measures that quantify the pattern and degree of recidivism in a broader probabilistic sense.

The class of techniques appropriate here is called survival analysis. As applied to juvenile recidivism, such techniques provide statistical tests on the proportions of experimental and control groups who, after entering an initial state of non-delinquency, either remain non-delinquent in the community or change to a recidivist state by an act of delinquency, taking into account differing lengths of time at risk. Such a method recognizes that a juvenile who refrains from delinquency for fifteen months is more successful than a juvenile who commits a delinquent act one month after boot camp.

The most sophisticated version of survival analysis is event history analysis (Allison, 1984; Blossfeld, Hamerle, and Mayer, 1989; Tuma and Hannan, 1984). This procedure allows for inclusion of covariates (e.g., number of prior arrests, seriousness of prior delinquency) in addition to a statistically valid test of survival time differences between an experimental and a control group. Members of the research team have used this software for event history analysis (Tuma, 1980) in previous research (Pearson, 1987).

Development of Causal Models. If the results of the various forms of data analysis just discussed demonstrate that, as hypothesized, multiple variables are significantly related to important outcome variables (such as recidivism), it will be profitable to use the set of techniques commonly termed LISREL (the name of the software package produced by two of the pioneers in developing this system of statistical techniques [Joreskog and Sorbom, 1986]). LISREL integrates the approaches of confirmatory factor analysis and the analysis of linear structural relationships. This will allow us simultaneously to include multiple indicators of the theoretical constructs we are interested in (e.g., self-discipline), to assess the predictive validity of the theoretical scales we will have developed as well as their reliability, and to measure the degree of fit of the structural model of the causal connections among the theoretical constructs. Since its inception, LISREL has been appropriate for interval-level endogenous variables and for dichotomous as well as interval-level exogenous variables. Now LISREL also includes polychoric and polyserial measures of association appropriate for dichotomous and ordinal-level variables, both endogenous as well as exogenous.

Cost-effectiveness Analysis. The general goal of this analysis is to assess the cost effectiveness of boot camps in reducing recidivism. Boot camps could be cost-effective if they produced lower recidivism rates for the same cost or the same recidivism rates for a lower cost. If the results are intermediate (e.g., lower recidivism but higher cost), then a

more sophisticated analysis is required. To conduct this analysis, we will need reliable cost information for both the Boot Camp and the control-group programs. It is quite likely that this information will differ for the three sites, since program characteristics are likely to differ. Such information should be categorized into fixed direct costs (which would remain constant regardless of program size), variable direct costs, and non-recurring (i.e., start-up) costs.

We are confident that the research team is well-prepared for Phase II of the evaluation. More detailed information on our research plans for Phase II is contained in the proposal submitted to NIJ (American Institutes for Research and Institute for Criminological Research, 1992).

B. Preparedness of the Boot Camp Programs for Phase II

The previous section concentrated on the preparedness of the research team to move on to Phase II, the impact evaluation. In this section we discuss whether the boot camp programs are prepared for impact evaluation. We are concerned here with assessing how evaluable each boot camp is: that is, whether we will be able to evaluate the planned program using rigorous research methods. (Thus the term "evaluable" for short.) It clearly is important to establish evaluability in order to justify spending additional federal dollars for evaluating program impact. This section draws on information we collected from the programs and on our firsthand observations during site visits.

We have used three general criteria in assessing whether the boot camp programs are prepared for impact evaluation:

- adequacy of organizational resources
- adequacy of programming
- adequacy of fulfilling research requirements.

1. Adequacy of organizational resources. In the Cleveland program the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court holds a cooperative agreement with OJJDP and BJA. The court in

turn has an agreement with the North American Family Institute (NFI) to develop and operate the residential boot camp and aftercare phases of the program and to oversee the work of a second subcontractor, Community Innovations, Inc., to develop training and technical assistance materials. The court coordinates all program activities and has sole responsibility for program planning, research and evaluation, and fiscal matters. NFI is responsible for program operations and training and technical assistance.

In Denver the Colorado Division of Youth Services (DYS) and New Pride, Inc. have a partnership in operating the boot camp program. DYS is the state agency in Colorado that manages all of the long-term facilities and services for all committed delinquents (e.g., training school facilities), among other functions (e.g., juvenile parole supervision). New Pride is a private corporation that provides a variety of community-based services for high-risk juvenile delinquents, including a learning center and a treatment program for high-risk, substance-abusing youth.

Mobile's program is a joint effort of the Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Mobile (B&GC), the Strickland Youth Center of Mobile, and the University of South Alabama. The Boys and Girls Clubs was designated as primary applicant because its community programming fit the aftercare phase of this program so well, and this phase was viewed as

having the most potential for long-term rehabilitation. The Strickland Youth Center is the county juvenile justice agency responsible for intake processing, sentencing, and supervising probation of youth under its charge, including boot camp participants. The University of South Alabama (USA) provides educational and research expertise to the Environmental Youth Corps and offers graduate student support for other specialized program areas.

All three sites thus have satisfactory organizational resources to operate the boot camp programs successfully. There are solid linkages of the boot camps with the organizational environment of the juvenile courts, juvenile residential corrections, and juvenile probation/aftercare services. All three boot camps have clean, serviceable facilities for the boot camp itself, and for the aftercare activities. Denver's boot camp is somewhat less than satisfactory in terms of the space available for recruits; they are only able to handle two cohorts at a time. All three sites are adequately staffed. Each site has devoted substantial time and effort to training the staff, particularly the drill instructors. Since boot camps are an experimental treatment modality, we cannot yet know whether the type of staff training has been optimal. In addition to the training in the military aspects of the program, training in specialized techniques (such as Guided Group Interaction and challenge programming) is offered. At the time of this report on the implementation phase of the research, the programs have only been operating for six months, and it is too early to gauge whether the

staff have just the right balance of training in the various treatment techniques or whether more training is needed in some particular treatment modality.

2. Adequacy of programming. In addition to carefully reviewing the boot camp program documents, senior research team members have visited each of the boot camp programs on three separate two-and-half-day field trips, including at least two site visits since they began treating youth in April. The program intervention model that each boot camp is using is presented in the chapters on each particular boot camp. The intervention models in use support the conclusion that the programs have designed cohesive intervention strategies that combine a strict military-like discipline component integrated with educational and rehabilitative components. The program rationales of the boot camps imply a complex causal process whereby discipline, traditional values, self-esteem, and improved work and academic skills contribute to socially desirable behavior.

Naturally, because the three programs were planned in response to the OJJDP Request for Proposals, they are similar in many important respects. All three programs have a selection process that excludes youth adjudicated for the most serious crimes of violence (murder, forcible rape). All programs begin with a three-month period of intensive, physically demanding, regimented activity (the military-style boot camp per se). All three

programs follow the boot camp with a period of intensive aftercare that includes frequent supervisory contacts and community service obligations. These programs all have rehabilitative components: academic education, work skills training, and counseling components designed to reduce recidivism and drug use. The following three paragraphs provide capsule summaries of the distinctiveness of each program.

Denver is an "in-your-face" Marine-type boot camp. The first day in boot camp is remembered by recruits as one of the worst days of their lives. Some of them broke down in tears as a result of intimidating verbal confrontations by the drill instructors. (There is no physical abuse.) The program concept involved in this is that the imposing demeanor of the drill instructors, their competence, and their rectitude will serve as attractive role models for the boys, encouraging the boys to develop positive, law-abiding attitudes. The discipline and symbols of military boot camp, the positive role models that the drill sergeants provide, the counseling programs offered, and the education/training component of the program are expected to produce better attitudes and values in the youth, less antisocial behavior, and improved knowledge and skills. Most important, in the view of the boot camp commander and the drill sergeants, is the idea that the externally imposed military-style discipline that the drill instructors administer helps to give the youngsters training in self-discipline. Another important part of Denver's programming is group responsibility, the principle that the entire

group of youth will be held responsible for the misbehavior or incompetence of any individual. This is intended to generate a positive peer culture among the youth. Of the three boot camps, Denver verbalizes the most concern for vocational training that goes beyond work skills counseling.

The Cleveland program emphasizes an ordered, rigorous, and highly regimented environment, but chooses to avoid much of the harshness of a tough, military basic training program. They reject intimidation and rely much more on support and guidance in conjunction with a system of contingent rewards and penalties to shape appropriate behavior. Daily counseling sessions using Guided Group Interaction techniques are an integral part of the program. In addition, Cleveland emphasizes the development of group cohesion, group responsibility, and social skills: points and rewards are earned or lost by the platoon as a whole as well as by individuals. If one youth does not pass inspection or otherwise performs poorly, the entire group loses, thus generating peer pressure for conforming to accepted standards of behavior.

Mobile has an intermediate mix of toughness and emotional support. Mobile clearly has modeled its process on the U.S. Air Force basic training system. The Standard Operating Procedures developed for drill instructors and for the youth indicate well-reasoned

military routines and articulated lines of authority between drill instructor and "recruit."

While DIs are responsible for maintaining discipline and order, they also are expected to serve as positive role models and to encourage the recruits to trust them. Mobile is distinctive in that it is prepared to assign some youth to the boot camp involuntarily; the other two programs rely exclusively on volunteers. Mobile also seems somewhat more concerned than the other programs are with winning the support of local residents for their program.

In summary, all three sites include programming techniques that meet the letter and spirit of the Department of Justice Juvenile Boot Camps Initiative. They all include the requisite systems of military-like discipline, physical conditioning, educational programming, and rehabilitative counseling.

3. Adequacy of fulfilling research requirements. The number of youth entering the experimental and control groups over the research period must be large enough so that outcome differences of at least moderate magnitude between the boot camp and control groups can be statistically verified. To meet this requirement, analyses of program effects should be based on an intake of approximately 100 youth in each experimental (boot camp) and control group. Analyses of placements into the boot camp programs in Cleveland and

Mobile indicate that they will surpass the 100 youth per year criterion. If the Denver program continues to place people in their boot camp at the same rate that they have since April, 1992, it appears that they will not quite reach the 100 youth. Nevertheless, they will probably have an intake rate of about 85 to 90 in their first year. Although modest outcome differences may escape statistical detection in Denver, the inflow of cases will be sufficient to detect any large effects (e.g., differences in recidivism) resulting from the program.

Another research requirement for the strict experimental design mandated by the Request for Proposals is random assignment to treatment and control groups. The decision-makers at each boot camp site have said that they fully understand the importance of random assignments and have agreed to it. Working with them, we have instituted a strict random assignment process as part of the implementation evaluation. As discussed earlier in this chapter, our checks on compliance with the random assignment procedure covering from April through August, 1992 show only one case (out of 314 assignments made) in which our random assignment was not carried out in the field. All three sites are definitely evaluable on this criterion.

Still another research requirement is that each boot camp facilitate data collection for the research team. (A provision of OJJDP funding is that the successful grantees cooperate in any federally sponsored evaluation.) AIR and ICR staff members have found each program to be willing to help with locating and explaining data. Each site seems able and willing to collect data that are routinely captured by criminal justice systems, such as prior juvenile basic demographics, arrests and convictions, school achievement, and health. Sites have helped us to pre-test the various forms we have designed and have worked with us to resolve problems in content and wording.

Thus, our conclusion is that all three boot camps are **evaluable**, that is, they are adequately prepared for the ensuing impact evaluation in Phase II. We believe each boot camp program has developed and implemented viable interventions that interweave disciplinary and developmental components that conform to OJJDP specifications. All programs appear able to support a rigorous evaluation in terms of numbers of cases, random assignment, and willingness to cooperate with evaluation researchers.

C. Some Lessons Learned about Program Operations

This section discusses some lessons we have learned about the process of operating juvenile boot camps and offers some tentative advice to policy makers who are considering establishing juvenile boot camps.

Motivating the Youth. To recruit participants to the boot camp (if it is voluntary) and to get the youth to obey the boot camp rules and try to achieve the goals that the boot camp staff set for them, the program has to have motivating factors. That is, the boot camp will accomplish nothing unless most of the individual youth think that there is "something in it for me."

What are some of the motivational elements that we have heard from the youth themselves when we interviewed them at the three programs? For some boys, it was a good deal to come to the boot camp because they would serve a **shorter time** in this residential correctional facility than they would otherwise have had to spend in a training school or group home. We believe that a primary motivating factor for boot camp youth is serving substantially less time away from home than they would by serving an ordinary term in a

residential correctional facility. We recommend that youth who fail or drop out of the boot camp should end up serving substantially more time in a residential correctional facility as a punishment for having wasted the time and resources of the boot camp facility. Youth who leave the boot camp for unrelated reasons (such as a medical discharge) should end up serving approximately the same time away from home as do youth serving an ordinary term in the residential correctional facility.

Another motivation linked to the program is that some youth want to experience the **military life**, either because it was seen as intrinsically interesting or because they aspired to join one of the Armed Services. When commenting on what they like about boot camp, many of the boys speak of how **physically fit** they had become, how much better shape they were in than before coming to the boot camp. Many seem to be intrigued by the **macho image** of boot camp. Although they complained of the pressure from the drill instructors, many of the boys indicated that they were proud that they could "take it."

The Military Component. There is no doubt that filling the position of the commander of the juvenile boot camp is of paramount importance. As is generally the case with directors of innovative correctional programs, the commander must have a certain degree of charisma, a personal manner and style that elicits respect from program

participants, staff, and others with whom he or she interacts. In hiring the commander and the "drill instructors" there are two polar extremes to avoid: emphasizing the military model too much and emphasizing it too little.

On the one hand, it appears to be a mistake to concentrate exclusively on a staff applicant's military background. One must remember that the purpose here is not basic training for the military, but rather corrections: to resocialize delinquents into law-abiding patterns of behavior and motivate them to apply themselves to their schoolwork and vocational training.

On the other hand, it appears to be a mistake to concentrate exclusively on correctional experience and ignore military experience. This is so because it is the military model that motivates many of the delinquents to volunteer for and put effort into the program. Young people interested in the military will know that some (or all) of the boot camp staff do not know the proper way to salute, execute an "about face," etc. The danger is that the word will soon spread that the "boot camp" is really "a joke," "kiddy camp," etc. Similarly, youth expect rigorous physical training. If the drill instructors are so out of shape that they cannot run a mile, and cannot do twenty military-style pushups, the youth will not respect them.

Ideally, each of the drill instructors should have both military experience and experience in the field of juvenile corrections. Failing that, it is important to hire to obtain a mixture of these experiences, stressing the need for people from each background to learn as much as possible of the other background as well. All of the drill instructors should be physically fit. Regardless of the experiences listed on their resumes, all of the boot camp staff should be trained -- as a group if possible -- in the aspects of the military model to be used in this particular boot camp. This should include explicit training in military drill, military etiquette, and customary ways of building esprit de corps. If physical challenge components are to be included as part of the program package (such as a ROPES course that builds self-esteem and teamwork through using ropes to climb and descend from high poles), the staff must be trained in the proper administration of the course, including safety requirements.

Any boot camp should adopt **symbols** to reflect the distinctive roles involved. Military style uniforms set the tone. It may be advantageous to give the incoming recruits uniforms that are relatively less attractive, and replace certain elements of the uniform with more attractive ("sharp") elements as the youth progress to a more advanced stage. The drill instructors should wear clean, crisp uniforms, perhaps including the traditional "Smokey-the-Bear" hats that military drill instructors wear. Major achievements by the youth should be

rewarded not only with praise, but also with symbols of some kind (e.g., insignia to wear on their caps). Graduation should be treated as an important, even solemn occasion. Family members should be invited. The youth should exhibit their skills in military drill and marching. A speech of praise by the commander is in order. Certificates of achievement should be handed out.

Teamwork. The youth must be exposed to situations that show them (1) that they can accomplish a lot more by working with other people than by working against others, (2) that they can make a key contribution to the success of the group, (3) that they can depend on other law-abiding people (such as the boot camp staff). This can often be accomplished with physical challenges (such as the ROPES course). In some programs the model may include a policy of group punishment in which the group is held accountable for the behavior of the "lowest common denominator" in the group. If one boy is physically violent or lazy, the whole group has to pay the consequences. This usually generates a lot of pressure by the other youths on the "mess-up" to correct the misbehavior. (Other boot camp programs may forbid the use of this group punishment practice by the staff.)

Rehabilitative Counseling. Boot camp programs, if they are to be successful, must also make use of other treatment modalities to improve the youth in their charge. Obviously,

programs must provide for the education of the youth. It is also clear that boot camps must devote special attention to the psychological and moral deficits that characterize so many delinquent youth. In general, the wisest course will be for the boot camp to introduce treatment and counseling programs that are successful elsewhere in the juvenile correctional system. They may decide to introduce programs using reality therapy (Glasser, 1965), guided group interaction (McCorkle, Elias, and Bixby, 1959; Weeks, 1963), or some other approach that seems successful in their system. Quality of programming is the key.

Similarly, regardless of the experiences listed on their resumes, the boot camp staff should be trained in the rehabilitative and counseling techniques to be used in this particular boot camp. For example, if Guided Group Interaction is to be used in the boot camp, the staff should be trained in this technique. Just as youths' physical well-being can be put at risk by making excessive physical demands on the youth or by unsafe practices in a Challenge Program, so their emotional and psychological well-being can be put at risk if unqualified staff attempt psychological treatment. Youth can be pushed too far. Be alert to comments that a youth is thinking about killing himself. **Take these emotional problems seriously!**

The Aftercare Component. There must be an organized transitional phase after the youth leave the residential boot camp in order to guide their reentry into the community, so that the lessons of trustworthiness, cooperation, and moral responsibility persist despite pressures from delinquent friends. Boot camps need an aftercare component in the community that attempts to continue the esprit de corps of the boot camp and to build on the rehabilitative, educational and vocational improvements that the youths made when they were in the boot camp. Although the discipline of the boot camp itself looks hard, it is really easier than the challenge posed by the aftercare program. Whereas all that the recruits had to do while at the boot camp was to follow orders and permit drill instructors to yell at them without exploding, in aftercare they have to resist the temptations of the street, do homework, and get to school on time every day. The broader lesson is that the aftercare component can solidify the gains of the boot camp or it can allow those gains to erode very rapidly.

One threat to the success of juvenile boot camps of this type is that the parts of the program package may not be kept well-integrated with one another. Thus, it is important that the aims and themes of the program be kept consistent. It is especially important to maintain integration between the programs provided at the boot camp and the programs offered during the aftercare phase, because the staff will be physically separate from each

other. It is also important to ensure that information about each individual youth obtained from observing him and counseling him at the boot camp is passed along accurately to the appropriate staff during aftercare.

Motivating the Staff. These boot camps are an emotionally demanding challenge not just for the youth, but for the drill instructors and the camp commander as well. It is emotionally taxing to confront and challenge youth virtually every moment that the staff are on duty. The staff are required to deliver a great deal of detailed criticism not just of the youth's past delinquency, but also of his present bearing, demeanor, actions, verbalizations, and underlying attitude. Policy makers are likely to find that staff burnout is greatly accelerated in programs of this type. Policy makers for these three programs have to monitor the boot camp staff very carefully, alert especially for signs that staff members may become abusive of the participants or withdraw motivationally (failing to show up on assigned days -- or showing up but carrying out the supervision and training of the youth only lackadaisically. We recommend frequent unannounced visits to the boot camp by policy-makers on weekends as well as weekdays, and at various times at night as well as during the day.

In conclusion, Cleveland, Denver, and Mobile have been operating boot camps for adjudicated offenders that function like military boot camps. Youths say, "Yes, Sir!" and "No, Sir!" and snap to attention; they march; they do pushups as punishment for infractions; they become more physically fit after some weeks in camp. Furthermore, the in-program failure rate -- those who cannot or will not cooperate with the program, while appreciable at about 25% of those assigned to the boot camps, is not worse than community-based programs of intermediate punishment like New Jersey's Intensive Supervision Program (Pearson, 1987). What we do not yet know is whether the recruits who have learned discipline in the sense of swiftly obeying orders of a drill sergeant will be self-disciplined enough in the Aftercare program to attend school regularly or hold a job. That test is still ahead.

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Appendix 1: Juvenile Boot Camps, 1992

By

Jackson Toby and Frank S. Pearson
(with the assistance of Brian Hero)

Three general ideas seem to be the most common motivations for establishing juvenile boot camps. These goals do not necessarily coexist in a particular boot camp -- in some settings these rationales might conflict with one another. First is the hope that "a short, sharp shock" given to an adolescent in an early stage of a criminal career would nip his anti-social tendencies in the bud. Second is the hope that boot camps will be challenging in a positive rather than a negative way. The rationale is that, in the eyes of many adolescent males, successful completion of a military style boot camp will be looked on as a prestigious accomplishment. The boys will work and learn social and academic skills in order to graduate. Third, is the intent that a juvenile boot camp should fill in the gap that has existed between a **too costly** response of lengthier residential confinement on the one hand and a **too lenient** response of juvenile probation on the other hand.

In July 1990, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) and the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) announced an initiative "to develop, test and disseminate information on a prototypical **juvenile** boot camp as an intermediate sanction". In September, 1991 the OJJDP awarded cooperative agreements to three organizations (in Cleveland, Denver, and Mobile) to develop boot camp programs. A month later the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) entered into a cooperative agreement with the Institute for Criminological Research (ICR) at Rutgers University, in association with the American Institutes for Research, to conduct an implementation evaluation on the three boot camps

over a 12-month period. From news reports and from conversations with colleagues we believed that several jurisdictions had established juvenile boot camps and that others were in the planning stage. As one small part of this evaluation research, ICR surveyed all fifty states to inquire about juvenile boot camps in operation or about to be established. How many juvenile boot camps are there? What goals are these programs intended to accomplish? What programmatic activities are utilized to try to achieve those goals?

A. Goal of the Survey of Juvenile Boot Camps

Briefly put, we wanted to obtain a "snapshot" of the characteristics of boot camp programs for juvenile delinquents in operation in 1992. We knew that a few juvenile delinquents were admitted to boot camps that were primarily organized for youthful adult offenders in various states. Our goal, however, was to study boot camps organized exclusively for juvenile delinquents.

Our objectives were to question knowledgeable policy makers in each state to determine whether a juvenile boot camp was either in operation in 1992 or funded for a start of operations in 1992. If such programs existed we wished to learn about their program goals (e.g., rehabilitation), their capacity, their age range, and how much of the program was concerned with physical training and military drill, and how much with educational and counseling components.

B. Research Methods

We used the American Corrections Association directory as the frame of reference for attempting to locate juvenile boot camps. For each of the 50 states our starting point was a telephone call to the Director (or similar official) of the juvenile corrections department (or similar agency) in the state. We anticipated that more than one telephone call would be needed to reach an official who would be well-informed about juvenile boot camps in the state. The first step was to ask the first person contacted in the juvenile corrections department for the name and telephone number of someone who might know about juvenile boot camps in that state. (Brian Hero, a research assistant, conducted out the search process and the interviews.) The wording for this step was generally as follows:

Hello, my name is Brian Hero from the Institute for Criminological Research at Rutgers University. I would like to talk to someone regarding juvenile boot camps. We're interested in what programs you have in your state. Who would be the best person to speak with?

When contact was made with an official in state government who said that he or she did know something about juvenile boot camps in the state, the next introduction ran as follows:

Hello, my name is Brian Hero, and I am a research assistant working at the Institute for Criminological Research at Rutgers University. We have received funding from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to study juvenile boot camps. We are studying

three boot camps intensively, those in Cleveland, Denver, and Mobile, but we also interested in learning about boot camps in other states.

We define a juvenile boot camp as a short training period in a military "boot camp" type program involving participation in drills, rigorous exercise, and maintenance of living quarters.

... I wondered if I could have about ten minutes of your time in order to ask you a few brief questions regarding the juvenile boot camps, if any, in your state. [If the official did not have that block of time available at that moment, an appointment was made to call back at a later time.]

In many states the first few persons contacted were uncertain as to whether there was a juvenile boot camp located in their state. It took calls to several officials to be confident that there was no juvenile boot camp either in operation or slated to begin operation by September of 1992. Recall that admission of a few juveniles to a boot camp designed for youthful adult offenders did not fall within our operational definition. Notice, too, that simply having some sort of physical challenge program did not satisfy our operational definition of boot camp by itself. There also had to be a military component to the program, such as participation in military drill.

There are two cautions to be mentioned concerning this search process. First, the search process was designed to locate juvenile boot camps that were known to juvenile correctional officials in the state government. We assumed that there would be publicity (and perhaps some state funding) associated with the development of any juvenile boot camp (including those run by a county or a city), so a juvenile correctional official at the state

level would be likely to know about a county or city program as well as a state program. Nevertheless, it is possible that juvenile boot camps run exclusively by a county agency (or city agency) may not have been detected by this search process. Second, despite the multiple calls made to state officials in states that said they did not currently have a juvenile boot camp, it is still possible that a state-organized boot camp may have existed that these particular officials were not aware of.

After we had concluded the search process and turned up eight juvenile boot camps, we attempted to check our list with other sources that seemed knowledgeable about juvenile corrections. These ranged from federal corrections agencies to private organizations involved with residential treatment of juvenile delinquents. None of the confirmatory contacts turned up any juvenile boot camps other than the eight that we had discovered.

C. Findings

As of the summer of 1992 (when the survey was conducted), there were seven juvenile boot camps in operation and one other about to begin operation by September, 1992. Our findings refer to these eight boot camps. Their names, locations, and the symbols we use to designate them in this report are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Symbol and boot camp program.		
SYMBOL	BOOT CAMP PROGRAM	BEGAN
AL1	Environmental Youth Corps, Mobile, Alabama	4/92
AL2	High Intensity Treatment (HIT) Program, Chalkville, Alabama	7/90
CA	Lead Program, California	9/92
CO	Foxfire Boot Camp, Denver, Colorado	4/92
MS	Mississippi Rehabilitative Camp, Raymond, Mississippi	8/92
NY	Youth Leadership Academy; South Kortright, New York	6/92
OH	Camp Roulston, Cleveland, Ohio	4/92
TN	About Face; Naval Air Station, Memphis, Tennessee	2/91

The dates that the boot camps began operations are also listed in Table 1. The boot camp in Chalkville, Alabama began operating long before any of the others. The Cleveland, Denver, and Mobile boot camps all began operations in the same month (April, 1992) because they are part of an Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) program initiative.

For each program, the official whom we ultimately reached (who was knowledgeable about that program) was asked about the goals of the boot camp. Based on our experience conducting implementation evaluation research Cleveland, Denver, and Mobile boot camps,

Table 2. Rating of the importance of various goals in the juvenile boot camp programs.								
LEGEND: ***** Very important goal **** Important goal ** Somewhat important goal * Relatively unimportant goal Not a goal								
	AL1	AL2	CA	CO	MS	NY	OH	TN
Reduce Crowding	*	*****	*****	**	***	***	**	***
Rehabilitation	*****	***	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****
Punishment	**	*	*	**			*	
Deterrence	***	*****		*****	***	*	*****	*****
Safe Custody	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	***	*****	*****
Low Recidivism	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****
Vocational Educ	*		*	***	***	***	**	
Devel Work Skill	**	*****	*****	*****	*****	***	***	***
Academic Educ	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	***	***	*****
Drug Education	*****	**	*****	***	***	***	***	**
Drug Treatment		**	*****	***	***	**	*	

The other goals showed great variation from program to program. Reduction of crowding ranged from a very important goal for the Chalkville (Alabama) and the California boot camps to relatively unimportant as a goal in Mobile. Deterrence ranged from being a very important goal in Chalkville, Denver, and Cleveland, to a relatively unimportant goal in New York and not a goal at all in California. Vocational education is important in the

Denver, Raymond (Mississippi), and South Kortright (New York) programs, but not important in the Chalkville and the Memphis programs.

In our survey the respondents distinguished between general efforts at educating youth about the dangers of drug use and teaching them in a general way how to avoid becoming involved in drug abuse, and specific programs to rehabilitate youth who have been heavily involved in drug use. In this report we use the terms **drug education** to refer to the former and **drug treatment** to refer to the latter. Drug treatment (in this sense of attempting to rehabilitate heavy drug users) ranges from being a very important goal in California to not being a goal at all in Mobile and in Memphis.

Some of the officials whom we surveyed mentioned other goals for their programs besides those encompassed by our fixed choice items displayed in Table 2. Mobile mentioned that community acceptance of and support for the boot camp was also very important. Denver mentioned that instilling self-discipline and pro-social values were other goals of their boot camp. The boot camp in Mississippi specified that within the educational goal, literacy training is a very important goal. The New York program added increasing self-esteem and promoting value change as two of their program goals.

As Table 3 shows, all but one of the operational programs are of modest size -- 15 to 36 youths resident at the time of the survey. The exception is the Chalkville program which listed 75 participants. The Chalkville program's larger capacity (100 youth) includes space for 25 girls. They were the only juvenile boot camp including girls at the time of the survey, the camp comprised 75 boys and 15 girls.

Table 3. Size of the juvenile boot camp programs (as of 1992).								
	AL1	AL2	CA	CO	MS	NY	OH	TN
Total Capacity	52	100	60	24	175	30	30	50
Participants	27	90	--	21	--	15	29	36

Table 4 shows variation in the types of juvenile offenders admitted to the boot camp programs. The Mobile program is restricted to offenders whose adjudication is their first serious adjudication and excludes offenders who have committed crimes of violence. By contrast, the programs in Mississippi and Ohio do admit offenders who have a prior commitment to a residential facility, and they do not necessarily exclude offenders whose prior records may have included certain crimes of violence (e.g., certain types of assault).

Table 4. Legal eligibility criteria for the juvenile boot camp programs. (Definitions of these terms may vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction.)								
	AL1	AL2	CA	CO	MS	NY	OH	TN
Non-violent crimes only	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Some crimes of violence	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
First serious adjudication	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
First custodial commitment	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No

As Figure 1 shows, there is a substantial amount of variation in the age ranges of the youth admitted by the programs. The New York program is tailored for 15- and 16-year-olds. Mississippi will accept youth as young as 10 and can include youth as old as 20 years old.

Figure 1. Age Range of Participants.											
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
AL1				*	*	*	*	*			
AL2			*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
CA							*	*	*	*	*
CO					*	*	*	*	*		
MS	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
NY						*	*				
OH					*	*	*	*			
TN					*	*	*	*			

Five of the programs place at least some youth in the boot camp involuntarily (see Table 6). Only one program, California's, allows youth to drop out of the program without some sort of penalty.

Table 6. Voluntary/involuntary Aspects of the programs.

	AL1	AL2	CA	CO	MS	NY	OH	TN
Volunteer for admission?	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Penalty-free drop out?	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

Table 7. Typical hours per day assigned to major program activities.

* = averages to less than 1 hr per day; X = Not yet decided

	AL1	AL2	CA	CO	MS	NY	OH	TN
Physical Training, Drill	2	4	4	4	2	1.5	3	1
Work (other than training)	3	*	1.5	3	1	6	1.5	1
Academic Education	4.5	4	6	3	8	4	5	6
Vocational Education	com- bin- ed				com- bin- ed	2	com- bin- ed	
Work skills Training/Counselg		1.5	1.5	1		*		2
Drug/Alcohol Education	1 com- bin- ed		3 com- bin- ed	1	*	*	1	2 com- bin- ed
Drug/Alcohol Treatment				*	*			
Other Rehab. counseling	1	1.5	X	*	*	3.5	1.5	

In examining Table 7 note that most of the officials responding to this survey did not consult program schedules or calculate exact hours for these activities. Thus, their time estimates may be in error to some degree. For example, for some programs the total number of hours of programming per day may be erroneous. The relative proportions of time might be a more accurate assessment of the balance of activities. However, we feel obliged to report the estimates that the respondents voiced in this survey rather than to attempt to adjust them in any way.

As Table 7 shows, all of the programs devote a significant amount of time to physical training/drill, to academic education, and to some form of rehabilitative counseling. It also appears that all of the programs devote some time to vocational help for the youth, but this cannot be quantified because some officials noted that this was combined with another component of the program.

The focus of the substance abuse and psychological counseling component varies from program to program. The Ohio (Cleveland) program devotes a substantial amount of time to Guided Group Interaction, for example.

The Chalkville, Alabama boot camp is, for the average youth, the shortest in duration -- 30 days. Four boot camps have 90-day programs. Two have 120-day programs. (See Table 8.)

Table 8. Days to complete the boot camp component of the programs.

?? = Not yet established.

	AL1	AL2	CA	CO	MS	NY	OH	TN
Minimum	90	30	120	90	70	120	90	90
Average	90	30	120	90	??	120	90	90
Maximum	132	60	150	90	168	120	120	104

As summarized in Table 9, the boot camp programs are typically followed by a period of intensive supervision of the youth (defined relative to what most juvenile offenders in the system receive). Only the Mississippi program is followed by a period of minimal supervision, and the respondent said that this was the result of large caseloads in the system as a whole, rather than a preferred choice.

Table 9. Characterization of supervision level immediately following release from the boot camp component of the programs.

	AL1	AL2	CA	CO	MS	NY	OH	TN
Minimal					Yes			
Moderate								Yes
Intensive	Yes		Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	
Depends on risk		Yes						

D. Conclusions

There are not nearly as many correctional boot camps for juvenile offenders in the United States -- only 8 -- as there are for young adults. Furthermore, they tend to be smaller than the adult boot camps. The total number of juveniles in the seven boot camps that were fully operational at the time we conducted our survey was less than 300. Although some of the boot camps include a fairly broad age range -- in Mississippi from 10 to 20 -- most are geared to a narrow range, commonly 14 to 18.

In response to questions about philosophy, staff at the boot camps express concern about rehabilitation, about safe custody, about low recidivism, about academic education, about drug education, and about the development of work skills. Punishment is not verbalized as a major goal.