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ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF A COUNTY OPERATED BOOT CAMP

EVALUATION OF THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY REGIMENTED INMATE DIVERSION PROGRAM

154401

Prepared by

James Austin, Ph.D.
Michael Jones, M.S.
Melissa Bolyard, M.A.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Headquarters Office 685 Market Street, Suite 620 • San Francisco, CA 94105
(415) 896-6223 • Fax (415) 896-5109

Midwest Office 6409 Odana Road • Madison, WI 53719
(608) 274-8882 • Fax (608) 274-3151

East Coast Office S.I. Newhouse Center at Rutgers • 15 Washington Street,
Fourth Floor • Newark, NJ 07102
(201) 643-5805 • Fax (201) 648-1275

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	i
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	v
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
A. BACKGROUND	1
B. REPORT ORGANIZATION	3
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW	5
A. SHOCK PROBATION AND PAROLE POPULATIONS	5
B. SCARED STRAIGHT PROGRAMS	6
C. ADULT SHOCK INCARCERATION AND BOOT CAMP PROGRAMS	7
CHAPTER III: THE GROWING USE OF JAIL BOOT CAMPS	13
A. INTRODUCTION	13
B. THE NUMBER OF JAIL BOOT CAMPS NATIONWIDE	15
C. THE STRUCTURE OF JAIL BOOT CAMP PROGRAMS	16
1. ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS	16
2. PROGRAM GOALS	18
3. SELECTION CRITERIA	20
4. PROGRAM SERVICES	23
5. AFTERCARE SUPERVISION	25
6. PROGRAM RESULTS	26
CHAPTER IV: DESCRIPTION OF THE SHERIFF'S RID PROGRAM	27
A. PROGRAM OVERVIEW	27
B. PROGRAM STRUCTURE	30
1. RID ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA	31
2. RID SCREENING PROCESS	32
C. PROGRAM COMPONENTS: THE BOOT CAMP EXPERIENCE	35
1. THE RID DRILL INSTRUCTOR	37
2. RID GENERAL EDUCATION COMPONENT	40
3. DRUG EDUCATION	42
4. PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNSELING	43
5. LAUNDRY WORK DETAILS	44
D. POST RELEASE: INTENSIVE SUPERVISION PROBATION (ISP)	45
1. SUPERVISION IN THE COMMUNITY	47
2. INTENSIVE SUPERVISION COUNSELING	48
3. JOB PLACEMENT SERVICES	49
E. RID PROGRAM GOALS	50
1. REDUCE JAIL CROWDING	50
2. REDUCE COSTS	51
3. REDUCE RECIDIVISM	51
4. IMPROVE INMATE CONTROL	52

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

CHAPTER V: RESEARCH DESIGN	53
A. IMPACT RESEARCH QUESTIONS	53
B. QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN	54
C. ASSIGNMENT OF CONTROL CASES	57
D. IMPACT EVALUATION DATA	59
E. PROCESS EVALUATION DESIGN	61
1. PROCESS EVALUATION QUESTIONS	61
2. PROCESS EVALUATION DATA	62
CHAPTER VI: PROCESS EVALUATION RESULTS	66
A. RID PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH	66
B. MODIFICATIONS TO INTAKE POLICIES AND PROCEDURES	70
1. PROBATION DEPARTMENT INVOLVEMENT IN INTAKE PROCEDURES	71
2. INCREASING THE NUMBER OF REFERRING COURTS	72
3. ELIMINATING REQUIREMENT OF COURT ORDERS INTO RID	73
4. MODIFYING RID ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA	74
C. CHARACTERISTICS OF RID OFFENDERS	76
D. COMPARISONS BETWEEN EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS	78
E. BOOT CAMP PROGRAM OUTCOMES	80
F. EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT	82
G. JAIL TIME COMPARISONS	82
H. INTENSIVE SUPERVISION OUTCOMES	83
CHAPTER VII: THE IMPACT OF RID ON INSTITUTIONAL AND RE-ARREST BEHAVIOR	91
A. IMPACT ON INSTITUTIONAL BEHAVIOR AND SERIOUS INCIDENTS	91
B. RE-ARRESTS	94
1. 12 MONTH RE-ARREST RATES	97
2. PRE AND POST RELEASE SUPPRESSION EFFECT RATES	99
3. RECIDIVISM RATES FOR COMPARABLE AT-RISK PERIODS	101
C. PREDICTORS OF NON-RECIDIVISTS	104
CHAPTER VIII: THE COSTS OF RID	106
A. THE COSTS AND FUNDING SOURCES OF RID	106
B. COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONTROL CASES	111
CHAPTER IX: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	116
A. IMPROVE INMATE CONTROL	116
B. REDUCE CROWDING IN THE COUNTY JAIL	117
C. REDUCE RECIDIVISM	118
D. REDUCE COSTS OF INCARCERATION	118
APPENDIX A: JAIL OPERATED BOOT CAMPS — GENERAL INFORMATION	
APPENDIX B: MAINTENANCE COSTS DESCRIPTION	
REFERENCES	

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND EXHIBITS

TABLE 1:	JAIL BOOT CAMPS — ORGANIZATIONAL ATTRIBUTES . . .	17
TABLE 2:	JAIL BOOT CAMPS GOALS	19
TABLE 3:	JAIL BOOT CAMPS — SELECTION CRITERIA AND PLACEMENT PROCEDURES	21
TABLE 4:	JAIL BOOT CAMPS — SERVICES, AFTERCARE AND COMPLETION RATES	24
FIGURE 1:	RID SCREENING PROCESS	33
EXHIBIT A:	RID PROGRAM COMPONENTS	38
FIGURE 2:	RID RESEARCH DESIGN	56
EXHIBIT B:	RID MONTHLY POPULATION, SEPTEMBER 1990 — MARCH 1992	67
TABLE 5:	AVERAGE PLATOON SIZE	76
TABLE 6:	SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF RID ADMISSIONS DURING FY 1991	77
TABLE 7:	SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF RID PARTICIPANTS AND CONTROL GROUP	79
TABLE 8:	RID BOOT CAMP EXIT CHARACTERISTICS	81
EXHIBIT C:	TOTAL LENGTH OF TIME IN JAIL, RID AND CONTROL CASES	84
TABLE 9:	RID PROGRAM EXIT STATUS	85
TABLE 10:	SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF ISP PARTICIPANTS BY RID PROBATION EXIT TYPE	87
TABLE 11:	RISK ASSESSMENT SCORES BY TYPE OF RID PROBATION EXIT	90
TABLE 12:	FY 1991 SERIOUS INCIDENT RATES PER 1,000 INMATES	93
TABLE 13:	RECIDIVISM TRACKING STUDY CASES	96
TABLE 14:	12 MONTH FOLLOW-UP RESULTS BY SAMPLE TYPE	98
TABLE 15:	SUPPRESSION EFFECT RATES BY SAMPLE	100
TABLE 16:	OFFENDER RECIDIVISM RATES, INTERIM MONTHS AT RISK	103
TABLE 17:	RID APPROPRIATION FY 1991	108
TABLE 18:	RID COST COMPARISONS	110
TABLE 19:	SENTENCING DISPOSITION FOR CONTROL CASES	112
TABLE 20:	COMPARATIVE COSTS BY DISPOSITION	114

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

I. INTRODUCTION

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) was awarded a competitive grant by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) in FY 1990 to conduct an evaluation of Los Angeles County Sheriff's Regimented Inmate Diversion (RID) program. The research began in the fall of 1990 and was completed in February 1993. The evaluation was designed to determine whether a county operated boot camp program for male inmates would be feasible and cost effective based on the Los Angeles experience.

This report contains information describing the various RID program goals and objectives, program components, and participants as well as findings related to measures of "success" associated with program outcomes. It also documents how various program components were modified over time in attempts to increase participation in the program and keep the program operational. Finally, important lessons learned from the RID experiment are translated into policy implications on whether jail operated boot camp programs should be implemented on a larger scale.

II. THE CURRENT USE OF JAIL OPERATED BOOT CAMPS

Boot camps have rapidly gained popularity among the public, legislators, policy makers and some correctional officials and are perceived by many as an effective intermediate punishment for certain non-violent criminal offenders. This type of correctional

programming typically strives to curb young offender's propensities toward criminal careers and drug abuse. At the same time, it is hoped that by diverting these young offenders from more traditional jail and prison sentences the current crowding crisis in the nation's correctional facilities might be somewhat relieved. To date, 26 state prison systems operate 43 programs with more states planning to start similar programs in the next few years.¹

In a national survey conducted in the spring of 1992 by NCCD, OVER 2,200 questionnaires were mailed to Sheriffs, Jail Administrators, and state operated probation agencies throughout the U.S., to determine if they were (2) currently operating a jail boot camp, (2) were planning to start a jail boot camp, or (3) were interested in initiating a jail boot camp program in the near future. Ten jurisdictions, in addition to Los Angeles County, responded that they operating jail boot camps, while another 13 jurisdictions reported they were planning to open boot camps in 1992 or 1993. An additional 130 administrators stated they had no immediate plans to open a boot camp but maintained interest in opening one in the near future. These survey results underscore the growing number of and interest in jail operated boot camps. By the end of 1993 there may be as many as 25 county level programs operating across the country.

The findings of research and evaluation studies conducted to date focus almost exclusively on state operated programs. These

¹ Based on personal communication with Doris MacKenzie, Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland.

studies concluded that the evidence regarding the proven utility of boot camps as effective alternative sanctions within state systems is inconclusive. Far less is known about the application of boot camp programming for local jail systems.

III. BACKGROUND OF THE LA SHERIFF'S BOOT CAMP PROGRAM

The Los Angeles Sheriff's Department (along with New York City) operates the world's largest jail system. At the start of this project in 1990, the jail population totalled some 23,000 inmates. Over 250,000 bookings are recorded each with an average length of stay of approximately 35 days. The system has been operating under a consent decree that requires certain jail facilities to operate at or below their court designated rated capacity. For these reasons, the Department has been exploring a number of options to help control jail crowding. Options already in place are accelerated use of Sheriff Citation Release, Work Furlough, and an early release mechanism that allows the Sheriff to progressively reduce the proportion of time a sentenced inmate must served. Currently, sentenced inmates are serving approximately 65 percent of their sentences.

In September 1990, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, in cooperation with the county probation authorities, initiated the Regimented Inmate Diversion (RID) pilot program. This program was intended to function as a viable sentencing option for selected defendants who were likely to receive lengthy jail

sentences (180 days or longer) or short prison term to be followed by formal probation or parole supervision.

Funded primarily by money and sale of assets seized from convicted drug dealers, the expressed major goals of the program were to: (1) reduce jail crowding; (2) reduce costs through the avoidance of long term incarceration; and, (3) reduce recidivism. An important secondary goal was to improve inmate control by establishing and enforcing strict rules of conduct.

While in operation the program exposed young adult male offenders to a residential military style boot camp for 90 days, followed by a 90 day period of intensive aftercare supervision in the community. Unlike many boot camp style programs, RID had a strong program orientation which included mandatory participation in formal education classes, drug treatment and counseling sessions.

IV. RESEARCH DESIGN

An evaluation design entailing both process and impact evaluation components was undertaken to fully assess the overall effects of the RID program on offenders and the county jail system. The process evaluation component was designed to document how the RID program actually operated in terms of its selection criteria, delivery of programs, length of participation and program completion rates. By addressing each of these issues one can describe in detail how the program functioned, evaluate whether the program was implemented as designed and identify those key

organizational characteristics that facilitated or hindered the program's operations.

To assess the degree to which program objectives were met, a quasi-experimental design was implemented. The design established statistically matched control and experimental populations to determine what would have happened to offenders had the RID program not existed. Five hundred forty-four inmates admitted between September 1990 and June 1991 to the boot camp portion of RID comprise the experimental group. A comparison control group consists of 216 offenders volunteering for RID who were screened and accepted into the program, but not referred to RID by the courts. Equivalency was controlled for through the administration of certain pre-test measures and by ensuring that control cases were similar in key demographic and criminal history attributes. Control cases were also required to express their formal willingness to participate in the boot camp program to control for offender motivation.

V. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A. PROGRAM UTILIZATION

The first RID platoon entered boot camp on September 26, 1990. Despite operating within the nation's largest jail system, inmate participation was substantially below administrators' expectation and goals. From its inception, the boot camp facility had a bed capacity of 336 offenders. However, during the first year of operations, the average daily population (ADP) was only 128 inmates

(38 percent of program capacity). During the second (and final year) of operations the boot camp ADP averaged only 250 offenders (or 74 percent of program capacity). The primary problem was lack of referrals from the courts. Had RID been at or near capacity from the time of inception and admitted 40-45 inmates, between 800-900 offenders would have entered boot camp during FY 1991. Actual admission rates were 60-68 percent below targets.

All participants were to be supervised in the ISP component following graduation from boot camp for 90 days. At the end of the first year there were 115 offenders in the ISP program which was only 34 percent of the 336 program capacity. The number of offenders under ISP supervision never exceeded 200 offenders -- 60 percent of program capacity.

The main reason for the poor participation rates was the fact that offenders comprising the target population -- young non-violent offender -- typically do not serve very much time in jail for their crimes. Neither prosecutors, defense attorneys, or offenders had a large incentive to participate in RID.

For example, in Los Angeles County an inmate sentenced to one year in jail (a very lengthy jail sentence) typically serves about 150 days on the sentence. When pre-trial confinement days are credited against the net time to serve, a one year sentence can be further reduced to approximately 90 days.

Three specific steps, taken by program officials in attempts to increase participation and "save" the program, had negative long term consequences for the program:

- Institutional probation staff were assigned the primary task of identifying and attracting referrals into RID and were diverted from their originally designed tasks of developing personalized community supervision plans for offenders, providing counseling, and ensuring program continuity as inmates moved into the community.
- The number of court jurisdictions targeted to refer cases into RID was dramatically expanded, thereby weakening offender supervision and services since ISP probation officers were required to spend increased non-productive time traveling around the county; as ISP staff became more "thinly spread" around the county, the team supervision concept was no longer practical and was subsequently abandoned.
- The elimination of the requirement of court-ordered participation in RID resulted in large numbers of inmates ending program involvement without any aftercare supervision; this practice of administratively assigning inmates into the program also tended to remove critical criminal justice actors (i.e., judges, prosecutors and defense attorneys) from the vital referral process.
- Despite greatly relaxed intake requirements, due to lack of referrals, high costs and poor recidivism indicators, county officials withdrew funding for the program in February 1992. The last platoon graduated from boot camp in April 1992, and the last offender exited the ISP component 90 days later.

B. CHARACTERISTICS OF RID OFFENDERS

Overall, offenders admitted into RID were consistent with the program objectives. Participants were primarily young minority males, poorly educated, with fairly substantial prior criminal and drug involvements for their age group.

- RID offenders had been arrested, on average, 2.3 times within the 12 months immediately prior to entering boot camp.
- Averaging just over 21 years of age, 47 percent were 18-20 years of age and fewer than 18 percent were over 23 years old when arrested.

- The vast majority of participants (78 percent) were either Hispanic (49 percent) or Black (29 percent) males. Eighteen percent were White and the remaining four percent mostly Asian males.
- While most participants were convicted for non-violent crimes, nearly a third had committed person crimes such as robbery, assault, battery, arson and manslaughter. Only 25 percent were committed to jail for drug crimes.
- 61 percent were unemployed and 39 percent were employed either full-time (30 percent) or part-time (nine percent) immediately prior to boot camp admission.
- RID participants scored well below high school achievement levels and performed at the sixth and seventh grade levels on standardized vocabulary, reading comprehension and mathematic skills tests.

C. COMPARISON OF CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

The study group consisted of 544 offenders admitted to RID during FY 1991 and a group of 216 inmates screened for entry into RID but not admitted to the program. Although experimental (RID) and control cases are generally equivalent, it is noteworthy that the control cases were slightly older, more likely to have been arrested for drug crimes, and scored lower on educational achievement measures.

D. BOOT CAMP PROGRAM OUTCOMES

During the period of boot camp participation which comprises the study (September 1990 - August 1991), the graduate rate was very high. Fully 83 percent of admissions successfully completed boot camp after spending an average of 91 days in the program.

- The most frequent reason for an unsuccessful termination was discharge for medical reasons (47 percent of non-completions); 39 percent of non-completions were discharged for disciplinary problems and 14 percent were removed by immigration authorities.
- On average, boot camp participants spent 84 days in the program; participants terminated for disciplinary reasons exited after an average of 58 days (ranging between 12 and 105 days); medical releases occurred after an average of 26 days.
- Tested grade level improvements over the course of boot camp participation were impressive when pre- and post-test measures of the same tests are compared. Vocabulary and reading comprehension scores increased, on average, by one grade level and mathematics scores increased by nearly three grade levels.
- RID educational staff reported that 66 GEDs were earned while in boot camp.

E. ISP PROGRAM OUTCOMES

Overall, as with the boot camp, a high percentage of offenders (74 percent) entering this component of the RID program exited successfully. RID participants spent an average of 81 days in this component. The success rate is impressive given the ages (21 years), poor employment history, low achievement in school, and self-reported drug usage of the population. Fully 23 percent of offenders admitted to using cocaine at least once a week prior to RID participation; 11 percent admitted regular use of PCP or amphetamines and four percent used heroin on a weekly basis prior to program entry.

Some of the items that were correlated with success in ISP were: (1) percentage of time employed during the 12 months preceding entry into boot camp; (2) absence of prior burglary or

robbery convictions; (3) number of prior probation events; and (4) exhibiting motivation to change. Securing employment was strongly associated with successful termination. Approximately 90 percent of participants who were employed either full-time or part-time following their release from boot camp successfully completed ISP. In contrast, the success rate for offenders unemployed at the time of exit was 35 percent.

Success rates were also higher for offenders whose committing offenses were person crimes (81 percent) as compared to property offenses (68 percent) and drug crimes (64 percent).

F. PROGRAM IMPACTS: CROWDING, COSTS AND RECIDIVISM

The three primary goals of the RID program as set forth by program administrators were to: (1) reduce jail crowding; (2) reduce the cost of confinement; and (3) reduce recidivism. A secondary, yet important, goal was to improve inmate control. The following findings relate to the degree to which the program met these objectives.

1. DID THE RID PROGRAM REDUCE JAIL CROWDING?

No. RID was designed to help alleviate overcrowding by taking inmates who would otherwise spend substantial periods of confinement in pre-trial and sentenced statuses and reduce the incarceration time to 90 days. However, as noted above, program utilization was well below expectations.

Furthermore, when RID participants' total length of stay in county jail (157 days, including pre-trial confinement and length of time in boot camp), is compared with the total time spent in jail by control group cases (88 days), RID participants spent 78 percent more time in the jail facility. In other words, the RID program actually increased the inmate's period of confinement in the jail.

However, it should also be noted that a small portion of the control group (approximately 20 percent) received prison terms of 36 months with an expected length of stay of 17 months. For this group alone, the RID program did reduce the use of confinement but only for the benefit of the state prison system and not the Sheriff's Department.

2. DID THE RID PROGRAM REDUCE THE COST OF CONFINEMENT?

No. The RID program was intended to produce cost savings by reducing pre-trial and post-trial periods of confinement and by reducing the likelihood of returns to criminal lifestyles. Analyses suggest that RID inmates were confined for longer periods of time than comparison cases and at costs substantially greater than those associated with non-RID inmates. Moreover, the daily costs of a RID boot camp participant was far higher than for a typical jail inmate. During the last year of program operations, the county expended \$64.77 per jail day for each RID participant. Even under an assumption of full capacity, it is estimated expenditures would be marginally reduced to \$57.21 per day. By

comparison, maintenance costs associated with housing general population inmates were \$38.25 in FY 1991 and \$43.56 in FY 1992.

3. DID THE RID PROGRAM LEAD TO REDUCED RECIDIVISM RATES?

No. It was hoped that participation in RID would lower the probability of offenders recidivating and returning to the criminal justice system. Program elements were all directed towards reducing recidivism. However, there was no evidence to suggest that participation in the RID program led to lowered re-arrest rates.

- Overall, 250 of 528 RID participants (47 percent) were re-arrested within 12 months of release from boot camp after an average of 132 days of release. Eighty-one of 183 comparison offenders (44 percent) were re-arrested after an average of 106 days of release from jail.
- There was no difference in rates of re-arrest between RID participants and comparison cases when controlling for comparable 12 month at risk periods -- 37 percent of RID participants and 35 percent of comparison cases were re-arrested within this 12 month at risk period.
- There were no differences in rates of re-arrest between offenders successfully completing boot camp and offenders unsuccessfully terminated from boot camp.

For all of the above reasons (insufficient referrals, excessive costs, no impact on crowding, and disappointing recidivism rates) plus severe budgetary cut-backs within the Sheriff's Department, RID ceased operation in June 1992.

VI. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Although jail boot camps are in their infancy, a number of important lessons already have been learned in terms of how such a

program should be structured. In this last section, a number of suggestions are outlined for local jurisdictions who are interested in starting their own boot camp program.

A. ESTABLISH REALISTIC GOALS

In order for a jail boot camp to be of practical value to a local jail system, it must address several key issues of importance to a jail administrator. As indicated earlier, current jail boot camps list a wide array of program goals. In this section, we discuss the most frequently cited boot camp goals.

1. Overcrowding

Since most jails are overcrowded, a boot camp program may have a positive influence on this situation. However, given the relatively short length of stay for most jail inmates, this objective will not be met unless the program carefully targets inmates who are spending at least 90 days or more in custody. Inmates who may be good candidates include probation violators and parole violators who are likely to be sentenced to prison or spend a considerable amount of time in jail prior to their transfer to state prison or release to probation or parole supervision. Diverting these offenders to a boot camp would help relieve prison intake. In such a situation, the state prison system would subsidize the jail boot camp operations.

2. Rehabilitation

Reversing the cumulative negative experiences of these youthful offenders within a 90 day period is, at best, an extremely difficult objective to realize. A boot camp program can help initiate the process by: improving the offender's ability to read, developing work skills, making job referrals, and dealing with long term drug abuse histories. Research findings from the Los Angeles RID program show that a boot camp can significantly improve the offenders basic reading and math skills, as well as locate full and part-time jobs. But these gains

do not easily translate into reductions in crime rates. Program administrators should avoid exaggerating the program's ability to dramatically reduce recidivism rates.

3. Improving Jail Operations and Public Relations

Perhaps the most direct impact a jail boot camp can have is to improve the overall operations of a jail and its standing within the community. Jail operations are improved by creating an efficient inmate work force and a safe housing environment. Staff training is enhanced as officers learn to deal with inmates in a very direct but supportive manner. Furthermore, community relations can be dramatically improved via community works projects.

B. CAREFULLY PRE-TEST SELECTION CRITERIA PRIOR TO IMPLEMENTATION

Just who should be admitted and can benefit from a boot camp needs to be customized for each site. Before embarking on a new program, one must first know who comes to jail and how long they stay. Once formal criteria are set, the program needs to pre-test their selection criteria and their screening process to verify that they have enough offenders to fill the program and that the boot camp will help and not worsen the jail's crowding situation.

C. PROGRAM LENGTH OF STAY SHOULD BE LIMITED TO NO MORE THAN 90-120 DAYS

Unless there is compelling evidence that boot camp participants would spend, on average, 180 days or more in custody had they not been admitted to the boot camp, jail boot camps should limit their period of program participation to no more than 120 days. If the time served without boot camp is less than 180 days

while the boot camp program exceeds 180 days, the program has not helped reduce jail crowding.

D. ESTABLISH A STRONG AFTERCARE COMPONENT

In order for the positive effects of the program's rehabilitative services to be maintained, there must be a continuation of intense supervision and services after release from the program. In some situations this will require establishing a transition halfway house, residential drug treatment, and/or intensive supervision for a 6-12 month time period. We say this with some caution given our results that showed no positive long-term effects from the 90 day ISP component. Nonetheless, if boot camps are to be successful in reducing recidivism rates, they must have a strong aftercare component that may need to last as long as 12 months.

E. EVALUATE PROGRAM OPERATIONS AND EFFECTIVENESS

Very little is known about the effectiveness of these programs. Jurisdictions need to be encouraged to conduct, at a minimum, process evaluations that would assess whether the program is accepting the type of offenders it wants, delivering the types of services it should, maintaining an acceptable program completion rate, and effectively working within the allotted budget. Once these issues have been addressed, more rigorous impact evaluations should be launched to determine the program's effectiveness in reducing recidivism. Based on good research, decisions can then be

made on whether boot camps make sense for a local jail system.
Thus far the evidence is that they do not.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that the prison population of the country now exceeds 850,000 inmates and is increasing at approximately 1,200 each week. Nearly four million people are under some form of correctional supervision. Inmate populations housed in local jails have increased to well over 400,000 inmates (U.S. Department of Justice, 1993). Approximately five percent of the nation's total jail population is confined in the Los Angeles County Jail system. In July 1990, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, in cooperation with county probation authorities, initiated a joint Regimented Inmate Diversion (RID) pilot project which was intended to be a viable sentencing option for selected defendants who were likely to receive lengthy jail sentences followed by formal probation supervision. In September 1990, the RID program received its first platoon of 12 inmates. This program exposed young adult male offenders to a residential military style "boot camp" for 90 days, followed by a 90 day period of intensive probation supervision in the community. Unlike many boot camp style programs, RID had a strong program orientation which included mandatory participation in formal education classes, drug treatment and group counseling sessions.

At the time, this program represented the most ambitious effort to date in terms of initiating and successfully operating a

county boot camp program. Funded in part by cash and money from the sale of assets seized from convicted drug dealers, the expressed goals of the program were to: (1) reduce jail crowding by housing inmates for 90 days who would otherwise spend at least 180 days in jail; (2) reduce costs through the avoidance of long term incarceration; (3) lower the chances of offenders' return to criminal life styles and return to incarceration. A secondary goal was to improve inmate control by establishing and enforcing strict rules of inmate conduct.

Boot camps have rapidly gained popularity among the public, legislators, policy makers and some correctional officials and are perceived by many as an effective intermediate sanction for certain non-violent criminal offenders. This type of correctional programming typically strives to curb young offender's propensities toward criminal careers and drug abuse. While at the same time it is hoped that by diverting these youth from more traditional jail and prison sentences, the current correctional crowding crisis might be somewhat relieved. By the end of 1989, eleven states were operating 14 such programs within state correctional systems and another 11 states were planning programs or were developing boot camp programs. Only three years later, 26 state prison systems are operating 43 such programs.

The concept of boot camps is not without its critics. Some have argued that the scientific evidence supporting the claims of boot camp advocates is wanting, and there is a paucity of rigorous studies that have directly measured the impact of these programs on

recidivism, facility crowding and hence criminal justice costs. The findings of research and evaluation studies conducted to date have asserted that the evidence regarding the proven utility of boot camps as an effective alternative sanction within state criminal justice systems is inconclusive. Far less is known about the application of boot camp programming within local jail systems.

In August 1990, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) was awarded a competitive grant by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to conduct an evaluation of the RID program. NCCD's evaluation represents the first comprehensive study of a county operated boot camp and was designed to evaluate the degree to which the program met its objectives, and determine whether locally operated boot camps are feasible and cost-effective based on the Los Angeles experience.

This report contains descriptive program information and provides an assessment of program outcomes based on data collected on 544 RID participants admitted during the first 12 months of program operation. Comparisons are made between program participants and a control group of offenders approved for the program but not admitted to RID, in order to determine what would have happened to RID inmates had the program not existed.

B. REPORT ORGANIZATION

Chapter II consists of a literature review of the history of boot camp programs, their general structure and goals, and major research findings to date. Chapter III provides a summary of

findings associated with a national survey of existing jail boot camp programs across the country conducted by NCCD in 1992. **Chapter IV** provides a general overview of the RID program by describing admission criteria and screening procedures, and the various program elements associated with the boot camp and intensive components of RID. This chapter also summarizes the goals of the RID program as set forth by program administrators. **Chapter V** presents the research designs which guided the evaluation project and includes both process and impact components and, **Chapter VI** contains findings associated with the process evaluation. This component of the research design was intended to document how the RID program actually operated in terms of its selection criteria, delivery of services, length of participation and program completion rates. Also included are comparisons between RID participants and control group cases. Findings resulting from the impact component of the evaluation are presented in **Chapter VII** of the report. Most of this chapter compares recidivist rates for RID offenders and the control group. Program cost information and comparisons between the total costs of incarceration associated with RID and control group cases are presented in **Chapter VIII**. A summary of findings and policy implications and recommendation associated with these findings are presented in **Chapter IX**.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of boot camps is closely related to the more generic category of shock incarceration (SI) sanctions. As noted by Parent (1989) in his comprehensive review of SI programs, they have become increasingly popular since their most recent inception in 1983. What follows is a brief literature review on the various forms of SI programs that have evolved over the years, their general structure and objectives, target populations, and research conducted to date.

A. SHOCK PROBATION AND PAROLE POPULATIONS

The earliest origins of SI can be traced to 1965, when in Ohio a law was passed permitting the use of "shock probation." In this situation, first time offenders were exposed to a brief (30-90 days) period of imprisonment and returned to the community under probation. Currently, there are 16 states allowing the explicit use of shock probation. By exposing these offenders to the harshness of prison, it is hoped that they will be deterred from future criminal activities. It should also be noted that Ohio later adopted a law permitting the use of "shock parole" where newly sentenced inmates were required to serve a longer period of imprisonment but can be released early via the Parole Board.

There have been no experimental studies completed on shock parole or shock probation. Those studies which have used quasi-

experimental designs (usually involving statistically matched treatment and control groups) have reported mixed results. Friday and Petersen, et al. (1974) found a higher success rate among offenders sentenced for non-violent, probation-eligible offenses. Bohlander (1973) and Vito and Allen (1981) both found a higher failure rate for shock probationers whereas Parisi (1981) and Holmes, et al. (1985) found no difference between program graduates and a comparison group.

B. SCARED STRAIGHT PROGRAMS

Following on the heels of the shock probation movement were a series of "Scared Straight" programs aimed at juvenile delinquents or potential juvenile delinquents. Virtually identical in concept to shock probation, these programs gained rapid publicity after a 1979 television documentary graphically portrayed young delinquents being exposed to an intense view of prison life at New Jersey's Rahway State Prison. In addition to a tour of the prison which included taunting and verbal abuse by inmates within the general population, the "intervention" also included an intense grilling by lifers, all in the hopes of deterring these youth from a life of crime. Shortly after the national broadcast of the documentary, the program's concept was hailed by many and similar programs were implemented in other states.

There have been two experimental field tests of these programs to date. The best known evaluation was conducted by Finckenauer (1982) wherein a matched group of youth were compared with Scared

Straight participants. That research found that participants' attitudes toward criminal behavior were positively impacted but that their behavior was not. In fact, 41.3 percent of the participants were involved in new crimes within six months after exposure to the program, compared to 11.9 percent for the control cases.

The most rigorous study was conducted by the Michigan Department of Corrections where 227 youths were randomly assigned to the Juvenile Offenders Learn Truth (JOLT) program (Homant, 1981). The researchers found that six months after completion of the program, JOLT(ed) youths actually performed slightly worse than youth randomly assigned to the non-participant pool although the difference was statistically insignificant.

A second experimental study was conducted by the California Youth Authority (CYA) of the Squires program at San Quentin (Lewis, 1983). Using a smaller sample (N=108), 55 youth were randomly assigned to the experimental group and 53 were not allowed to participate. Here again, the researchers found positive attitudinal changes for the experimental group but no effect on re-arrests or the severity of new crimes over a 12 month follow-up period.

C. ADULT SHOCK INCARCERATION AND BOOT CAMP PROGRAMS

Shock incarceration programs are in some ways the final evolution of this two-decade experience with programs aimed at deterring youthful offenders. Unlike previous efforts, the

intensity of treatment components has been significantly enhanced. Rather than simply exposing offenders to routinized jail and prison life, a special program was created which purposely segregates inmates into a military style boot camp which emphasized physical exercise, discipline, and a wide variety of programs including substance abuse education, general education, and counseling. Participation in the programs generally lasts from 90-180 days. It was through this intense programming that many hoped offenders' attitudes and behaviors would be corrected, increasing the likelihood of a law-abiding lifestyle. Because these programs typically selected offenders sentenced to prison, it is also hoped that SI would help control prison crowding which is plaguing most of our state prison systems (Parent, 1989).

The earliest SIs were launched in the early 1980's with the establishment of the Georgia Special Alternative Incarceration (SAI) program and the Oklahoma Regimented Inmate Discipline (RID) program. According to NIJ, 11 states were operating 14 boot camp style SI programs, and according to MacKenzie and Parent (1991) another 11 states either were planning programs or were considering developing such programs in 1991. At the beginning of 1993, that number has more than doubled. In general, it was hoped that such programs would produce the following benefits:

1. Enhance personal accountability;
2. Enhance public safety through incapacitation for a period of time;
3. Promote the perception of punishment and provide a potential deterrent to others;

4. Incorporate rehabilitation and treatment elements that provide an opportunity for offenders to become law-abiding and drug-free; and
5. Programs can be established quickly, possibly utilizing surplus property, and engendering greater community support (BJA, 1990:22).

Despite these optimistic objectives, the early evaluation results suggest caution in one's enthusiasm for boot camps. MacKenzie and Shaw (1990) and MacKenzie et al., (1989) have been conducting an intensive evaluation of the Louisiana shock incarceration program known as the Intensive Motivational Program of Alternative Correctional Treatment (IMPACT) that began in 1987. The evaluation design has consisted of a process analysis of who is admitted to the program, how they differ from other inmates, drop-out rates, and comparisons between the IMPACT clients and a matched sample of inmates who are sentenced normally to prison. The results show a high percentage of dropouts from the program. Thirty percent of the clients who were recommended by the court to enter the program were never admitted, and another 35 percent who actually entered the program failed to complete it (MacKenzie, 1989:32). The relatively high drop-out rate was attributed to: (a) the fact that inmates must volunteer (and many do not); and (b) the rigorous nature of the program itself (which increases the number of voluntary drop-outs for those who do enter the program). However, comparisons between the match samples on attitudinal change were interpreted as demonstrating some positive support for the IMPACT program.

In 1989, NIJ completed a multi-site survey of seven states (Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, Oklahoma, Texas and South Carolina) that have completed preliminary in-house evaluations of their programs. Five of the states provided follow-up recidivism data. The results of these studies demonstrated that the rate of successful completion varies dramatically across the five sites. South Carolina and Georgia reported very low drop-out rates (5.3 percent and 2.6 percent respectively) while Louisiana, New York and Florida had much higher drop-out rates (39.1 percent, 41.9 percent, and 40.7 percent respectively). Recidivism analyses showed little difference in recidivism rates between boot camp participants and matched (or un-matched) parole comparison groups. The only state showing a significantly lower recidivism rate for boot camp graduates was Florida and principally for only the first 12 months of follow-up.

Despite the finding that daily boot camp operational costs were higher than normal incarceration, cost analyses conducted by New York and Florida did report cost savings (\$1.1 million and \$5.1 million respectively) based on initial cohorts of inmates admitted to the programs. The cost savings were realized based on estimates that boot camp participants would have experienced a longer period of incarceration had the programs not existed. The only broad study to date on the impact of these programs on reducing prison crowding (Mackenzie and Parent, 1991) concluded that small bed space savings could be realized by short-term incarceration programs but that any savings depended on careful selection of

participants who would ordinarily serve much longer periods of incarceration. Since the completion of the 1989 study, a number of states are conducting ongoing evaluations of boot camp programming.

In 1990, the Illinois Department of Corrections initiated its Impact Incarceration Program (IIP) as a prison alternative for first-time prison offenders under 30 years of age. In a recently released study, IIP graduate re-commitment rates were compared with a group of inmates released from the general prison population whose legal and demographic characteristics would have made them eligible for the program. The study found that overall IIP graduates had a higher prison return rate during a 12 month follow-up period (27 percent versus 14 percent) when compared with similar offenders not participating in the IIP program. However, only five percent of IIP graduates who had been in the community for 12 months or longer were returned to prison for committing new crimes, compared to 22 percent of all comparison cases returned to prison. Evaluators concluded that high return rates for IIP graduates were due to the more intensive community supervision received by IIP releasees (Illinois Department of Corrections, 1992). New York, Georgia and Florida corrections agencies continue to report similar "optimistic" but guarded rates of success in the community (Aziz, 1991; Florida Department of Corrections, 1990).

In summary, we know the following regarding boot camps:

1. Although there is considerable variation in the structure of boot camp programs, the core program elements are the selection of non-violent first time offenders into a rigorous military style program of discipline and physical exercise coupled with a rich array of vocational, educational, and counseling programs;

2. Although there is some evidence that these programs do produce positive attitudinal change among participants, there is little evidence at this time to attribute this change to the program itself or the characteristics of the inmates chosen for the programs;
3. There is little evidence to show significant reductions in recidivism rates that could be attributed to one's participation in a boot camp;
4. There is some evidence to show cost savings based on the assumption that inmates chosen for the program would have experienced periods of incarceration beyond the length of the boot camp program;
5. There have been no studies on the use of boot camps by a county jail agency; and
6. If boot camps are to be successful, then they must include a substantial follow-up component so that the benefits realized from the boot camp experience can be carried forward into the community.

CHAPTER III

THE GROWING USE OF JAIL BOOT CAMPS

During the spring of 1992, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD), at the request of the NIJ, conducted a national survey to identify the number of and characteristics of jail boot camps now in existence. The survey also asked whether a jail was planning to institute or interested in establishing a boot camp in the near future. In this chapter we present a summary of findings associated with survey.

A. INTRODUCTION

The past decade has witnessed considerable interest in the concept of boot camps as a potentially effective intermediate sanction for certain types of inmates. To date most of the attention and programs have been directed at boot camps operated by state prison systems.

More recently, there has been increased interest and activity in the use of boot camps for jail populations. Often neglected and misunderstood by the public, the nation's jail system consists of over 3,500 adult detention systems which each year process approximately 10.27 million bookings (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1991). On any given day nearly 427,000 pretrial or sentenced inmates are housed in jails. In terms of absolute volume, the nation's jails touch more adults than any other form of corrections.

There are a number of other reasons, in addition to the large number of persons admitted to jail each year, why a jail operated boot camp would be of strategic value to the criminal justice system. Although the average length of stay (ALOS) for defendants and offenders admitted to jail is relatively short (15-16 days) compared to state prisoners (16-18 months), jails are increasingly housing inmates who can spend many months in confinement. For example, in most jurisdictions, inmates can be sentenced to a year (or more).²

Jails also hold significant numbers of state sentenced inmates who will spend many months incarcerated in the jail. For example, prisoners who are paroled and violate the terms of their parole status are generally housed in local detention facilities until a decision is made by the state to revoke the prisoners parole status. Such decisions may not be determined for several months. And, with the growing number of jails holding state sentenced inmates because of prison crowding, jails are increasingly holding inmates who will spend well beyond a year in confinement. According to the most recent national data, nearly 40,000 state and local prisoners from other jails are now held in jail facilities holding at least 100 inmates and this number is certain to rise.³

² In Pennsylvania, offenders can be sentenced to from 2-5 years. In most jurisdictions, inmates can receive consecutive sentences of less than one year which can produce a total sentence of several years without the benefit of good-time.

³ The Texas Criminal Justice Policy Council estimates that over 18,000 state sentenced inmates are backed up in the county jails and that number will increase to over 40,000 by 1997.

Finally, significant numbers of adults placed on probation subsequently violate probation and are re-admitted to jail to await the court's decision on whether to continue the offender on probation or to commit the violator to prison. Here again, the offender may spend substantial periods of time in custody until the court makes its decision.

Because the inmate population found in jails is so diversified and different than for state prison systems, program goals and attributes associated with prison operated boot camps may not apply or may be more difficult to achieve in a jail operated boot camp (e.g., 180 day programs geared toward reducing jail crowding). However, the jail population may prove advantageous to criminal justice officials. For example, a jail boot camp may be better suited to function as an intermediate sanction for probation or parole violators in lieu of revocation and commitment to state prison.

B. THE NUMBER OF JAIL BOOT CAMPS NATIONWIDE

The first week of May, 1992, NCCD mailed in excess of 2,200 letters to Sheriff's, Jail Administrators, and state operated Probation Departments throughout the U.S., requesting a return if there was a boot camp, plans for a boot camp, or interest in a boot camp. Approximately 200 (10 percent) of these surveys were returned with 10 jurisdictions indicating they were operating a boot camp (see Appendix A for Program Listing). In addition 13 jurisdictions reported that they were planning to open a boot camp

in 1992 or 1993. An additional 130 returns stated that there were no immediate plans to open a boot camp but were interested in opening one in the near future. These survey results underscore the growing number and interest in jail operated boot camps. By the end of 1993 there may be as many as 25 programs operating across the country.

C. THE STRUCTURE OF JAIL BOOT CAMP PROGRAMS

A detailed follow-up telephone interview was conducted with each of the identified ten programs to ascertain more detailed information about the boot camp's operations. Four boot camp programs were then visited by NCCD researchers to supplement information garnered from the telephone interviews and to gain additional information from both program administrators and the offenders about their boot camp experience.

1. ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

All of the surveyed boot camps are administered by local Sheriff or County Department of Corrections agencies with local funding (Table 1). Most of these programs are relatively new having begun operations in the past two years. The earliest programs were begun in New Orleans (1986) and Travis County, Texas (1988).

Even though the programs tend to be located within large jail systems (2,000 or more inmates), the size of these programs is quite modest (ranging from 12-350 inmates). Compared to the

TABLE 1
JAIL BOOT CAMPS
ORGANIZATIONAL ATTRIBUTES

	TRAVIS, TX	NEW YORK CITY MEN	NEW YORK CITY WOMEN	SANTA CLARA, CA	NASSAU, NY	ORLEANS, LA	HARRIS, TX	ONTARIO, NY	BRAZOS, TX	OAKLAND, MI
Start-Up Date	9/88	10/90	10/91	4/91	4/92	8/86	5/91	3/92	2/92	7/90
Bed Capacity	76	300	100	44	38	126	384	18	12	60
ADP - County Jail System	2,222	21,449	21,449	4,026	1,940	4,600	14,512	120	352	1,550
ADP - Boot Camp	57	210	84	26	14	80	348	15	12	47
% of Capacity	75%	70%	84%	59%	37%	63%	91%	83%	100%	78%
Annual Admissions	266	1,059	210	124	N/A	177	814	108	36	119
Program Length In Days	90-120	60	70	63-70	90 days	250-300	90-120 ¹	5	120	56
Average Length of Stay	120	60	70	65	N/A	275	120	5	120	56
Number of Staff	20	119	24.5	8.5	21	24	119	19	7	10
Administrative	5	3	4	.5	5	1	4	3	0	1
Custody	3	101	17	8	14	23	65	6	4	8
Program	12	15	3.5	0	2	0	50	10 ²	3	1
Total Annual Budget	\$1.1 Million	\$367,119 ³	\$858,174	\$507,000	\$600,000	\$879,175	\$3.5 Million	No Separate Budget	N/A	\$403,423
Staff to Inmate Ratio	1:3	1:2	1:4	1:3	1.5:1	1:4	1:3	1:2 ²	1:2	1:5
Cost Per Inmate/Day	\$53	\$5 ³	\$28	\$53	\$117	\$30	\$28	N/A	N/A	\$24
Funding Source(s)	County	City	City	County	Federal, State and County	County	State and County	N/A	County and Inmate Commissary	County

1 Length of stay is extended beyond 120 days for inmates with disciplinary problems.

2 Part-time volunteer personnel; not included in staff to inmate ratio.

3 Staff salary only, does not include maintenance costs.

average daily population of these jails, the boot camp program represents only a small proportion of the total jail population. The expected length of stay in these programs is considerably lower than prison boot camps which range from 2-4 months. This design feature is consistent with the overall length of stay for jail populations.

To date, almost all of the programs fail to operate at their design capacity. Some of the reasons for the lack of full capacity are linked to the selection criteria set by the programs, lack of coordination among criminal justice agencies, and the fact that few jail inmates will be in custody beyond the time they would have to spend in the boot camp program.

Considerable variation exists among the sites in their staffing and funding levels. Some programs like Travis County, New York City, and Harris County have very large program staff in addition to large custody staff. Consequently, their staff to inmate ratios are quite low. Documenting the actual costs of these programs is quite difficult since many of them are appended to the overall jail budgets. Where such data exist, program budgets range from \$400,000 for the 60 bed program in Oakland, Michigan to \$3.5 million in Harris County, Texas.

2. PROGRAM GOALS

Similar to prison boot camps, jail boot camps list a wide array of goals they hope to accomplish, ranging from rehabilitation to punishment (Table 2). Not all programs feel that reducing jail

TABLE 2
JAIL BOOT CAMPS GOALS

	TRAVIS, TX	NEW YORK CITY MEN	NEW YORK CITY WOMEN	SANTA CLARA, CA	NASSAU, NY	ORLEANS, LA	HARRIS, TX	ONTARIO, NY	BRAZOS, TX	OAKLAND, MI
Goals										
Reduce Crowding	Somewhat Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Important	Not A Goal	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Relatively Unimportant	Somewhat Important	Very Important
Rehabilitation	Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important
Punishment	Important	Not A Goal	Not A Goal	Not A Goal	Not A Goal	Not A Goal	Relatively Unimportant	Relatively Unimportant	Relatively Unimportant	Important
Deterrence	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important	Very Important	Important
Safe Environment (for Inmates)	Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important
Reduce Recidivism	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important
Develop Good Work Skills	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important
General Education	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important
Drug Education	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important
Drug Treatment	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Relatively Unimportant	Relatively Unimportant	Very Important	Important
Vocational Education	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Important
Employment Referrals	Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Important	Important	Not A Goal	Relatively Unimportant	Very Important	Important
Inmates Housed Separately from Jail Population	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

crowding is an important goal -- perhaps in recognition that achieving such a goal would be extremely difficult given the relatively short period of stay in jail for most inmates. There is greater consensus that boot camps can "reduce recidivism" by rehabilitating offenders through the provision of a wide array of employment, educational, vocational, and drug treatment programs. These goals are directly linked to the perception that there exists a substantial pool of jail admissions who are not yet firmly committed to a criminal lifestyle and can either be deterred or rehabilitated via exposure to the boot camp program.

Some of the jails cited less dramatic but equally significant and more pragmatic program goals. In some cases, the jail hoped that the boot camp program would provide a safer environment for staff and inmates alike. The programs also were designed to enhance the Sheriff's credibility with the local community by expanding community service programs. Many administrators expressed the hope that custody staff assigned to the program would develop better interpersonal skills when working with inmates as they would be exposed to a more assertive but personal approach style in dealing with inmates on a daily basis.

3. SELECTION CRITERIA

The criteria for selecting boot camp participants is quite varied across the ten jurisdictions (Table 3). Similar to prison boot camps, most programs tend to identify youthful offenders although many have age limitations exceeding 25 years. In

TABLE 3

**JAIL BOOT CAMPS
SELECTION CRITERIA AND PLACEMENT PROCEDURES**

	TRAVIS, TX	NEW YORK CITY MEN	NEW YORK CITY WOMEN	SANTA CLARA, CA	NASSAU, NY	ORLEANS, LA	HARRIS, TX	ONTARIO, NY	BRAZOS, TX	OAKLAND, MI
Selection Criteria										
Age	17-26	16-39	19 plus	18 plus	16-18	17-45	17-25	16-30	17-30	17 plus
Sex	Co-ed	Males	Females	Females	Males	Co-ed	Co-ed	Co-ed	Males	Males
1st Time Offenders	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Non-Violent Offenders	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Other	N/A	Low Classification	Low Classification	Substance Abuse	N/A	Multiple Offender	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Voluntary Entry	For Some	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	For Some	Yes
Voluntary Exit	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Placement Procedure	Judge recommends with jail approval; Judge then sentences; Jail also selects parole violators.	Jail selects, no other approval necessary; Technical parole violators admitted upon referral to boot camp.	Jail selects, no other approval necessary; Technical parole violators admitted upon referral to boot camp.	Jail selects, no other approval necessary.	Jail selects, no other approval necessary. ¹	Judge recommends with jail approval; Judge then sentences.	Judge sentences, jail has no veto power.	Jail Selects, no other approval necessary.	Judge recommends, jail approves.	Judge sentences, jail has veto power.

¹ Applicants screened by a board composed of correction staff, rehabilitation counselors, education counselor, clergy, and probation staff.

particular, New York and New Orleans have maximum age limitations of 39 and 45 respectively.

Although most programs prefer to select first time offenders, convicted of non-violent or drug related crimes, there was no consistent policy to automatically include such offenders across all sites. A number of programs accept state parolees who have not been arrested for a new crime but have violated the terms of their parole supervision.

Four programs have the capacity to accept females and two programs are exclusively set up for females (Santa Clara and New York City). Of these two programs, one lacked a military training component. In general, those programs with a co-ed capacity have very low numbers of females participating with some sites indicating that they may discontinue that program in the future.

There are two basic processes by which an offender is selected and admitted to a program. In four sites, the sentencing court has considerable power in determining who is admitted to the boot camp program. In these sites, the court recommends that certain offenders be considered by the program staff. After being screened by the program staff to verify that the offender meets the admission criteria, a recommendation is then made to the court to sentence the offender to the program. In one jurisdiction (Harris County), the judge can directly sentence the inmate with or without the consent of program staff.

In five jurisdictions, the jail has unilateral authority to admit an offender to the program independent of the court's

recommendation. In this situation, the jail conducts its own screening of potential candidates who are either in the jail or come to the attention of program staff by prosecutors or defendant attorneys.

The process by which offenders are selected can have important consequences for keeping the program filled with the proper clientele. In those jurisdictions that rely upon the court, intake may be less than anticipated if disagreements develop among prosecutors and the defendant's attorney on whether an application to the boot camp is an acceptable alternative sentence. Several jurisdictions indicate that disagreements among the prosecutors and defense attorneys have reduced the projected program intake.

In those situations where the judge sentences the inmate to the boot camp, the offender is returned to the court either upon successful or unsuccessful completion of the program. For those who fail the program, the court has the option to essentially re-sentence the inmate to a longer period of incarceration either in prison or within the jail. Those who complete the program are either discharged or begin a period of probation supervision. Some programs allow for inmates to voluntarily leave the program while others do not. Only one program (Harris) did not require the offender to volunteer for the program.

4. PROGRAM SERVICES

Here again, jail boot camps look very similar to prison boot camps in terms of the types of services offered (Table 4). The

**JAIL BOOT CAMPS
SERVICES, AFTERCARE AND COMPLETION RATES**

	TRAVIS, TX	NEW YORK CITY MEN	NEW YORK CITY WOMEN	SANTA CLARA, CA	NASSAU, NY	ORLEANS, LA	HARRIS, TX	ONTARIO, NY	BRAZOS, TX	OAKLAND, MI
Services Provided										
Physical Training & Drill	3 hrs/wk	1 hr/day	1 hr/day	3.75 hrs/day	2 hrs/day	2 hrs/day	6 hrs/day	2 hrs/day	1 hr/day	4 hrs/day
Work	6 hrs/wk	3 hrs/day	0	1.5 hrs/day	4 hrs/day	5 hrs/day	2 hrs/day	1/2 hrs/day	6 hrs/day	8 hrs/day
Vocational Education	8 hrs/wk	3 hrs/day	2 hrs/day	2.5 hrs/day	0	3 hrs/day	2 hrs/day	2 hrs/day	Yes ¹	4 hrs/wk
Drug Education/Counseling	4 hrs/wk	5 hrs/wk	2 hrs/day	1.5 hrs/day	4 hrs/day	1 hr/day	1 hr/day	4 hrs/day	1 hr/day	8 hrs/wk
General Education	5 hrs/wk	12 hrs/wk	2 hrs/day	1.5 hrs/day	4 hrs/day	4 hrs/day	4 hrs/day	0	1 hr/day	6 hrs/wk
General Counseling	Yes ¹	N/A	Yes ¹	1 hr/day	N/A	N/A	Yes ¹	2 hrs/wk	1 hr/day	2 hrs/wk
Other	Life Skills 4 hrs/wk	Community Srv.	Community Srv. 5 hrs/wk	Personal Hygiene 1 hr/day	N/A	Community Srv. 1 hr/day	Life Skills 2 hrs/day	Health Ed. 2 hrs/wk	N/A	N/A
Special After-Care Supervision	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Type of Supervision	Depends on Risk Level	Limited aftercare supervision for parole violators and conditional releases	Limited aftercare supervision for parole violators and conditional releases	N/A	N/A	Moderate	Intensive: Monitor Devices, Halfway Housing	N/A	Intensive	Moderate
Supervision Provided by	Probation	Parole and Probation	Parole and Probation	N/A	N/A	Jail and Probation	Probation	N/A	Jail and Probation	Jail and Probation
Program Completion Rate	47.7%	69.9%	71.4%	79.0%	67.8% ²	78.5% ³	97.0%	92.6%	N/A	79.8%
Non-Completions	139	319	56	26	19	38	15	8	0	24
Medical/Psychological	21	13	6	3	5	N/A	0	0	0	4
Disciplinary	114	126	23	16	7	N/A	0	8	0	9
Voluntary Withdrawals	0	169	22	0	7	0	0	0	0	11
Other	4	11 ⁴	5 ⁴	7 ⁵	0	38 ⁶	15 ⁷	0	0	0
Recidivism Rate	90%	N/A	N/A	1.4%	N/A	N/A	26.9	N/A	N/A	3.4%

1 Hours not available.

2 Reflects those still successfully enrolled in program — none have completed program to date.

3 Reflects those still successfully enrolled in program — no 1992 completions to date.

4 Legal.

5 Sentence served prior to program completion.

6 Includes Medical and Disciplinary, breakdown not available.

7 Probation absconders.

curriculum is generally separated into three phases of activity involving varying levels of military drill, physical training, structured work assignments, adult education, vocational education, drug education, and various counseling and life skills programs.

Most programs allow for a gradual shifting from the physical training and work assignments to education, counseling and community service activities as the offender progresses through the program. Military drill, physical training and work assignments are emphasized during the initial month. The number of privileges afforded inmates increases as they progress through the various stages of the program. For example, in several programs neither visits nor TV are allowed for the first 30 days. Thereafter, privileges are increased to reward the participant's performance.

5. AFTERCARE SUPERVISION

Most of the programs include an aftercare component. Typically, the offender receives a sentence whereupon successful completion of the boot camp program leads to additional time under probation or parole supervision. In these situations, supervision is provided by the county or state probation agency. In a few programs, a probation officer is actually assigned to the boot camp program to help prepare the inmate for his/her release to the community. Several programs also allow graduates to return to the program on a volunteer basis to attend group counseling or support groups.

6. PROGRAM RESULTS

Very little research or documentation is available from these programs which would allow one to assess how successful these programs are in realizing their goals. None of the programs have developed automated tracking systems that document admissions, services delivered, and program completion rates. In some programs where completion rates have been manually tabulated, success rates varied from 48 percent to 93 percent. Disciplinary violations were the most frequent reason for non-completion, although a significant number failed due to medical problems which surfaced after the offender was admitted to the program.

There is even less information on recidivism rates. Only four sites reported a 12 month re-arrest and/or probation violation rate. One site possessed a disappointing recidivism rate of 90 percent. Another site had a fairly respectable rate of 26.9 percent, while two sites reported extraordinarily low recidivism rates below 5 percent. With the exception of the discontinued Los Angeles RID program, no programs has undergone a formal independent study and/or a cost effectiveness evaluation.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF THE SHERIFF'S RID PROGRAM

This chapter presents information relating to the structure of the RID program and describes eligibility criteria and intake procedures. The following descriptions of the RID program components include: regimentation, the drill instructor, general education, drug education, psychological counseling, work details, community supervision and vocational counseling. In addition, the primary goals of the RID program, as set forth by program administrators, are described.

A. PROGRAM OVERVIEW

In the summer of 1986, Los Angeles Sheriff's Department personnel began studying prison boot camp programs in Oklahoma, Georgia and Mississippi with the goal of initiating a program which they felt had the greatest potential for success at a county jail level. These state operated boot camps were small programs directed toward youthful, non-violent offenders, and modeled after traditional, rigid military basic training programs. Personnel also conducted onsite visits to the only two well established county boot camp programs in the nation in Louisiana and Texas.

Based upon these visits, the county administrators felt that a similar boot camp program could be successfully implemented in Los Angeles County. The Los Angeles County Sheriff's RID program received formal approval in May 1990, from the County Board of

Supervisors, to initiate a pilot program with monies allocated from the Sheriff's general and drug forfeiture funds and the inmate welfare fund. In addition, the Los Angeles County Probation Department allocated resources to provide aftercare probation supervision to RID participants following their graduation from boot camp. In July 1990, the Los Angeles County Probation and Sheriff's Departments initiated the joint pilot project, and in September 1990, the first platoon entered the boot camp component of the RID program.

The boot camp component of the RID program provided a highly structured and regimented 90 day routine that emphasized rigorous calisthenics, close order military drill, teamwork and personal accountability, work, firm discipline, drug counseling and education. The intensive supervision component (ISP) reinforced the boot camp experience and facilitated the offenders' transition to law abiding society.

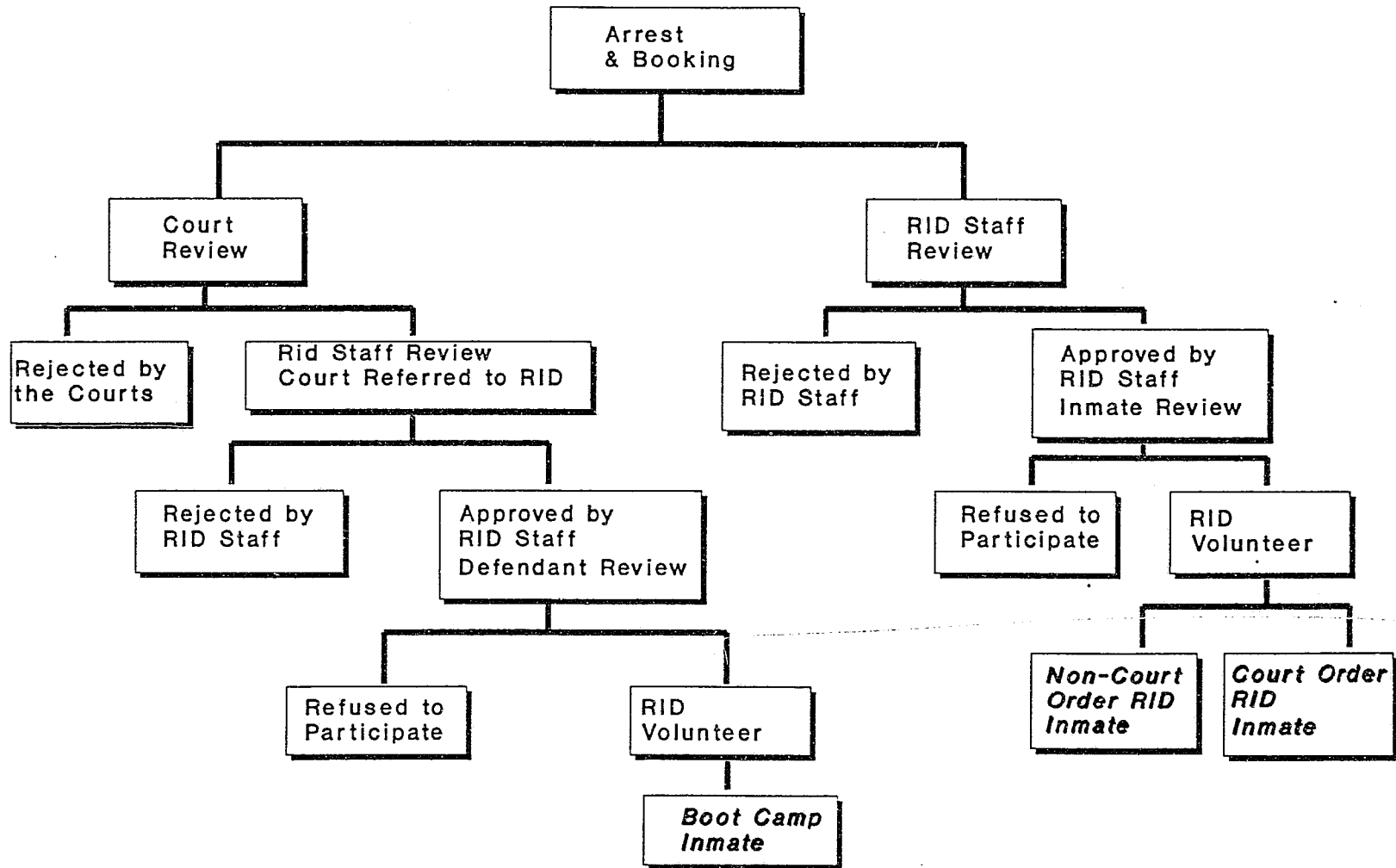
Offenders volunteer for admission to the program in order to gain shorter sentences and other program benefits. As in other programs around the country, the individual signed a voluntary consent form as a contract between the inmate and the criminal justice system. Potential candidates were identified and referred to the program by county probation personnel, defense attorneys, and prosecutors as early in the court process as possible so that offenders could be moved from the general jail population into RID to begin serving 90 days in boot camp. Potentially eligible offenders were asked to sign a "contract" indicating their

willingness to participate. RID probation staff evaluated the suitability of RID candidates during the course of the inmate's pre-trial incarceration and each candidate received a medical evaluation. When the case were returned to court, the sentencing judge ordered the offender into the program as part of a sentence of formal probation.

The program was structured so that every two weeks a new "platoon" of not more than 48 inmates was scheduled to begin the boot camp phase of RID. After 90 days, the platoon was to move on to RID intensive supervision for a period of 90 days prior to release to general probation caseloads, if so ordered by the courts. The program was designed so that at any one time 336 inmates were housed in boot camp and that same number were on intensive supervision. While in boot camp inmates participated in periods of physical training, remedial education, drug counseling, close order drill and work in the Sheriff's laundry. Boot camp literature reference the importance of daily "high-impact reality therapy" and frequent community team-building meetings that occurred each day. A special "challenge course" was constructed in which inmates were frequently "given the opportunity to overcome the physical obstacles it presents." The intent was to teach the "perseverance" skills inmates would need upon release, to overcome a variety of obstacles that would be encountered on the road to a successful readjustment into society.

A primary goal of the Probation Department's efforts were to reduce the likelihood of offenders return to jail or prison. RID

FIGURE 1
RID SCREENING PROCESS



probation staff worked with participants while they were in the boot camp as well as while they were in the community. For example, one probation officer was assigned to each platoon at the time of entry into RID. His specific role was to evaluate each inmate and develop supervision plans designed to successfully reintegrate offenders into the community. A full-time employment counselor is also part of the RID probation team concept. Following a formal boot camp graduation ceremony to which inmates invite family members, intensive supervision begins in the community. Each offender was contacted at least twice each week by probation staff. Boot camp platoon meetings were continued in the community during the supervision phase. Drug testing was also incorporated to deter and detect any resumption of drug use by the offenders. Over the course of supervision contacts were reduced; by the end of 90 days the offenders had either been transferred to regular probation caseloads or had been returned to court for violations of conditions of their probation.

B. PROGRAM STRUCTURE

Boot camp inmates were housed at the Peter J. Pitchess Honor Ranch, located in a rural/suburban area in northern Los Angeles County. The facility houses 2,300 inmates in existing minimum and medium security dormitory styled barracks. The Sheriff's portion of the RID program occupied three of the ranch's barracks and had a capacity of 336 inmates. Supervision was provided by six supervising officers and 39 deputy sheriffs. Twelve RID probation

officers maintained offices at the boot camp facility and at two additional satellite offices in the community.

The program shared a theme common to most boot camps. A thoroughly military approach was taken, including many of the traditional "boot camp" indoctrination and regimentation techniques found in state prison programs. Close hair cuts, marching, locker and barracks inspections, long hours and the ever present Drill Instructor (DI) were basic ingredients. Unlike many boot camps, however, RID required heavy program involvement. Each inmate received a minimum of 10 hours of educational instruction each week, attended daily formal drug and life counseling sessions and regularly participated in the Department's Substance Abuse Narcotics Education (SANE) program. If an offender failed to meet the requirements of either the boot camp or intensive supervision components, he was deemed to have violated his contract and was removed from the program. Offenders on probation were returned to court by the Probation Department for case disposition.

1. RID ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

During the first year of operation criteria and procedures for admitting inmates were modified as were the targeted local jurisdictional "catchman" areas. These modifications were intended to increase the volume of intakes into the program. The original eligibility criteria for the target population were as follows:

1. Male offenders between 18 and 25 years of age.

2. No charges for capital offenses, kidnapping, forcible rape, child molestation, or other crimes which are particularly sensitive to the public.
3. Sufficient grasp of English to understand orders, instructions, and general counseling.
4. Likely to be sentenced to County jail or State prison for 270 days or more if not selected for RID.
5. No prior incarceration in a federal or state prison.
6. No physical or mental condition which would prevent full participation in military style training.
7. No prior escapes, known gang leaders (can be a gang member), or those who have committed violent attacks against police officers.

Offenders were required to volunteer for admission to the program in order to gain the shorter sentence and other program benefits. As in other states, offenders signed voluntary consent forms, which served as contracts between the inmates and the criminal justice system, wherein participants agreed to accept the conditions of the program and its limitations in exchange for early release from custody.

2. RID SCREENING PROCESS

The formal RID applicant screening process as originally designed was rigidly structured and fairly complicated (see Figure 1), involving the coordinated action of prosecutors, defense attorneys, medical personnel, RID staff and the offenders. Potential candidates were to be referred by defense counsels and prosecutors; these counsels and prosecutors were to be active participants in the intake screening process as early in the court

C. PROGRAM COMPONENTS: THE BOOT CAMP EXPERIENCE

The RID program was designed to be physically and mentally demanding. Inmates entered RID and moved through all phases of the program in military-like platoons. During the first year of operation, entering platoons contained between eight to 45 inmates, and platoon size was generally reduced as inmates were removed from the program for disciplinary or medical reasons. The minimum time required for an inmate sentenced to boot camp to become a successful graduate was 90 days. If an inmate failed to successfully meet the requirements of any phase of the program, he is set back -- or "recycled" -- to an earlier phase and did not graduate with his original platoon. Each inmate could be set back twice, extending his maximum time in the boot camp to 120 days. If inmates were not able to successfully complete the program within the maximum allotted time frame, they were returned to the courts for having violated the conditions of probation.

Upon entry into RID, inmates were issued basic toiletry items, shoe polish and rag, a bucket and scrub brush, stamps, envelopes, pencils, writing paper and stamps. They were responsible for "military issue" boots, baseball cap, work clothes, running shoes, sweats and gym shorts, one change of bedding and net laundry bags. Participants were personally responsible for all assigned items and soiled clothing and bedding were placed into an assigned laundry bag and taken to the laundry by each inmate on a daily basis. Once washed and dried, items were brought back to barracks, sorted and

process as possible. The Sheriff's Department was then to screen the men who had been referred. Acceptable candidates were to be introduced to the program during this screening process and given an opportunity to sign a "contract" which indicated their willingness to participate.

If the inmate passed a medical examination, and defense counsel and prosecutor were in agreement, the judge was petitioned to sentence the inmate into the program. A parallel screening process was initiated fairly early in the program whereby RID personnel would assume an active role in identifying program participants.

The targeted population was limited to cases originating at the Central, Northwest, and North Valley Districts of the Los Angeles County Superior Court system. These areas were selected because of the large number of potential participants from these areas and because of the logistical requirements associated with intensive supervision and the need to limit the amount of travel necessary to adequately supervise the offenders in the community.

It was intended that the entire screening process for any one case would take approximately five days to complete resulting in a total of 15 days of screening to form a single "platoon" consisting of approximately 45 inmates. Every two weeks a new platoon of not more than 48 inmates was to be scheduled to begin the boot camp phase of the program.

put away. Inmate living areas were regularly inspected by sheriff's deputies functioning as drill instructors.

Certain rights and privileges usually available to inmates in the Los Angeles County Jail were not granted to RID inmates. Most notably telephone, mail and visiting rights were greatly restricted. According to established guidelines, no outside contact was allowed during the first 30 days of the program, and periodicals and any other public mailings were not allowed. Possession of money was prohibited to participants as well. One phone call lasting no longer than ten minutes was allowed after 30 days in the program. After 45 days in boot camp, inmates were allowed a single phone call each week lasting no longer than 10 minutes.

Program participants were required to write family and friends after 30 days to inform them of their progress. In strict military fashion, mail call was held each weekday at the morning formation. Visitation privileges were not granted until an inmate had successfully completed 30 continuous days in RID. At that time one visit was permitted every other weekend lasting no more than one hour. Visitation was considered to be a privilege to be earned and failure to maintain a satisfactory level of performance may have resulted in loss of visiting privileges for that week.

Every effort was made to limit inmates' unstructured time in boot camp. Week day activities began at 4:45 am with military formation, calisthenics and running and ended with "lights out" at 9:30 pm. On weekends, participants' days began at 6:00 am. The

inmates' day typically included two hours of physical exercise, one and a half hours of company formation and close order drill, two hours of group counseling and education, four hours of work in the facility laundry operation, several "team building" and informational meetings and regular inspections. Movement to and from assignments were in close order military formation and formal schedules called for 10 minutes between program assignments. Along with the physical and educational training, the "boots" highly regimented daily schedule included "high-impact reality therapy" and community meetings.

A special "challenge course" was also constructed at the ranch facility and inmates frequently were given an opportunity to "learn to overcome the physical barriers it presented." By enforcing these restrictions and demanding tasks, the intent was to create an environment in which the inmates accepted the reality of their situations and acquired skills to overcome the obstacles in their lives (see Exhibit A for a list of RID program components).

1. THE RID DRILL INSTRUCTOR

Each platoon was monitored by several deputy sheriffs, any one of which performed the role of supervising platoon drill instructor. During the first three weeks following the formation of a platoon, every effort was made to have two drill instructors constantly supervising each platoon, and at any given time one deputy was present with each platoon. While there were frequent substitutions during the first 12 months of operation, deputies

EXHIBIT A

RID PROGRAM COMPONENTS

BOOT CAMP

- DRILL INSTRUCTOR
- GENERAL EDUCATION
- DRUG EDUCATION
- PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNSELING
- WORK DETAILS

INTENSIVE SUPERVISION (ISP)

- COMMUNITY SUPERVISION
- COUNSELING
- VOCATIONAL COUNSELING

were formally assigned to only one platoon and maintained this assignment until the platoon exited boot camp.

As originally planned, a deputy would receive one week of "rest" from platoon duty after his platoon graduated. This period of rest would then be followed by an assignment to an incoming platoon. In reality, due to staff turnover and budgetary problems, these scheduled periods away from inmates did not occur as planned and staff work schedules were in many ways similar to general population deputies.

A three week training course for RID drill instructors was offered in the spring of 1990. During the first week of training deputies received instruction from Marine corps training personnel on the concepts of the boot camp regimen and close-order drilling. During the second week of training, personnel from the New York boot camp program were brought in to instruct newly assigned RID deputies on the psychological elements of how to perform the role of the drill instructor. The final week of training was spent primarily on drill procedures.

According to the official training manual, military training for inmates was directed toward "showing inmates what they really are instead of what they think they are." It was the role of the deputy sheriff to teach decision making skills, build self-esteem and instill a sense of social responsibility in RID inmates.

Strict military discipline, including chastising for poor performance, was common at the boot camp. Except for the early "shock" phase of the program, RID drill instructors were prohibited

from name-calling and other demeaning behaviors long associated with military boot camps, and deputies were instructed to criticize performance rather than people.

2. RID GENERAL EDUCATION COMPONENT

Mandatory participation in remedial classes in English and mathematics was considered by program administrators to be an important element of the RID program. The self-contained education program was a correctional division of the Hacienda La Puente Unified School District, which was accredited in May 1990 by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges. The school facility, located within the compound, was staffed by four full-time teachers, one counselor and three support staff. The instructors worked in groups of two for six hours a day, five days a week.

As in other areas of the boot camp program, teaching occurred by platoon, and each inmate spent just under two hours each day in the classroom. During the first few days in boot camp, a school counselor interviewed each student individually to assess education background and suggest a basic agenda for their educational classes in RID. The students then met with their teachers and, with the general recommendation made by the school counselor, the teachers devised a personal learning plan for the students.

The day after entering boot camp, the students were given the Gates-Mackness Reading test and the Wide Range Achievement Mathematics test by the school counselor, to measure existing reading comprehension and mathematics skill levels. The English

segment of the tests that are given to the inmates were Gates-MacGinitie reading tests. They measure speed and accuracy in vocabulary and reading comprehension. The vocabulary section is comprised of 50 multiple choice questions and the reading comprehension of 52 fill-in-the-blanks questions. The math test is a series of 45 questions ranging from basic addition to algebra. The students were given thirty minutes to complete each section, and were not allowed to go to the next section if they finished early.

The scores the students received from these tests determined their grade placements. If students placed below sixth grade they were placed in an independent study curriculum and the stated goal was to increase their tested grade levels by one or two points during the boot camp. If students were 20 to 30 credits short of a high school diploma (ranking them in the 11th or 12th grade), then they were placed in an independent study curriculum that helped them earn the credits they needed to graduate. At the end of the boot camp program the Pitchess Honor Rancho Adult Education program, which is an accredited institution, awarded high school diplomas to eligible participants. The remaining students were placed in GED preparation classes.

The goals of the education program were prioritized as follows:

1. It is hoped that students who can earn high school diplomas will do so;
2. If students do not have the adequate number of credits to earn a diploma, then it is hoped that they will earn a GED;

3. If the students are placed at or below a 6th grade level, then it is hoped to improve on their basic reading, writing and math skills.

Three weeks prior to graduating from the boot camp, a staff member from the Pitchess Honor Rancho facility's adult education program began teaching RID inmates basic job searching skills and other related skills associated with seeking and holding gainful employment (i.e., how to obtain a social security number).

3. DRUG EDUCATION

The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Adult Narcotic Education (SANE) program was a mandatory class in which RID inmates were taught about the negative effects of illegal drugs. Two deputies taught SANE classes on a full-time basis. Each platoon had three, one hour SANE classes per week.

When RID inmates entered the boot camp they were administered a test which measured inmates' knowledge of objective information on the effects of drugs and drug abuse. This test, which is a 19 question true-false questionnaire developed by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department and standardized on local high school students, is entitled "Here's Looking at You 2000: Student Measure."

Upon completing the questionnaire, each participant corrected his own test in the class. The correct responses and any related issues were then discussed during the SANE classes. Two weeks prior to the inmates' exiting the boot camp, platoons were re-tested in an attempt to assess the increased knowledge gained by

offenders during the course. The correct answers to the questions were discussed openly in class and then the test was re-administered. The students were allowed to discuss the answers during the testing for the stated purpose of creating an open class-room setting and a positive environment for the inmates to learn the information. It was assumed that since they would not be concerned with their grades that they would not only learn the material but, more importantly, they would learn to teach each other in a non-threatening situation. The process was viewed by administrators as yet another element of the program that teaches RID inmates how to cooperate with each other and take responsibility for themselves.

4. PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNSELING

On the fourth day of the boot camp experience each platoon received an orientation by a full-time contracted RID staff psychologist. Inmates met in a classroom setting and after reviewing the goal of the "class," -- controlling ones behavior by controlling ones mind -- inmates were asked to introduce themselves. Each inmate stood up in turn and talked about himself, while the psychologist and the other inmates were allowed to ask questions.

Platoons met with the counselor on a daily basis for one hour, five days a week. They were first given an assignment to write autobiographies. The purpose of this exercise was to introduce the inmates to therapy and to identify the inmates who might have

suicidal tendencies or other psychological needs. Daily classes, or sessions, revolved around reading and discussing handout literature or watching videos on gang violence and crime and interpreting the information. If the therapist found that an inmate was particularly hostile or had a unique problem, he would arrange individual sessions with that inmate. Generally, one to three private sessions were scheduled each week.

According to the psychologist, his counseling was based in the cognitive and rational-emotive schools of therapy. In formal group therapy sessions the counselor attempts to reduce future anti-social or unconstructive behaviors by showing that the mode of thought behind negative behaviors is irrational. It is viewed as a confrontational approach where the inmates' beliefs and life styles which led to criminality are constantly challenged by the therapist.

5. LAUNDRY WORK DETAILS

RID inmates were assigned, by platoons, to work in two departments of the Honor Ranch's laundry operation for approximately four hours each week day. Participants were segregated from general population inmates working in other areas of the laundry operation. The two departments were each manned by one platoon and each platoon was monitored by the drill instructor so that there was at least one deputy who was constantly supervising the inmates during their four hour shift. The laundry processes between 20-24 million pounds of laundry each year. RID

inmates' duties included front-end sorting of dirty laundry and back-end ironing of cleaned items. The "soil sort" function of RID inmates was to unload the dirty laundry from trucks and sort them into different types of linen. The pressing function involves operating four large production line ironing machines which press clean sheets and related bedding. Approximately 6,000 to 6,500 sheets are pressed every day.

One goal associated with placing RID inmates in the laundry operation was to improve the capacity of the operation by providing a constant and reliable work force. In the year prior to the RID pilot project, the laundry operation was forced to reduce its annual production output due, in large part, to the unpredictability in the number of general population inmates available each shift. In addition, 17 percent of total down time in the general population areas is reportedly due to sabotage. It was hoped that a more disciplined work force of RID inmates would reduce facility down-time and increase overall production, while at the same time encourage cooperation and a positive work ethic in boot camp participants.

D. POST RELEASE: INTENSIVE SUPERVISION PROBATION (ISP)

The unique aspect of the Los Angeles RID program was to be the cooperative involvement of the Sheriff and Probation Departments. At the outset it was made clear that the boot camp would be operated in all respects by the Sheriff's Department and that the role of probation personnel would be to develop post boot camp

treatment and supervision plans for participants, provide transition services between boot camp and intensive supervision, and provide supervision and services to offenders once they have graduated from boot camp.

During the boot camp phase of RID a probation officer was assigned to each platoon. His specific role was to evaluate each inmate's strengths and weaknesses and develop a supervision plan designed to reintegrate him successfully into the community. A full-time employment coordinator was expected to help secure satisfactory and suitable employment for each RID inmate during his 90 day supervision period.

Approximately two weeks before the scheduled graduation date from the boot camp, platoon members were introduced to their supervising officer. Prior to an inmate's exit from boot camp, probation staff visited the place where the inmate intended to reside upon his release, to assess the suitability of the home environment. The expressed purpose of this home visit was to:

1. Assess the family strengths and weaknesses and modify the supervision plan accordingly; and
2. Prepare the family for the participant's return and engage their support toward helping him make a successful readjustment to a less regimented life in the community.

While on intensive supervision, each program participant was to be contacted at least twice every week by an officer. In an attempt to emphasize continuity between the boot camp and intensive supervision components of the program, probation officers were encouraged to emphasize utilization of the skills and knowledge

developed in boot camp to maintain employment and comply with probation conditions. The "reality therapy" and platoon meetings which were part of the boot camp were continued in community settings during this aftercare phase. These meetings were intended to provide continued therapeutic involvement and form the basis for peer-support to the program participants. Drug testing was also to be utilized to deter and detect any resumption of drug use by the offenders. At the end of the 90 day supervision period, the vast majority of offenders successfully completing this phase of RID were transferred to a regular probation supervision caseload.

1. SUPERVISION IN THE COMMUNITY

The ISP component of RID was staffed by 10 community supervision deputy probation officers and four officers assigned to the boot camp facility that served as the Institutional Liaison Team (ILT). The ISP officers were located at two different offices, Firestone in East Los Angeles, and Alhambra in Northern Los Angeles. The program was designed so that each officer would be assigned approximately 30 cases, but at any given time he/she was working on only 20 cases, due to bench warrants, arrests and absconders. The officers were required to have a minimum of two contacts with each offender every week for the first month; one and a half contacts each week during the second month; and, one contact per week during the last month of intensive supervision. These contacts could be either by telephone, face-to-face or in group

settings. They were encouraged to make unscheduled home or work supervision contacts throughout the period of supervision.

An important priority of community supervision personnel was monitoring offenders for drug abuse. While many offenders did not admit to having drug problems, if offenders were intoxicated at time of arrest or had histories of drug-related arrests, or if probation officers identified patterns of drug abuse, then judges ordered mandatory drug testing. Officers assigned to field supervision scheduled drug tests for the offenders with court imposed drug monitoring orders. The courts typically ordered routine drug testing as a condition of probation if there was a reasonable cause to believe the defendant was abusive of drugs. If an offender tested positive for drugs three or more times he would be removed from RID. A positive drug test, however, is the only supervision violation that would not necessarily terminate an offender's participation in the program and probation personnel stressed the treatment aspects of RID while downplaying the punitive nature of supervision.

2. INTENSIVE SUPERVISION COUNSELING

The probation department also contracted with a staff psychologist for RID. Two weeks prior to graduation from boot camp, the therapist met with platoons preparing to enter intensive supervision to get acquainted with them and to prepare them for the second part of the RID program. Once on ISP, guidelines called for all participants to attend weekly group meetings conducted by the

counselor which lasted between one and two hours each. The program was designed so that offenders would attend these sessions with their original platoons. These meetings were relatively unstructured sessions where offenders were encouraged to focus primarily on relationship and job issues and conflicts. The goal of these meetings was to reinforce the positive peer relationships developed while in boot camp, while addressing issues and problems relating to readjustment in the community. In addition, optional family group meetings were held each month where groups of offenders and adult family members were encouraged to ask questions, as well as to discuss and solve common problems.

3. JOB PLACEMENT SERVICES

There was one full-time job placement counselor assigned to the RID program. The goal was to provide an appropriate employment or training opportunity for each boot camp graduate. One week prior to graduation from boot camp, the counselor met with the exiting platoon and acquainted them with the RID Employment Package. In this package were lists of potential employers, job advertisements, employment interviewing skills checklists and other written material relating to getting and holding a job. After this meeting the probationers had very limited contact with the job placement probation officer. The officer spent considerable time developing and updating job lists and referring offenders to various agencies such as the California Employment Development Department which provided counselors to assist in job hunting and

placement. In addition, the probation officers typically did not make appointments for the RID probationers. Their role was that of advising the probationers on how to present themselves.

E. RID PROGRAM GOALS

The primary goals of the RID program as set forth by program administrators were to: (1) reduce facility crowding; and (2) reduce the cost of incarceration and reduce recidivism. An important secondary goal was to improve inmate control. Each of these goals is elaborated in the sections that follow.

1. REDUCE JAIL CROWDING

RID was designed to help alleviate overcrowding by taking inmates who would otherwise spend substantial periods of confinement in pre-trial and sentenced statuses, and reduce the time of incarceration to 90 days. RID administrators planned to process approximately 1,300 inmates into the program and maintain RID at the full target capacity of 336 inmates. If the program admitted inmates who would otherwise spend more than 90 days in the general county jail population, a bed space savings would result. Furthermore, since RID offenders moved from more secure beds in sentenced status to minimum security beds in the boot camp, the program would also allow more expensive maximum or medium security beds to become available.

2. REDUCE COSTS

The RID program was intended to produce cost savings at three points within the criminal justice cycle:

- a. The inmate was to be in an unsentenced status for less time, since he elected to plead guilty in order to participate in the program, saving both pre-trial time in jail and heavy trial costs;
- b. Most inmates were to be in custody in a sentenced status for only a little over 90 days, relieving expensive county and state custody burdens; and
- c. Advocates believed these inmates would be less likely to return to the criminal justice system and therefore reduce the court and custody burdens in the future. Costs were to be averted by diverting some people from the criminal justice system entirely; reducing court caseloads and associated costs; and avoiding the repeated transportation costs to and from court and outlying facilities.

3. REDUCE RECIDIVISM

It was hoped that participation in RID would lower the probability of offenders recidivating and returning to the criminal justice system. A number of program elements were designed to achieve this goal. The Sheriff Department's Substance Abuse and Narcotic Education program (SANE) emphasized the negative effects of illegal drug use, while regular counseling sessions with a trained psychologist reinforced positive behaviors. Remedial education and participation in activities that would improve work habits would better prepare RID offenders to secure legitimate jobs. Probation staff would monitor offenders' lifestyles and environments, and help locate employment and housing. These

program elements were all directed towards reducing the probability of re-arrest and re-incarceration.

4. IMPROVE INMATE CONTROL

There were several other important, but less visible benefits to be derived from the boot camp program according to its administrators. First, RID participants would become the primary work force for the Department's laundry operation, replacing general population inmates who often engaged in work avoidance, pilferage, and equipment sabotage, thus lowering productivity. Second, the laundry operation, which is located within the same facility as RID, was seen as a good setting for instilling a positive work ethic. The Department also receives revenues from the County's public hospitals that send laundry to the jail to be cleaned.⁴ If the level of productivity could be accelerated by utilizing a more controlled and highly disciplined RID work force, additional cost savings could be achieved. It was also hoped that conflicts between inmates and physical confrontations between inmates and staff would be significantly reduced.

⁴ It was the intent of the evaluation team to compare productivity measures before and after RID participants became the primary work force. However, shortly after RID became operational, cutbacks in the demand for laundry services took place. An assessment of improvements in productivity as well as any enhancements to revenues was not possible.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH DESIGN

A comprehensive evaluation entailing process and impact components was undertaken to determine whether a county operated boot camp program would be feasible and cost effective. The research design used to evaluate the RID program contained the following three primary components:

1. A quasi-experimental design to measure the impact of the program on reducing recidivism, and jail crowding and improving inmate control.
2. A process evaluation documenting how the RID program actually operated in terms of its selection process, delivery of programs, numbers and types of persons admitted to the program and rates of successful completion.
3. A cost analysis of the RID program.

A. IMPACT RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This portion of the evaluation involved the utilization of a quasi-experimental design focusing primarily on the program's impact on recidivism as well as costs to the jail and probation systems.

The following research questions were addressed by the evaluation team.

1. To what extent does RID impact inmates' likelihood of returning to criminal activity?
2. To what extent does RID impact costs (including jail operational costs, probation supervision costs, and other criminal justice costs)?

3. To what extent does RID impact the inmates' institutional behavior?
4. What is the effect of boot camp programming on jail crowding?

B. QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

The original design called for three comparison groups to be tracked and evaluated:

1. Non-Random Control Group 1: Inmates screened and approved by the RID program but not admitted because the program either was not fully operational or the inmates were not referred to the program by the court; this group is statistically equivalent but not randomized.
2. Randomized Control Group 2: Inmates screened and approved by the RID program and randomly selected for the control group.
3. Experimental Group: Inmates screened and approved by the RID program and randomly selected for the experimental group.

In order to implement the randomized experimental design, the volume of intakes would have to be maintained at, or near, twice capacity. RID administrators had anticipated that two intake platoons of between 40-48 inmates each, would be admitted to boot camp in each month of the program's existence. A properly implemented experimental design would entail screening and approving 80-96 inmates every two weeks and randomly admitting half of this number to RID.

During the first six months of operation, entering platoons ranged in size from six to thirty one inmates -- many of whom were selected from the general jail population by sheriff's staff and admitted to the boot camp without court orders. This very low

volume of intake, coupled with increasing fiscal constraints during the first year of operation nearly resulted in the termination of the program within the first year. Program administrators simply did not consider it possible to implement the evaluation's experimental design as proposed. Consequently, a revised evaluation design was implemented which consisted only of the non-random control and experimental groups. NCCD staff worked with RID personnel in identifying cases to be included in this modified design. By the end of the first fiscal year of operation 216 non-random control cases had been identified, screened and entered into the evaluation project data base as RID comparison cases. A total of 544 inmates had entered boot camp and comprise the evaluation's experimental group in this study. All experimental cases are RID inmates that had been screened and admitted to boot camp between September 1990 and June 1991. The non-random control group consists of offenders screened and approved for the program but who were not admitted to RID.

The design, as described below and graphically portrayed in Figure 2, established control and experimental populations which were used to establish what would have happened to these offenders had the RID program not existed. A total of 760 offenders were included in this study. Making up the experimental group were 544 inmates actually admitted to the boot camp component of RID, in one of 20 platoons between September 1990 and June 1991. A total of 216 offenders composed the comparison control group component of the impact study design.

FIGURE 2
RID RESEARCH DESIGN

	N	Screening	3 mos.		12 mos.	
Non-Equivalent Controls	(216)	O ₁				O ₃
RID Cases	(544)					
With RID Court Orders	(435)	O ₁	X ₁	O ₂	X ₂	O ₃
No RID Court Orders	(109)	O ₁	X ₁	O ₂		O ₃

Where:

O₁ = pre-boot camp assignment measure

O₂ = post-boot camp treatment measure

O₃ = follow-up treatment measures (recidivism)

X₁ = residential treatment intervention

X₂ = intensive supervision intervention

The original design called for 200 control cases. The evaluation team purposely selected 230 cases, anticipating that some cases would eventually be ordered into RID. Fourteen of the original control group offenders eventually entered boot camp, leaving a control group size of 216. These offenders were tracked relative to their subsequent re-arrest rates.

C. ASSIGNMENT OF CONTROL CASES

The control population, referred to previously, consisted of a non-random group which was established at two points during the project. The first 100 control cases were selected during a three month period up to 45 days prior to the admission of the first platoon of RID participants in September 1990. The second 116 control cases were identified and selected during the last quarter of the study period between April and June 1991. Equivalency was established through the administration of certain pre-test measures and by ensuring the selected control cases were similar on all key attributes to the experimental cases. As Campbell and Stanley (1973:47-49) indicate, this design is well worth using even though it does not totally match the rigor of a true experimental design.

This non-random control group design was implemented as oppose to a true experimental design with random assignment in anticipation that there would be an insufficient number of cases available for random assignments. Typically, program staff and evaluators over-estimate the number of cases who will become eligible for the random selection process. This was the case in

this study. To avoid this situation, a design utilizing both randomized and non-random control group elements was devised at the beginning of the project to ensure a high probability of quickly establishing a statistically equivalent control group in the likely event that randomized assignment would not be feasible.

The selection of control cases was carried out in a manner consistent with the way the experimental cases were actually identified and targeted to enter RID -- through the initiative of RID staff (see prior Figure 1). Each morning a computer printout of names and relevant background data was supplied to RID staff by the facility data processing center. This list was comprised of inmates between 18-29 years of age who had no prior confinements in the state prison system and who were currently confined in pre-trial status for relatively non-serious charges with low bail amounts. These inmates had not been referred to RID since they had been in jail less than one week and were awaiting trial and assignment of defense counsel.

Potential control group cases received a thorough presentation of the components of the RID program and told about the education and counseling components, military regimen, loss of certain inmate rights and privileges, intensive supervision follow-up, eligibility criteria and the voluntary nature of the program. Educational reading comprehension and mathematics tests administered to all cases eliminated non-English speaking inmates and provided educational data for comparisons with the experimental group.

Inmates interviewed prior to the beginning of the program and stating that they wished to volunteer for RID were told that there were no immediate openings but that if the program was initiated prior to disposition of their case, they may be re-interviewed. Program administrators viewed the evaluation as critical to the long term success of the program. While 14 offenders screened after RID was operational and originally identified as control cases were eventually admitted to boot camp, RID staff made no effort to follow-up or otherwise encourage the participation of these control cases. Those inmates then who met program eligibility requirements and stated that they wished to participate in RID were designated as a control group.

This design produced a population equivalent with RID participants not only in their demographic and criminal attributes but also in their motivation to participate in the RID program. The non-equivalency bias that could have occurred when project staff modified their selection criteria after the RID program began, is controlled by selecting control cases immediately before the program began and again near the end of the study period.

D. IMPACT EVALUATION DATA

Impact data were collected on measures of recidivism, program costs, institutional behavior and RID's effect on jail crowding. The primary measure used to assess recidivism was official California re-arrest data. For each experimental and control case, copies of the criminal history rap sheets were reviewed, at a

minimum of, 14 months after all inmates had been released from boot camp (experimental cases) or the county jail (control cases). Resulting group comparisons during the follow-up study period represent standardized time periods whereby comparison cases have been "at-risk" in the community for identical periods of time. Available criminal history records captured most misdemeanor and all felony arrests throughout the state; the date and offending charge and the court dispositions associated with any arrest. These data were keyed into the project data base for statistical manipulation.

A central question to policy makers was whether the RID program would prove to be cost efficient and lead to averted imprisonment costs. Cost data associated with maintaining county offenders in the RID program, general jail population and probation supervision were provided by the Auditing Branch of the County of Los Angeles. These data included annual funding levels and actual expenditures for such budget categories as salaries and wages, offender services and supplies, personnel benefits as well as various departmental and county indirect expenses. These data, combined with re-arrest data and length of stay data gathered from manual and automated records, formed the basis for assessing the costs associated with housing and providing services to county offenders.

To assess the degree to which the RID program improved inmate control, measures of inmate institutional behavior were compared between the RID housing units and comparable housing units also

located at the Peter J. Pitchess Ranch facility. Data were collected that reflected measures of inmate control and conformity, including such items as reported inmate assaults on staff and inmates escapes documented incidents involving drug possession or sales and incidents involving weapon possessions. Manual records were reviewed to determine the number and type of serious incidents occurring in the RID program during the study period. Monthly tabulations of serious incidents reported in the general population were provided to the project team by jail officials.

E. PROCESS EVALUATION DESIGN

In order to explain or better understand the observed impacts of RID on offender behavior and jail crowding and costs, a process study was completed. The process evaluation component was designed to document how the RID program actually operated in terms of its selection process, the characteristics of program participants, delivery of programs, length of participation, program completion rates and organizational relationships with other key criminal justice agencies.

1. PROCESS EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The specific research questions addressed in this report are stated below. By addressing each of these questions one can describe in detail how the RID program functioned, evaluate whether the program was implemented as designed and identify those key

organizational characteristics that facilitate or impede the program's operations.

1. Who were the participants of RID?

- a. What were the demographic, social, economic, criminal, and drug use characteristics of inmates admitted to the RID program?
- b. How did the characteristics of those accepted into RID differ from a cohort of offenders meeting entry criteria but not admitted to the program?

2. What happened to inmates who were admitted to RID?

- a. What were the number, types, intensity and duration of services provided to RID participants?
- b. How long did inmates stay in the program?
- c. How many inmates successfully completed the RID program?
- d. For those who failed to complete the program, what were the reasons for failure, and how long did they stay in the program before failure occurs?
- e. How did those who successfully completed the program differ from those who failed the program?
- f. What were the levels of services and supervision provided by the probation Department to RID participants after their release from RID?

2. PROCESS EVALUATION DATA

This portion of the evaluation entailed primarily the use of quantitative data collection strategies. Quantitative information largely consisted of descriptive and program outcome data that were collected at various stages of the offender's processing through the jail system and/or intensive supervision. For each of the control and RID cases, staff recorded the following key background data elements which were collected from program case folders and

logs, as well as computerized data bases maintained by the Sheriff's Department and County Probation Department:

Study Group Data Elements

1. Age
2. Race
3. Committing offense
4. Prior convictions
5. Prior incarcerations
6. Tested reading and math grade levels
7. Time in jail prior to release
8. Residence
9. Citizenship

For those inmates admitted to RID, the following additional data were collected from case files and program logs to measure what happens to offenders while assigned to the boot camp component of RID:

RID Boot Camp Data Elements

1. Tested reading and mathematics grade levels at release
2. Serious incidents
3. Drug Education scores (pre and post test measures)
4. Length of stay in RID
5. Type of termination from boot camp
6. Employment status upon release

For those inmates who successfully completed the boot camp component, and were then placed on probation for an additional 90 days of intensive supervision, a separate data collection instrument was completed by probation staff documenting and

summarizing levels of supervision and services provided by RID personnel after release from boot camp.

RID Intensive Supervision Data Elements

1. Employment status at release from probation
2. Number and type of probation contacts
3. Number and results of drug tests
4. Length of stay on probation component
5. Type of termination from intensive supervision

In addition, project staff began attending planning meetings with jail administrators prior to the entry of the first platoon and regular evaluation feedback was provided throughout the process. Evaluation team members met regularly with program personnel -- including teachers, counselors, drill instructors, probation officers and supervisory personnel -- throughout the project, not only to collect quantitative data but to discuss emerging program and evaluation issues. Project staff spent many hours onsite observing offender participation in various phases of the RID program, such as work details, school and close order drill. The researchers were also allowed to review internal memorandum and communications which dealt with issues relating to program startup and development activities, such as strategies directed toward increasing the number of offenders in the program. These qualitative data greatly enhanced evaluators' understanding

of how the RID program functioned and the degree to which it operated as originally designed by the program staff.⁵

⁵ Additional important evaluative data was to be provided from structured interviews with RID participants nearing release from the ISP component. On two separate occasions offenders were scheduled for interviews by evaluation personnel. Despite monetary incentives and ISP administrator's assurances of participation only two of approximately 50 offenders reported to ISP offices. Reluctantly, this portion of the evaluation design was abandoned.

CHAPTER VI

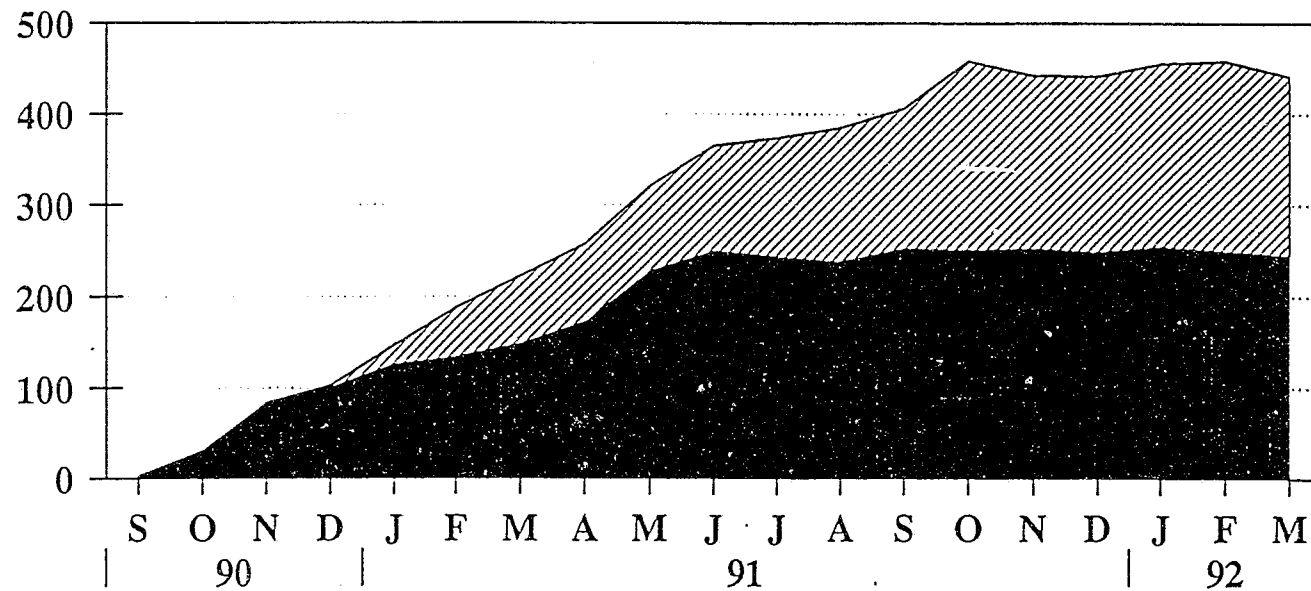
PROCESS EVALUATION RESULTS

In this Chapter, we describe the general characteristics of the RID program's growth during the first year of operation and discuss how key program structures were modified in attempts to increase referrals into the program. This is followed by descriptions of RID participant characteristics and presentation of information which compares key attributes of experimental and control group cases. Program outcome data (successes and failures) are presented for the boot camp and ISP components and characteristics of successful program completions are compared with unsuccessful case closings.

A. RID PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH

The RID program began actual operation on September 26, 1991 when the first platoon entered the boot camp facility. As the figures in Exhibit B reflect, the inmate participation rate was far below the administrators' expectations and goals. Twenty platoons were scheduled to enter the RID program between September 1990 and June 1991, with each platoon containing approximately 45 inmates per platoon. From its inception, the RID facility at the Pitchess Honor Ranch had a bed capacity of 336 inmates. Between September and December 1990, entering platoons contained an average of 23 inmates per platoon, despite staff surveys indicating that there

EXHIBIT B
RID MONTHLY POPULATION
SEPTEMBER 1990 - MARCH 1992



Capacity	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672	672
Probation	0	0	0	3	21	54	75	86	93	115	130	146	153	207	189	192	200	208	196
Boot Camp	3	31	84	100	126	134	148	172	228	250	244	239	253	251	253	249	255	250	245

Boot Camp
 Probation

were at least 250 potentially eligible male offenders processed through the courts in the target "catchman" areas every two weeks.

While the size of entering platoons steadily increased throughout the year, by fiscal year's end six platoons had contained fewer than 20 inmates and only five contained over 40 inmates in each entering platoon. During FY 1991, the average inmate population at the boot camp for the 10 months of its operation was 128 inmates. By the end of the fiscal year, 250 inmates were housed in the boot camp program, and 150 offenders were being supervised in the intensive supervision aftercare component of RID. The RID program would had to have receive 45 inmates in each of 20 platoons during the ten months of operation in order for the boot camp to have been at, or near, capacity by the end of its first year of operation. For a number of reasons, however, referrals and program admissions remained unacceptably low throughout the first fiscal year.

Due to the insufficient volume of "recruits" into the program, combined with budgetary cut-backs for all county agencies, many proponents of the county operated program found it increasingly difficult to defend further RID expenditures. In February 1991, the Sheriff's Department announced that lack of funding would lead to the termination of the program after the exit of the last platoon scheduled to be admitted in FY 1991. Under this proposal, the boot camp component would have officially ceased operations in September 1991 (12 months after admitting its first inmate) and the intensive supervision component would have terminated in December

1991. At the end of April 1991, however, bolstered in part by what was perceived as relatively positive results with the first few platoons in terms of educational achievement and lack of near-term recidivism, the decision was made to continue the program for an additional 12 months through the end of FY 1992.

The problems created by the lack of referrals to the program required changes in program operation on several different levels. First, staff resources were diverted from offender programs and directed toward program recruitment. Secondly, intake criteria were greatly relaxed in order to increase participation and initial formal screening processes were modified. Thirdly, the court jurisdictions were greatly expanded in order to increase the pool of potential referrals into the program.

Despite these efforts, participation levels remained low and costs remained high; in February 1992, county officials again decided to end the program. In April 1992, the last platoon exited boot camp and the program ceased to exist.

One of the main underlying reasons for the small number of program participants was the fact that offenders comprising the target population -- young non-violent offenders -- typically do not serve much time in jail after conviction. Inmates receiving sentences to county jail have their serving times so reduced by various types of good time credits that incentives for inmates to volunteer for 90 days of strenuous physical activity followed by 90 days of very intensive community supervision were not very great.

Original goals called for targeting inmates "likely to receive sentences of at least 270 days in jail or state prison." An inmate sentenced to one year in the county jail -- a very lengthy jail sentence -- is required to serve only 237 days of the sentence after good time credits are deducted from the sentence. Due to court ordered capacity limits placed on the county jail system, an additional 35 percent reduction is applied toward all serving time in the county jail; this means that a one year sentence actually translates into 154 days of confinement.

Further shortening the serving times are judicial case sequencing and defense counsel actions designed to delay case resolution. Pre-trial serving times are lengthy and inmates spend an average of 60 days in custody from date of arrest to case disposition. When pre-trial confinement days are credited against the net time to serve, a one year sentence can be further reduced to approximately 90 days of confinement. As a result, there remained little perceived incentive to volunteer for RID for the vast majority of eligible inmates housed in the county jail system. In response, program administrators implemented a number of changes to RID policies and procedures.

B. MODIFICATIONS TO INTAKE POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

Several important policies and procedures were changed in response to the lack of referrals, including: (1) the designation of probation personnel to identify and attract boot camp intakes; (2) the expansion of the geographical areas in the county from

which offenders would be admitted; (3) the designation of the Sheriff to assign inmates from the general population directly into boot camp; and, (4) the modification of criteria for program eligibility.

1. PROBATION DEPARTMENT INVOLVEMENT IN INTAKE PROCEDURES

The initial invitation from the Sheriff's Department to the Probation Department to participate in the RID program was the result of their desire to provide aftercare supervision for program participants. Probation personnel were not initially involved in the referral and screening process. The bulk of the intake was a result of referrals from district attorneys, public defenders and, to a lesser extent, judges. The exclusive role of RID probation staff was limited to providing transition services prior to release from boot camp and counseling, referral services and intensive case supervision in once the community and institutional.

One of the first major changes in the program was to modify established intake procedures whereby defense attorneys and prosecutors would identify candidates at the time of case filing or at preliminary hearings and refer them to the RID program at that time. This process was designed to encourage early plea bargain arrangements and move referrals to the program very early in the offenders' period of incarceration. The primary benefits anticipated from this change would be to increase the number of offenders volunteering for RID while maximizing cost savings by freeing up more general population beds for longer periods of time.

This process did not operate as expected since referrals tended to reflect traditional district attorney and defense counsel interests in sentencing. Prosecutors tended to refer cases which were not likely to result in a guilty verdict or which were likely to result in very short jail terms. Conversely, many public defenders were more inclined to refer cases that were likely to receive prison sentences.

During this period, there was a widely accepted perception among RID probation staff that key decision makers in the District Attorney's Office were generally opposed to the program. As a result, probation personnel assumed an active role both at the jail facility and in the community in identifying potential candidates, introducing the RID program concepts to defendants and recommending the program for offenders meeting eligibility for the program. Assuming the lead in public relations and education activities, the Probation Department, under the guidance and attention of probation staff assigned to the jail facility, became the principle source of referrals for the RID program.

2. INCREASING THE NUMBER OF REFERRING COURTS

Another way to obtain more participants would be to increase the number of courts from which participants could be accepted. Initially, RID cases were to be drawn from a single region containing 35 courts. Limiting this geographical area was intended to facilitate the implementation of supervision plans by minimizing travel, maximizing existing office space and increasing the amount

of time probation staff spent providing daily supervision and referral services to offenders. To increase referrals, in October 1990, two judicial districts, comprised of 35 additional courts, were added to the target area. By April 1991, RID was accepting referrals from a total of five judicial regions across the county.

Increasing the geographical area for RID referrals resulted in the team supervision concept being abandoned as well as the plan to have platoons participate in group counseling sessions in the community.

Another unanticipated effect was the diversion of the RID institutional probation staff from their original roles (e.g., transition services). Although originally they were to assume community case supervision responsibilities for boot camp graduates residing in communities nearest the boot camp facility, they now were required to supervise caseloads spread out over the county, thereby depleting the intensive aspects of the supervision.

3. ELIMINATING REQUIREMENT OF COURT ORDERS INTO RID

Since the county jail system was operating under a court order due to crowding, the Sheriff's Department personnel were very concerned about having vacant beds in their fully staffed RID program. In February 1991, it was decided that the boot camp would accept sentenced general population jail inmates meeting basic RID entry requirements without specific RID court orders. Using computer generated inmate profiles of the existing general population, sentenced inmates were contacted by RID deputies and

encouraged to volunteer for the program. By the end of FY 1991, nearly 150 of these inmates had entered boot camp.

Since these offenders, comprising 16.5 percent of the Department's boot camp intakes in FY 1991, were not ordered by the court to participate in the program, the jurisdiction of the Sheriff and Probation Departments over these offenders ended when they exited boot camp. As a consequence, probation intakes declined while the total number of inmates in the boot camp component increased. Also, contributing to reduced probation caseloads was the fact that not all inmates successfully completed the boot camp.

During the six month period in FY 1991 when boot camp graduates first moved to intensive supervision, the average daily probation caseload was 75 offenders. This represents a RID community supervision population which was 50-55 percent of the boot camp population during any month of the fiscal year. By the time it was announced that the program would be dissolved there were fewer than 20 offenders under supervision.

4. MODIFYING RID ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

To increase referrals to RID, other modifications were made to the intake and selection criteria which eased the original eligibility restrictions. First, the age restriction for entry was increased in April 1991, from an upper limit of 25 years to 29 years of age. Second, the guideline of prohibiting inmates with a history of active involvement in gang activity became increasingly

relaxed as it became apparent that the majority of inmates in the county had some degree of gang involvement.

The criteria on accepting repeat offenders and persons convicted for violent offenses were relaxed as well; these inmates generally receive the longest sentences and therefore have more incentive to volunteer for a 90 day program. To the extent possible, cases that had been automatically rejected due to the serious nature of the committing offenses were reviewed for case specific involvement in the crime. As a result, by the end of the fiscal year, fully 20 percent of all RID intakes were serving sentences for robbery and an additional 12 percent had committed various crimes against persons. Finally, due to the very large number of non-English speaking inmates in the Los Angeles County jail, RID administrators gave serious consideration to admitting Spanish speaking offenders into the program.

To summarize, RID personnel continuously modified the screening criteria to increase program referrals. Significant modifications were made to the program's original design in order to continue the operation of the program. Perhaps the single biggest problem continued to be the fact that inmates suitable for the RID program, as it was originally designed, generally do not receive jail sentences which are of sufficient duration to make the RID program attractive to them or to make it an economically viable option to the County. While drastic steps to save the program did increase referrals and program participation, they were never sufficient to bring program participation up to targeted levels.

TABLE 5
AVERAGE PLATOON SIZE

1-5	(Oct/Dec 1990)	N = 21
6-10	(Jan/Feb 1991)	N = 25
11-15	(Mar/Apr 1991)	N = 32
16-20	(May/Jun 1991)	N = 39

C. CHARACTERISTICS OF RID OFFENDERS

The study group consisted of 544 males who were admitted into the first 20 platoons admitted to the RID program between September 1990 and June 1991. While the size of the platoons increased steadily only five of the twenty groups contained over 40 entering inmates (Table 5). The first platoon exited boot camp in December 1990, and platoons of inmates graduated from the boot camp component at two week intervals thereafter.

Table 6 summarizes key RID inmate background characteristics, tested grade levels, committing offenses, type of RID admission and employment data. These data show that the vast majority of these inmates were relatively young, Hispanic or Black males. While most inmates were convicted of non-violent crimes, nearly one third of offenders' most serious committing offenses were crimes against persons such as assault, battery, arson and manslaughter. In addition, there were a substantial number of inmates incarcerated for having committed robbery. Surprisingly, only 25 percent of

TABLE 6
SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF RID ADMISSIONS
DURING FY 1991

CHARACTERISTICS	N	%
Male	544	100.0
Type of Admission		
Court Ordered	435	80.0
Sheriff Department	109	20.0
Race		
Black	160	29.4
White	98	18.0
Hispanic	264	48.5
Other	22	4.0
Primary Offense Arrest		
Person	162	29.8
Property	201	37.0
Drugs	134	24.6
Misc.	47	8.6
Tested Grade Level		
Vocabulary	528	(7.1) ¹
Comprehension	528	(6.8)
Mathematics	528	(6.1)
Employment At Arrest		
Employed Full-Time	98	30.1
Employed Part-Time	29	8.9
Unemployed	199	61.0
<hr/>		
Average Age At Arrest	21.2 years	
Average Time Between Arrest and Admission	73.0 days	
Average Time In Boot Camp	84.2 days	

¹ These figures represent tested grade levels rather than percentages.

participants were admitted to jail for drug crimes. The average age was 21.2 years.

Not surprisingly, RID participants scored well below high school achievement levels, scoring at the sixth and seventh grade level, on average, on measures of reading comprehension, vocabulary and mathematics skills. RID inmates spent an average of 73 days in jail prior to being admitted to boot camp.

D. COMPARISONS BETWEEN EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Comparisons are made between RID participants entering boot camp with the control group in Table 7.

In general, there were no substantive differences between the two groups with respect to race, age, and prior arrests. There were slight differences on the current offense with proportionately fewer drug offenders in the experimental group than in the control group. In addition, there is a greater proportion of inmates who committed person offenses -- crimes generally associated with older offenders -- in the experimental group. The control group had, on average, fewer prior documented arrests as recorded by the state's Bureau of Criminal Identification Division.

While both groups test at or below the seventh grade level on all education measures, the experimental group tested one half to one grade higher on reading comprehension and vocabulary achievement tests, and two grades higher in mathematics when compared to the control group. Our sense is that this is due, at least in part, to the differences in the test setting. The control

TABLE 7

SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF RID PARTICIPANTS
AND CONTROL GROUP

CHARACTERISTICS	RID		CONTROL	
	N	%	N	%
Total	544	100.0	216	100.0
Race				
Black	160	29.4	53	24.9
White	98	18.0	37	17.4
Hispanic	264	48.5	120	56.3
Other	22	4.0	3	1.4
Unknown	—	—	3	—
Age				
18	50	9.5	12	5.8
19	100	19.0	23	11.1
20	99	18.8	26	12.6
21	82	15.6	21	10.1
22	66	12.5	29	14.0
23	38	7.2	17	8.2
24	32	6.1	34	16.4
25 +	60	11.4	45	21.7
Missing	17	—	9	—
Average Age	21.2 years		22.0 years	
Crime				
Person	162	29.8	37	17.1
Property	201	37.0	55	25.5
Drugs	134	24.6	96	44.4
Misc.	47	8.6	28	13.0
Prior Arrests	2.30		2.13	
Tested Grade Level	(N = 529)		(N = 177)	
Vocabulary	7.1		6.5	
Comprehension	6.8		5.8	
Mathematics	6.1		4.2	

cases were typically tested in noisy and distracting jail cafeterias, while RID cases were tested in a traditional classroom environment.

In conclusion, although control and experimental cases are roughly equivalent, it is noteworthy that the control cases were more likely to have been arrested for drug crimes, less likely to have been arrested for person crimes, and scored lower on the vocabulary, comprehension and math tests.

E. BOOT CAMP PROGRAM OUTCOMES

By October 1991, all RID inmates in the study group left boot camp and had either (1) went on directly to the intensive supervision component if they had RID orders, (2) were released to the community and general probation, (3) were returned to the general jail population or (4) had some other "unsuccessful" program outcome.

Table 8 shows that 83 percent of the boot camp program successfully graduated. The most frequent reason for an unsuccessful discharge from boot camp was "medical" factors (7.9 percent of the boot camp entries and 47.3 percent of the boot camp failures) followed by disciplinary problems (6.5 percent of entries and 38.5 percent of failures). Medical releases generally refer to offenders who decided that the boot camp regimen was too rigorous. In addition, 2.4 percent (13) of all entries were taken into custody by U.S. Immigration (INS) authorities. Of these thirteen offenders, nine had received court orders to RID, but INS

TABLE 8

RID BOOT CAMP EXIT CHARACTERISTICS

CHARACTERISTICS		
	N	%
Total Exits	544	100.0
Type of Exits		
Successful	453	83.3
INS	13	2.4
Medical	43	7.9
Discipline	35	6.5
Average Time in RID		
Successful	91.4 days	
INS	—	
Medical	26.3 days	
Discipline	58.1 days	
Total	84.0 days	
Tested Grade Level Increase		
Vocabulary	+0.85	
Comprehension	+1.14	
Mathematics	+2.60	

authorities presumably deported these inmates immediately upon discharge from the county jail.

The total average time in boot camp for all types of exits was 84 days. Participants terminated for disciplinary reasons were removed from the program after an average of 58.1 days (ranging between 14-105 days); and, medical releases occurred after an average of 26.3 days (ranging between 6-71 days).

F. EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT

RID educational staff reported that 66 GEDs were earned by the 544 inmates while in boot camp and nine high school diplomas were awarded. The standardized educational tests⁶ were administered to all offenders upon entry into RID, and again during the last week before graduation from the boot camp. Increases in tested grade levels were noted for boot camp exits on all educational test scores when pre-test and post-test measures are compared (Table 8).

G. JAIL TIME COMPARISONS

It was assumed by advocates of the RID program that the boot camp would not only alleviate jail crowding by reducing overall jail lengths of stay, but that RID would also lead to diversion of a large number of offenders from the state prison system as judges would opt to sentence "prison-bound" offenders into RID. Data show that for the 216 control cases, 44 offenders (20.4 percent)

⁶ Gates-MacGinite Vocabulary and Reading Comprehension tests and the Wide Range Achievement (WRAT) Mathematics Placement Test.

received sentences of confinement in the prison system. The average state sentence for the offenders was just over 3 years, resulting in an average length of prison stay of 520 days.

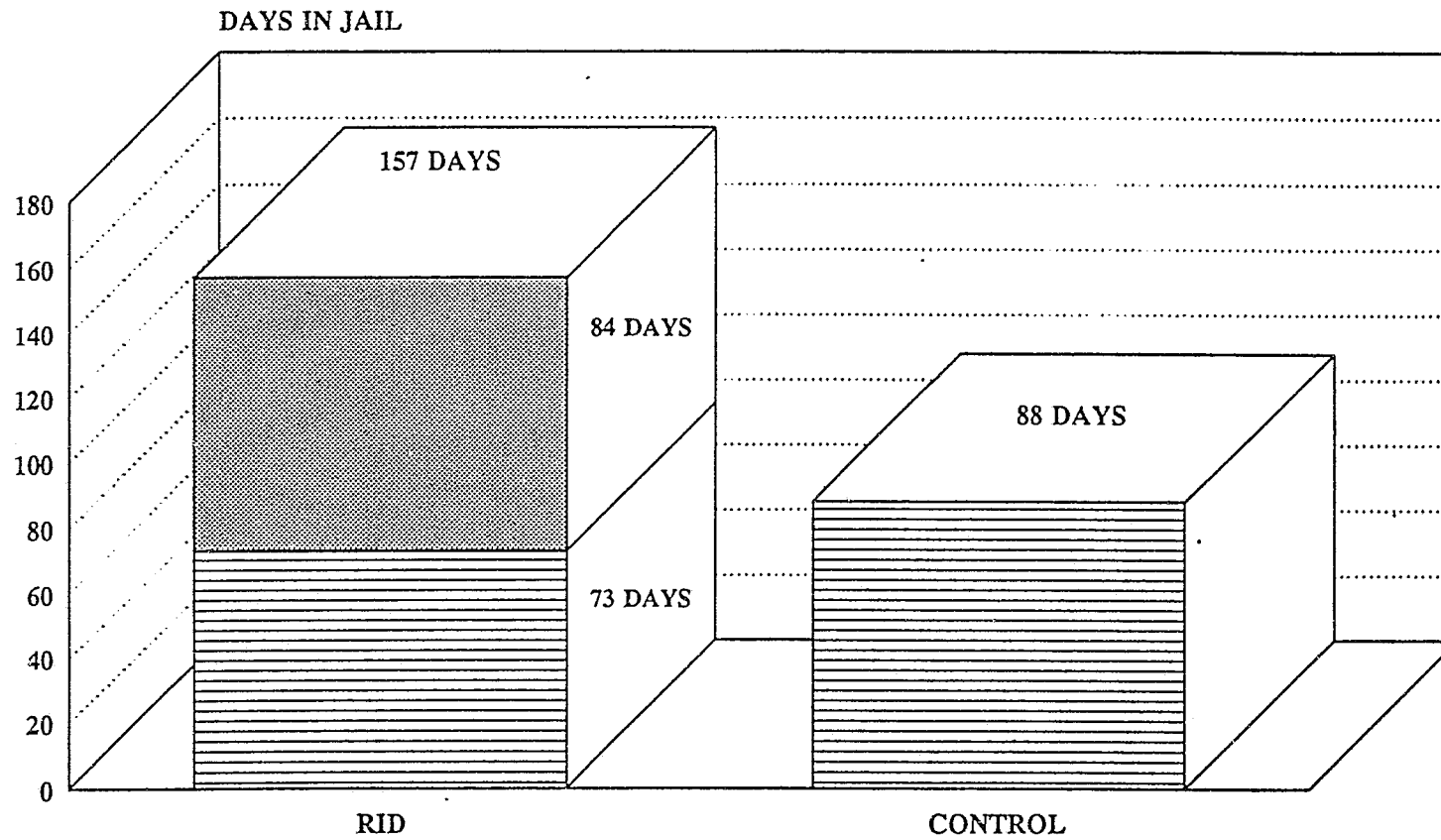
Exhibit C compares the total number of days in confinement -- including boot camp participation and prison time -- for RID participants and control group cases. RID participants remained in jail, on average, for 157 days. As previously stated, a total of 73 days were spent in the general population and 84 days of confinement in boot camp. This serving time was 78.4 percent longer than the total jail incarceration period of control group cases who exited jail after an average of 88 days, dramatically highlighting the problems associated with creating incentives to participate in the RID program.

H. INTENSIVE SUPERVISION OUTCOMES

The information that follows describes only those offenders exiting both the boot camp and intensive supervision components of the program. As referenced earlier, a number of participants did not move on to the probation component since they did not have court orders to this supervision. These cases are excluded from this analysis. Table 9 presents the "flow" of this group of participants through the two components of RID. Of the 544 offenders admitted to RID, 370 (68 percent) entered ISP.

Overall, as with the boot camp, a high percentage of offenders entering this phase of the RID program exited the program

EXHIBIT C
TOTAL LENGTH OF TIME IN JAIL
RID AND CONTROL CASES



TIME IN JAIL TIME IN BOOT CAMP

TABLE 9
RID PROGRAM EXIT STATUS

	STATUS	N	%
Enter	Boot Camp	544	100.0
Exit	Discipline	34	6.3
	Medical	43	7.9
	INS	13	2.4
	Other	1	0.2
	Success	453	83.3
	Ave # Days in Boot Camp	84.0 days	
Enter	Intensive Probation	370 ¹	100.0
Exit	Success	265	74.2
	Arrest	40	11.2
	Abscond	50	14.0
	INS	2	0.6
	Unknown	13 ²	—
	Ave # Days in ISP	81.1 days	

¹ 83 out of the 453 successful boot camp exits were sheriff-recruited for whom intensive supervision was voluntary.

² For 13 cases, program personnel were unable to establish the precise exit status of the offender.

successfully. RID participants who entered intensive supervision spent an average of 81.1 days on probation. Fully 74 percent of all RID probation exits resulted in successful terminations. Ninety-two cases (26 percent of cases for whom data are available) were terminated from this supervision phase of RID prior to the end of the program. Arrest warrants were obtained for all of these program failures (two immigration cases were deported). Fourteen percent of probation entries resulted in offenders absconding from the program and 11.2 percent resulted in arrests during their probation period.

This successful completion rate is impressive given the age (average age of 21 years) and self reported drug usage of the population. As seen in Table 10, fully 23 percent of offenders admitted to using cocaine at least once a week prior to RID participation; 11.1 percent admitted to regular use of PCP or amphetamines; and 4.3 percent used heroin at least once a week prior to program entry. Twenty-three percent of offenders exiting the probation component had drug testing court orders while on supervision. These offenders were tested for drug use an average of 4.6 times while in the program.

Table 10 also summarizes other selected variables that are expected to be related to success or failure on the intensive supervision component of RID. While Hispanics had a relatively high success rate exiting the boot camp component (85.6 percent), this ethnic group proved to be less successful on probation (71.1 percent). Their lower success rate is directly attributed to a

TABLE 10

**SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF ISP PARTICIPANTS
BY RID PROBATION EXIT TYPE**

CHARACTERISTICS	FAILURES ¹		SUCCESSSES		TOTAL ²	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	90	24.3	265	71.6	370	100.0
Race						
Black	26	25.0	71	68.3	104	28.1
White	14	22.6	47	75.8	62	16.8
Hispanic	49	25.8	135	71.1	190	51.4
Other	1	7.1	12	85.7	14	3.8
Pre-Employment Status*						
Full-Time	7	7.1	92	92.9	99	26.8
Part-Time	7	20.0	28	80.0	35	9.5
Unemployed	71	34.6	132	64.4	205	55.4
Post-Employment Status*						
Full-Time	16	9.3	155	90.1	172	46.5
Part-Time	8	11.0	65	89.0	73	19.7
Unemployed	58	63.7	32	35.2	91	24.6
School	0	—	5	100.0	5	1.4
Offense Charge*						
Drugs	26	31.0	54	64.3	84	22.7
Property	45	29.6	104	68.4	152	41.1
Person	14	12.8	88	80.7	109	29.5
Miscellaneous	5	20.0	19	76.0	25	6.8
Age At Arrest						
18-19	35	23.7	106	71.6	148	40.0
20-21	25	20.5	96	78.7	122	33.0
22-24	20	29.9	41	61.2	67	18.1
25 +	9	30.0	20	66.7	30	8.1
Drug History						
Cocaine	24	28.7	61	71.3	86	23.2
PCP/Amphetamines	9	22.0	32	78.0	41	11.1
Heroin	6	37.5	10	62.5	16	4.3
Drug Testing Ordered*	30	35.3	54	63.5	85	23.0
Offenders Testing Positive*	16	66.7	7	29.2	24	6.5
Platoon						
1-5	24	38.1	38	60.3	63	17.0
6-10	15	21.7	54	78.3	69	18.7
11-15	23	21.7	82	77.4	106	28.7
16-20	28	21.2	91	68.9	132	35.7
Probation Contacts						
Face-to-Face†	N=76	8.8	N=257	14.0	334	12.8
Phone†	N=76	5.9	N=257	7.8	334	7.4
Group†	N=76	2.1	N=257	5.7	334	4.9
Other	N=76	1.3	N=257	0.9	334	1.0
Average Total Contacts†	N=76	18.1	N=257	28.1	334	26.0

¹ Failures include participants who were either arrested or absconded while on RID probation, they do not include INS holds or unknown exit types.

² Failures and Successes do not sum to Total due to data not listed for INS holds and unknown exit types.

* Chi-Square significant at $p < .05$

† T-test significant at $p < .05$

higher rate of absconding, which may have been related to their immigration status. Black participants, with the lowest successful boot camp completion rate, also were the least successful on ISP.

Success rates are higher for offenders whose committing offenses were person crimes (80.7 percent) as compared to property offenses (68.4 percent) and drug crimes (64.3 percent). In addition, and somewhat surprisingly, the younger age groups of offenders, ages 18-21, had the highest rates of success. Fully 71.6 percent of offenders 18-19 years of age succeeded on ISP and 78.7 percent of offenders 20-21 years old were successful.

While the completion rate rose somewhat after the first five platoons moved through the program, the proportion of successful terminations from RID Intensive Supervision remained fairly constant for the middle platoons (platoons six through 15) where 77-78 percent successfully exited ISP. The proportion of cases successfully exiting from ISP dropped to 69 percent for the last five platoons.

Securing employment was strongly associated with successful termination. Approximately 90 percent of the RID offenders who found full-time or part-time employment during ISP successfully completed RID. The success rate for RID offenders who were unemployed at the time of exit from RID ISP dropped significantly to 35.2 percent.

RID participant's supervision levels were rated using the Department's standardized Risk Assessment instrument. In order to get some preliminary indication of the specific Risk Score items

contained on the Department's assessment instrument, individual item scores were classified by program outcome. This information is presented in Table 11.

Many of the individual items are correlated with ISP success, they are: (1) percentage of time employed during the 12 months preceding entry into boot camp; (2) absence of prior robbery or burglary convictions; (3) number of prior probation supervision events; (4) number of prior probation revocations; (5) exhibiting motivation to change; and (6) number of prior felony convictions prior to program entry. Each of these items proved to be highly statistically significant and overall the Probation Risk Assessment instrument proved to be a good "predictor" of success or failure. Consistent with other analyses, employment history appears to be the best predictor of program success, where 97 percent of all offenders employed for a time of 60 percent or more during the year prior to entering RID successfully completed the program.

TABLE 11

RISK ASSESSMENT SCORES BY TYPE OF RID PROBATION EXIT

CHARACTERISTICS	FAILURES ¹		SUCCESSSES		TOTAL ²	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Address Change						
None	34	20.0	136	80.0	170	45.9
Once	20	26.0	56	72.7	77	20.8
Twice or More	17	34.7	32	65.3	49	13.2
Employment Time in Past Year*						
60% or More	2	3.1	62	96.9	64	17.3
40% - 59%	17	25.4	50	74.6	67	18.1
Under 40%	52	31.3	113	68.1	166	44.9
Alcohol Use						
No Problem	41	23.3	134	76.1	176	47.6
Occasional Use	21	24.4	65	75.6	86	23.2
Abuse	9	26.5	25	73.5	34	9.2
Drug Use						
No Problem	26	18.6	114	81.4	140	37.8
Occasional Use	16	25.4	46	73.0	63	17.0
Abuse	29	31.2	64	68.8	93	25.1
Attitude*						
Motivated	18	17.5	85	82.5	103	27.8
Unwilling	22	19.0	94	81.0	116	31.4
Negative	31	39.7	46	59.0	78	21.1
Age at First Conviction						
Under 20	48	25.8	137	73.7	186	50.3
20-23	13	20.3	51	79.7	64	17.3
24 and Above	10	21.7	36	78.3	46	12.4
Number of Prior Probation Supervisions*						
None	24	17.3	115	82.7	139	37.6
One or More	47	30.1	108	69.2	156	42.2
Number of Prior Probation Revocations*						
None	49	20.6	189	79.4	238	64.3
One or More	22	37.9	35	60.3	58	15.7
Number of Felony Convictions*						
None	34	19.2	143	80.8	177	47.8
One	26	32.5	53	66.3	80	21.6
Two or More	11	28.2	28	71.8	39	10.5
Prior Convictions For:*						
Nothing	16	14.4	94	84.7	111	30.0
Burglary, Robbery	55	29.7	130	70.3	185	50.0
Prior Convictions For:						
Nothing	71	24.4	219	75.3	291	78.6
Forgery	0	—	5	100.0	5	1.4
Average Total Risk Score†	N=71	18.1 pts	N=225	13.8 pts	297	14.9 pts

¹ Failures include participants who were either arrested or absconded while on RID probation, they do not include INS holds or unknown exit types.

² Failures and Successes do not sum to Total due to data not listed for INS holds and unknown exit types.

* Chi-Square significant at $p < .05$

† T-test significant at $p < .05$

CHAPTER VII

THE IMPACT OF RID ON INSTITUTIONAL AND RE-ARREST BEHAVIOR

In this chapter, RID's capacity to alter the behavior of participants while in the program and after release is examined. After examining the effects of the boot camp on institutional conduct, the remainder of the chapter is devoted to comparing a variety of re-arrest measures between the experimental and control groups. Specifically, re-arrest rates for both groups are presented for three, six, nine and 12 months at-risk periods following release from jail. Characteristics of recidivating and non-recidivating offender sub-groups are compared and conclusions are drawn relating to the success of the RID goal of reducing crime rates.

A. IMPACT ON INSTITUTIONAL BEHAVIOR AND SERIOUS INCIDENTS

One of the prime immediate objectives of the boot camp program is to instill in the cadets a strong value for conforming to the institutional rules. Participants are required daily to adhere to a set of activities and rules that other inmates in the jail are not required to follow. Indeed, one of the most impressive sights while visiting the boot camp was the sense of inmates behaving very differently than other inmates. And, given the high ratio of staff to inmates, there is little question that inmate control is enhanced in this military type boot camp setting.

Based on these factors, one would expect that the RID program would experience fewer incidents than at other jail housing units and that it would represent a "safer" place to do time. To evaluate this claim, we compared reported serious incidents per 1,000 inmate population for the boot camp with three other jail settings (see Table 12). In this comparison, the "Ranch" rates are the most comparable as they reflect housing units located at the same facility as the boot camp that also houses primarily minimum custody inmates. The North/South complex is also located at the Pitchess facility but houses medium custody inmates. The "Division" rates represent incident rates for the entire jail system (or custody division).

Looking just at the "Inmate on Inmate" and "Inmate on Staff" rates, the RID program reported a higher rate than the Ranch facilities but comparable or lower than the North/South or Division rates. This is somewhat surprising in that the boot camp was program was extremely well-staffed with security personnel. One might speculate that the higher inmate on inmate rates might have gone unnoticed and/or unreported in other areas of the jail complex where supervision levels were much lower.

The other measures of institutional misconduct show that the boot camp had a far lower or non-existent rate of misconduct. The most commonly reported incidents in boot camp were insubordination and confiscation of contraband, such as cigarettes. Serious acts of violence, such as sexual assaults, assaults with weapons and homicides, did not occur in RID.

TABLE 12

**FY 1991 SERIOUS INCIDENT RATES
PER 1,000 INMATES¹**

	INMATE ON INMATE	INMATE ON STAFF	CONFISCATE WEAPONS	DRUGS	ESCAPE	EXTREME ² VIOLENCE	SEX ASSAULT	TOTAL
RID	46.4	5.1	0	0	2.7	0	0	54.2
Ranch ³	9.9	3.1	15.3	5.2	1.6	3.9	0	39.0
North/South ⁴	48.5	10.7	6.2	1.1	0.4	6.2	0	73.1
Division	61.9	8.4	7.7	8.2	1.5	11.6	0	99.3

¹ Quarterly averages; RID participants did not enter the program until the end of the first quarter, therefore RID data available for only three of the quarters.

² Includes homicide, suicide, assault with weapons.

³ The Ranch (located at the Pitchess Honor facility) houses primarily minimum security inmates.

⁴ The North/South complex, also at the Pitchess facility, houses primarily medium security inmates.

Incidents of this type occurred in other facilities at rates between three to 11.6 per 1,000 inmates. There were no reports of drug abuse or confiscation of weapons in RID. In summary, RID generally succeeded in providing for a very safe jail environment for both staff and inmates.

B. RE-ARRESTS

All offenders in the study were tracked for a minimum of 12 months following release from the county jail boot camp program (RID participants) or the general jail population (control cases). For 44 control cases who received short sentences to the state prison system, tracking began upon release from state prison. Any documented arrest occurring after release was recorded as a recidivism event and entered into the project data base. Also recorded were the most serious arrest charges and their subsequent dispositions including, when appropriate, sentence length. Sentences of confinement were used to calculate periods of time for which offenders were "not eligible for arrest." This time was used to calculate the period of time offenders were considered to be "at risk" in the community.

To be considered a recidivist event, an arrest must have occurred after release from incarceration. Technical violation warrants were not counted as recidivist events for two reasons. First, administrators of the ISP component of the RID program were very reluctant to violate RID participants for technical reasons and they had a stake in the success of offenders in the program.

Warrants were issued by ISP officers in cases where offenders refused to participate in the program and/or absconded. As previously noted in Table 9, 50 participants (14 percent) of ISP were removed from the program for this reason. While drug testing of offenders was common, negative tests were not considered sufficient grounds for revoking probation.

Second, unlike prison boot camp programs, some offenders in the study group received short jail sentences and either minimal or no periods of probation making the likelihood of re-incarceration for technical probation revocations either impossible or highly unlikely.

Criminal history records were requested from the state's Bureau of Criminal Statistics as opposed to the county's criminal arrest records. This was done to ensure we would capture the most serious arrests that are accurately reported to the state (felonies) and would also take into account arrests that occurred outside of Los Angeles County.

Although repeated attempts were made to acquire complete re-arrest information for all study cases, this was not possible. In some cases, the BCS was unable to locate a state criminal record history based upon the identifiers provided by NCCD. These cases probably represent offenders who had been detained for a low level misdemeanor crime that was eventually dropped by the District Attorney and who committed no additional crimes after being released from the jail. As seen in Table 13, arrest data were available for 96 percent (733 of 760) of the study sample; data

TABLE 13
RECIDIVISM TRACKING STUDY CASES

	TOTAL	ARREST DATA AVAILABLE	
	N	N	%
Total	760	733	96.4
RID	544	528	97.1
Control	216	205	94.9
Court-Ordered ISP	435	426	97.9
No Court Orders ISP	109	102	93.6
Boot Camp Successes	453	442	97.6
Boot Camp Failures	77	73	94.8

were available for 95 percent of the control cases compared to 97 percent of experimental cases. Data were available for 98 percent of RID participants ordered into ISP compared to 94 percent with no court orders, and 98 percent of RID participants successfully exiting boot camp compared to 95 percent who failed the boot camp portion of RID.

1. 12 MONTH RE-ARREST RATES

The first recidivism measure reports all arrests that occurred within 12 months of release from custody without controlling for time at risk in the community. Nearly half (47.3 percent) of the boot camp participants (including boot camp dropouts) were re-arrested within 12 months of release from the boot camp (Table 14). The average number of days till first arrest was 132 days. For the control cases 44.3 percent were arrested within 12 months of release from jail. The average time to first arrest was 26 days sooner then for the experimentals (106 days).

It will be recalled that three groups, control cases, offenders recruited into the program by the sheriff without court orders, and RID participants failing to successfully complete boot camp, did not receive ISP supervision. Significantly, a lower proportion of the RID cases that were not court ordered were re-arrested (39.2 percent versus 49.2 percent). Offenders in the "successful" and "unsuccessful" groups were re-arrested at approximately the same rate (48.6 percent versus 43.8 percent respectively). On average, offenders who were released to ISP or

TABLE 14

12 MONTH FOLLOW-UP RESULTS BY SAMPLE TYPE

	SAMPLE SIZE	RECIDIVISM 12 MONTHS FOLLOWING RELEASE		AVERAGE NUMBER DAYS UNTIL FIRST ARREST
	N	N	%	
Sample				
RID	528	250	47.3	132 days
Control	183 ¹	81	44.3	106 days
ISP Participation				
Court-Ordered	426	209	49.2	137 days
No Court Orders	102	40	39.2	105 days
Boot Camp				
Successful	442	215	48.6	137 days
Failure	73	32	43.8	104 days

¹ Does not include 22 control cases with prison length of stay greater than 365 days.

who successfully completed the boot camp program had a longer time period until the first arrest. These results suggest that ISP participation may play a role in slightly delaying the time to first arrest but not in the overall chance of re-arrest within a 12 month time frame.

2. PRE AND POST RELEASE SUPPRESSION EFFECT RATES

Analysis of suppression effect rates provides a measure of the degree to which participation in the RID program affected post-release criminal behavior relative to pre-incarceration criminal behavior. The suppression effect measures the difference between the number of arrests 12 months prior to a treatment or intervention (RID participation) and the number of arrests 12 months after this intervention. A negative value indicates more arrests occurred after the intervention than before, while a positive value denotes fewer arrests following the intervention. The higher the positive value (ranging between zero and one) the greater the intervention effect in terms of reducing the average number of arrests.

The number of arrests for each group declined following their jail experiences (Table 15). There was a slightly greater suppression effect demonstrated for RID participants than for control group cases as well as for sheriff-recruited than for court-ordered cases, and for unsuccessful boot camp completers when

TABLE 15
SUPPRESSION EFFECT RATES BY SAMPLE

	N	AVERAGE ARRESTS 12 MONTHS PRIOR TO IMPRISONMENT ¹	AVERAGE ARRESTS 12 MONTHS AFTER IMPRISONMENT	SUPPRESSION EFFECT ¹
Total	711	2.28	.72	.68 (.62) ²
RID	528	2.34	.71	.70 (.64)
Control	183	2.12	.75	.65 (.57)
ISP Participation				
Court-Ordered	426	2.31	.74	.68 (.63)
No Court Orders	102	2.44	.57	.77 (.67)
Boot Camp				
Success	442	2.26	.74	.67 (.62)
Failure	73	2.79	.60	.78 (.72)

¹ Includes the instant offense resulting in the imprisonment for which the inmate was eligible for sample selection.

² Parenthetical values are non-aggregated suppression effect rates.

compared with offenders exiting boot camp successfully.⁷ However, for each group comparison, the observed differences in the suppression effect associated with program intervention were not substantively significant.

3. RECIDIVISM RATES FOR COMPARABLE AT-RISK PERIODS

The third measure of recidivism controls for comparable at-risk periods. This level of analysis is important since, as will be shown in the next chapter, some offenders were incarcerated for substantial periods of time during the 12 month follow-up period with little opportunity to be arrested while others may have been confined for shorter periods of time and therefore had substantially more opportunity to be arrested. In this section we attempt to account for this by either extending the length of follow-up for certain offenders who had periodic and short periods of confinement while incarcerated or by deleting them from the analysis if they were imprisoned for the entire follow-up period.

Unfortunately, controlling for risk of arrest causes significant sample attrition effects. Of the 733 cases in the analysis, 676 (92.2 percent of the total) were at risk in the community for three months; 619 (84.4 percent of the total) were at risk for six months; 517 (70.5 percent) were at risk for nine months and 284 offenders (38.7 percent of the total study group) were at risk for a full 12 months. A total of 38.6 percent of RID

⁷ Offenders removed from boot camp by immigration authorities and for whom we were unable to determine exit status were removed from this analysis.

cases (204 of 528) and 39.0 percent of control cases (80 of 205) were at risk for 12 months. These attrition results may well bias our results in unknown ways. Nonetheless we present these results as they show consistency regardless of the risk window criteria used.

Table 16 presents comparisons of recidivism rates at each of the four at-risk periods (three, six, nine, and 12 months). Once again, no statistically significant differences in rates of re-arrest were found between the four sub-groups for the four time periods. The only change to this pattern was the 12 month rates for the ISP Participation group which had a significantly higher recidivism rate. Earlier we had noted that the time to arrest for boot camp graduates who went through the ISP component was 30 days longer than for those who did not. But here we observe that offenders who failed to complete the boot camp program had a slightly lower re-arrest rate and those who were not exposed to the ISP component had a far lower re-arrest rate. From this it can be concluded that while intensive probation may slightly suppress recidivism immediately following release from incarceration, this effect is gone within 12 months. Moreover, there is some preliminary evidence that ISP somehow increased the probability of re-arrest. However, this conclusion is tempered based on the small number of cases involved in the analysis (46) and the unknown effects of sample attrition that may be occurring.

TABLE 16
OFFENDER RECIDIVISM RATES
INTERIM MONTHS AT RISK

TOTAL N		3 MONTHS			6 MONTHS			9 MONTHS			12 MONTHS		
		RISK	ARREST	RECIDIVISM RATE	RISK	ARREST	RECIDIVISM RATE	RISK	ARREST	RECIDIVISM RATE	RISK	ARREST	RECIDIVISM RATE
		N	N	%	N	N	%	N	N	%	N	N	%
Total	733	676	107	15.8	619	144	23.3	517	153	29.6	284	104	36.6
RID	528	496	76	15.3	459	106	23.1	385	113	29.4	204	76	37.3
Control	205	180	31	17.2	160	38	23.8	132	40	30.3	80	28	35.0
ISP Participation													
Court-Ordered	426	399	59	14.8	370	87	23.5	310	94	30.3	158	64	40.5
No Court Orders	102	96	17	17.7	88	19	21.6	75	19	25.3	46	12	26.1
Boot Camp													
Success	442	416	65	15.6	390	92	23.6	352	105	29.8	184	69	37.5
Failure	73	68	11	16.2	59	13	22.0	28	7	25.0	20	7	35.0

C. PREDICTORS OF NON-RECIDIVISTS

The final analysis tried to identify those offender attributes that separate successful, and non-successful boot camp participants in terms of the likelihood of re-arrest for the 12 month at-risk time frame. Comparisons are made between recidivist and non-recidivist boot camp graduates on several demographic, criminal activity and program variables. Nearly two-thirds (63 percent of the cases) that were at-risk for 12 full months did not recidivate.

Of all of the individual items examined only a few proved to be marginally related to recidivism. Relative to race, Black and White participants were more successful than Hispanics and "other" ethnic groups in the community. Approximately 26 percent of Black participants and 32 percent of White offenders were re-arrested during the tracking period as compared to nearly half of the Hispanic graduates (47 percent).

In terms of the initial offenses committed at the time of admission to boot camp, those who had committed a property offense had a slightly higher re-arrest rate (41 percent) while those convicted of drugs had a lower re-arrest rate (33 percent).

Both the number of prior arrests and probation composite "risk" scores proved to be related to successful completion of ISP with three of the risk score items being associated with recidivism (prior alcohol use, number of prior probation supervisions and number of prior felony corrections).⁸

⁸ The risk score is an objective assessment tool that closely resembles objective risk instruments used by probation and parole agencies throughout the country.

Findings associated with measures on educational attainment generally show no effects. Non-recidivists demonstrated slightly greater increases in the areas of mathematics and reading comprehension tests administered at the beginning and end of their boot camp experiences. Recidivists showed somewhat greater improvement in the area of vocabulary recognition. In addition, approximately 42 percent of offenders receiving GED awards while in boot camp were re-arrested during the 12 month tracking period.

With respect to probation supervision, offenders who did not recidivate reported an average of 28.3 contacts versus 24.7 contacts for recidivists. This slight difference may simply be a reflection offenders who recidivate being less available for probation supervision rather than probation contacts impacting recidivism.

Less ambiguous are the findings related to employment at the time of graduation from boot camp. Of the 82 boot camp graduates who had full time jobs when released to the community, 54 offenders (65.9 percent) were not re-arrested within 12 months of being at risk. In comparison, only 41 percent of unemployed offenders succeeded in not being re-arrested.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COSTS OF RID

In this chapter we examine the costs of operating the RID program to determine whether or not the boot camp and aftercare follow-up provided by the probation department. These costs are then compared with the costs of processing the control cases who represent what would have happened to the RID cases had it not existed. Throughout the cost analysis we attempt to compare the costs of the true RID program that includes the 90 day boot camp phase followed by the 90 days of ISP. The control group costs are based on the court dispositions handed down by the courts and the estimated costs associated with each disposition.

A. THE COSTS AND FUNDING SOURCES OF RID

In developing the cost analysis of RID, three cost scenarios to reflect differing levels of program utilization that occurred while the program were operationalized. Scenario one reflects the first year (FY 1991) of actual expenditures based on the actual average daily population (ADP). The second scenario reflects greater utilization and expenditures that occurred in FY 1992 even though the program was still operating below its rated capacity. The third and final scenario is a "best case" cost analysis that assumes full capacity for the RID program throughout the year. Each of these scenarios illustrate how the daily costs of RID decline and become more competitive as the ADP increases.

The RID program's first year initial appropriation totalled \$3,854,943 with \$2,449,169 allocated to the RID boot camp component and another \$1,405,774 allocated for the intensive supervision phase (Table 17). This budget was designed to support a boot camp program with a full bed capacity. As noted earlier, during the two year life of the program neither the boot camp nor the ISP aftercare component reached their projected average daily populations (ADP).

Forty-three percent (\$1,656,184) of the boot camp's initially authorized appropriation came from the Sheriff's Drug Forfeiture Fund which represent assets confiscated and auctioned off from convicted drug dealers. These funds were allocated primarily to cover the costs of creating 22 Deputy Sheriff positions and administrative support staff (including over-time). The remaining portion of the boot camp's appropriation (\$792,985) came from the Sheriff's Inmate Welfare Fund and were directed toward providing equipment, clothing, bedding and services. Additional appropriations totalling \$1,520,125 were later made available through the Sheriff's General Fund.

However, these funding sources did not account for all of the expenditures associated with the boot camp program. There were 22 additional deputy sheriff positions who were assigned to the boot camp barracks at the Pitchess Honor Ranch facility prior to the implementation of RID and who remained assigned after it began to operate. Furthermore, the boot camp was supported in a number of ways by the jail system infrastructure, incurring costs that were

TABLE 17

RID APPROPRIATION FY 1991

Sheriff's Boot Camp		\$2,449,169
Drug Forfeiture Fund	\$1,656,184	
Inmate Welfare Fund	792,985	
Sheriff's General Fund		1,520,125
Probation ISP		1,405,774
Total RID Appropriation		\$5,375,068

substantial and difficult to isolate, such as food service, data processing, medical, transportation, and central office support expenditures.

To account for these costs, NCCD requested that the Sheriff's Department estimate the costs of these additional personnel and related administrative support costs. In essence they reflect the daily costs of housing an inmate absent any special programming costs like the RID program. The Department set this daily rate at \$31.41 for FY 1991 and increased it to \$35.77 in FY 1992.⁹

In terms of estimating the 90 day probation ISP costs, we simply divided the annual probationer ADP by the probation funds that were expended each year. We were not able to include the probation department's over-head rate meaning that the true RID ISP costs are slightly under-estimated. Table 18 summarizes the estimated daily RID program rates for both the boot camp and the ISP component using the three cost scenarios.

Clearly this was a very expensive and well funded boot camp program. Even under the best case scenario (full capacity) the daily rate of the boot camp is approximately \$57. In retrospect, administrative staff indicated that it would have been possible to significantly reduce these operating costs in the future had the program been continued by eliminating many staff positions and reducing over-time costs.

⁹ Source: Office of the Auditor-Controller, County of Los Angeles.

TABLE 18
RID COST COMPARISONS

	1990-1991	1991-1992	1991-1992 Full Capacity Assumption
I. Boot Camp			
A. Annual RID Costs	\$1,559,631 ¹	\$2,629,051	\$2,629,051
B. ADP	128	253	336
C. Cost per Day (A/B/365)	\$33.36	\$28.47	\$21.44
D. Sheriff Maintenance Costs	\$31.41 ²	\$35.77 ³	\$35.77
E. Total Costs	\$64.77	\$64.24	\$57.21
II. ISP Probation			
A. Annual Costs	\$1,405,774	\$1,400,000	\$1,400,000
B. ADP	46	189	336
C. Costs per Day (A/B/365)	\$83.67	\$20.28	\$11.41

¹ Though a total of \$3,969,294 were appropriated, the actual expenditures totalled \$1,559,631.

² See Appendix B for elaboration of these costs.

³ Official FY 1991 routine daily maintenance costs.

B. COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONTROL CASES

In order to compute the comparable control group costs, one must measure the court dispositions and varying periods of correctional supervision or incarceration as determined by the courts. It should be pointed out here, that in order for the RID program to be cost-effective, given the disappointing recidivism rates reported in the previous chapter, the court dispositions need to reflect the most expensive forms of correctional supervision (i.e., imprisonment).

As shown in Table 19, only 20 percent of the control case dispositions resulted in a prison term with a prison term averaging approximately three years and an expected average length of stay of 520 days. Approximately one-third (32 percent) of the control cases received no court disposition meaning that the case resulted in no conviction. Another 37 percent received a straight probation term with time credited spent in pretrial detention. A small proportion (13 percent) received a straight jail term with no probation term.

The prison bound group is most significant as it illustrates how a jail boot camp program can become cost effective by reducing the total amount of incarceration. Had most of the experimental cases represented prison diversions the amount of averted incarceration would have been substantial. But because it failed to do this due to resistance from the prosecutors and the courts to refer a significant number of program referrals, the boot camp program was not cost effective to the jail system. It should be

TABLE 19

SENTENCING DISPOSITION FOR CONTROL CASES

DISPOSITION	N	%	SENTENCE LENGTH	JAIL LOS	PRISON LOS
Prison Sentence	44	20.4	36.8 months	71.0 days ¹	519.5 days
Jail Sentence	27	12.5	234.1 days	136.1 days ²	N/A
Probation Sentence	79	36.6	35.2 months	95.7 days ³	N/A
Sentence Suspended/ No Conviction	69	31.9	N/A	70.7 days ⁴	N/A
Total	216 ⁵	100.0	N/A	88.4 days ⁶	N/A

¹ Jail LOS data missing on 5 cases (N = 39).

² Jail LOS data missing on 1 case (N = 26); Jail LOS includes pretrial and sentence time served.

³ Jail LOS data missing on 12 cases and Jail LOS excludes 3 cases also receiving jail sentence (N = 64).

⁴ Jail LOS data missing on 11 cases (N = 58).

⁵ N column sums to greater than 216 due to multiple non-suspended sentences — 3 cases receiving jail sentence also received probation sentence.

⁶ Jail LOS data missing on 29 cases (N = 187).

added here that the aversion of imprisonment only benefits the state prison system and not county government.

To determine more precisely the costs of the control group we calculated the relative costs for each of the alternative dispositions along with the RID program costs (Table 20). In making these estimates, the following assumptions were made:

- State costs for housing the prison sentenced inmates were based on the estimated LOS shown in Table 20 as well as an estimated 12 months of parole supervision.
- Regular probation supervision costs for the control cases beyond the 90 day period were included for the RID cases. It was also assumed that all offenders who were placed on probation would spend 36 months of regular supervision less time spent in jail awaiting final court disposition or as part of the total jail sentence.
- As there were no differences in the recidivism rates for control and experimental costs, the criminal justice and victim costs associated with these crimes are assume to be equal.

As shown in Table 20, the RID program was far more expensive than all of the other dispositions with the exception of the prison disposition group. Because the RID cases were exposed to longer and more expensive forms of correctional supervision, they were far more expensive to local government than other court sanctions. Conversely, had RID focused more on prison bound inmates, it would have been a less expensive sanction. However, these averted costs would only benefit state government.

For these reasons, jail operated boot camps can only be of value to local government under two conditions:

- Condition 1: That it accept a high proportion of prison bound offenders;

TABLE 20
COMPARATIVE COSTS BY DISPOSITION

COURT DISPOSITIONS					
COST FACTOR	RID	PRISON	JAIL/PROBATION	JAIL	NO CONVICTION
Jail Months ¹	2.3 mos	2.4 mos	3 mos	4.5 mos	2.4 mos
Costs	\$2,468	\$2,575	\$3,219	\$4,829	\$2,575
Boot Camp Months ²	3 mos	0 mos	0 mos	0 mos	0 mos
Costs	\$5,782	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
ISP Months ³	3 mos	0 mos	0 mos	0 mos	0 mos
Costs	\$1,026	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Probation Months	27.7 mos	0 mos	33 mos	0 mos	0 mos
Costs	\$3,324	\$0	\$3,960	\$0	\$0
Prison Months	0 mos	17 mos	0 mos	0 mos	0 mos
Costs	\$0	\$29,257	\$0	\$0	\$0
Parole Months	0 mos	12 mos	0 mos	0 mos	0 mos
Costs	\$0	\$3,552	\$0	\$0	\$0
Total Months	36 mos	31.4 mos	36 mos	4.5 mos	2.4 mos
Cost Per Case	\$12,600	\$35,384	\$7,179	\$4,829	\$2,575

¹ Monthly jail costs estimated at \$1,073/month

² Monthly boot camp costs estimated at \$1,927/month

³ Monthly ISP supervision costs estimated at \$342/month

⁴ Monthly probation supervision costs estimated at \$120/month

⁵ Monthly prison costs estimated at \$1,721/month

⁶ Monthly parole supervision costs estimated at \$296/month

Condition 2: That the state reimburse the county for its diversionary efforts.

Should these two conditions not exist, jail operated boot camps will be of little if any value to local government.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The L.A. Sheriff's Department identified four primary goals that would serve as measures of how well the RID program was operating and achieving its purpose: reduce jail overcrowding, reduce recidivism, improve inmate control and reduce costs of incarceration. Our conclusions associated with each of these goals are summarized below.

A. IMPROVE INMATE CONTROL

Overall, the program appeared to have achieved the goal of creating a safer environment as measured by the absence of levels of violence associated with incarceration in general jail populations. There were no reports of serious incidents such as violent physical inmate on inmate or inmate on staff assaults, drug abuse and distribution. While there were reported incidents of inmate fighting, the vast majority of "write-ups" were for insubordination to officers.

This is to be expected in a controlled boot camp environment requiring strict enforcement of rules and regulations in addition to constant supervision. It is likely that most incidents in the boot camp program would go unreported in the general jail population.

B. REDUCE CROWDING IN THE COUNTY JAIL

In assessing this findings one is reminded that the Los Angeles Sheriff operates one of the largest jail systems in the world. The current inmate population exceeds 20,000 inmates with over 250,000 jail admissions occurring each year. Given the overall size of the jail system, it would be naive to expect a single program with a bed capacity below 350 to have any measurable effect on this jail population.

Furthermore, had the RID program admitted inmates who otherwise would have spent more than 90 days in the county jail, some claims could have been made that the potential for some level of bed savings might have been possible. But even this very modest goal was not obtained. To the contrary, RID may be exacerbating crowded conditions by under-utilizing available bed space and admitting offenders who would otherwise spend shorter periods of time in confinement.

Analysis of serving time data associated with control group cases suggest that RID inmates spent longer periods of time in jail than if they had accepted normal punishment from the courts. The control group cases' total average time in jail from the date of arrest to the date of release from the general jail population was 88 days. In comparison, RID inmates remained confined for 157 days with an average of 73 days in pre-trial status and 84 days in the boot camp program. Inmates suitable for the RID program, as it was designed, did not receive jail sentences which were of sufficient

duration to make the program an economically viable option for the community.

It remained a possibility that crowding may have been reduced by the RID program if it was found that offenders were "rehabilitated" or deterred from committing future crimes regardless of the length of any sentence resulting from original crimes. However, the re-arrest data, as summarized below, revealed no differences in rates of recidivism.

C. REDUCE RECIDIVISM

It was hoped that participation in RID would lower the probability of offenders recidivating and returning to the criminal justice system, and a number of program elements were directed toward this goal. While participation in boot camp and follow-up intensive supervision did appear to delay returns to criminality as measured by rates of re-arrest, there was no evidence to suggest that RID substantially affected recidivism rates after 12 months in the community. Re-arrest rates for RID participants and control cases were essentially the same regardless of the follow-up period applied to the control and experimental cases.

D. REDUCE COSTS OF INCARCERATION

Closely related to impacting overcrowding, cost benefits are were expected to accrue since: (1) RID inmates would spend less time in unsentenced status; (2) costly trial costs would be avoided by early plea agreements; (3) total periods of incarceration would

be reduced; and (4) RID participants would be less likely to be re-arrested and returned to the criminal justice system.

The costs of incarceration were not reduced by the RID program. The RID inmates were confined for longer periods of time in both pre-trial and sentenced status and at costs substantially greater than those associated with non-RID inmates. The results of previous research suggest that a short-term incarceration program can be designed and implemented so that it has at least a modest positive impact on reducing costs and reducing facility crowding if inmates are admitted who would ordinarily receive lengthy sentences (Mackenzie and Parent, 1991). Consequently, the screening and selection process must effectively eliminate offenders who would otherwise receive probation or very short sentences.

For such a screening process to be effective, key decision makers must find the program acceptable and actively support the program referral process. Due to the lack of referrals, the RID program referral and screening process was never fully implemented as designed. Little attention was paid to ensuring the likelihood that admitted offenders would receive lengthy sentences as an alternative to RID participation. Any reduction in recidivism would have had to have been significant indeed to offset the effects of under-utilization of the program. But this was not the case in Los Angeles. For these reasons the Sheriff had no choice but to terminate the program and end its brief two year experiment with boot camps.

APPENDIX A

JAILS

APPENDIX A

JAIL OPERATED BOOT CAMPS — GENERAL INFORMATION

Program Name:	Regimented Inmate Discipline Program
Program Director:	John F. Nichols, Sheriff
Facility Address:	1201 North Telegraph Road
City, State, Zip:	Pontiac, Michigan 48341-1044
Program Name:	Practical Regimented Rehabilitation for Inmates Determined to Excel (PRIDE)
Program Director:	Kathleen Barrow, Captain
Facility Address:	Correctional Center for Women 701 Abel Street
City, State, Zip:	Milpitas, California 95036
Program Name:	Court Regimented Intensive Probation Program (C.R.I.P.P.)
Program Director:	Captain Berry
Facility Address:	2310½ Atascocita Road
City, State, Zip:	Humble, Texas 77338
Program Name:	About Face
Program Director:	Charles Foli, Sheriff
Facility Address:	2800 Gravier Street
City, State, Zip:	New Orleans, Louisiana 70019
Program Name:	Convicted Offenders Re-entry Effort Program (C.O.R.E.)
Program Director:	Greg Martinez, Captain
Facility Address:	3614 Bill Price Road
City, State, Zip:	Del Valle, Texas 78617
Program Name:	High Impact Incarceration Program (H.I.I.P.)
Program Director:	Rafael Mercado, Executive Officer
Facility Address:	NYC Correctional Institute for Men 10-10 Hazen Street
City, State, Zip:	East Elmhurst, New York 11370
Program Name:	Self Taught Empowerment and Pride (STEP)
Program Director:	Joseph Patrissi, Executive Officer
Facility Address:	Rose M. Singer Center 19-19 Hazen Street
City, State, Zip:	East Elmhurst, New York 11370
Program Name:	Nassau County Modified Shock Program
Program Director:	Phillip C. DeJulio, Director of Rehabilitative Services
Facility Address:	C.S. 1072
City, State, Zip:	Hicksville, New York 11801
Program Name:	Brazos County Boot Camp: Learning to Live in the Real World
Program Director:	Ron Huddleston, Jail Administrator
Facility Address:	300 East 26th Street, Suite 105
City, State, Zip:	Bryan, Texas 77803
Program Name:	Shock Camp
Program Director:	Alice Haskins, Chief Correction Officer (No formal director)
Facility Address:	74 Ontario Street
City, State, Zip:	Canandaigua, New York 14424

APPENDIX B
MAINTENANCE COSTS DESCRIPTION

APPENDIX B

MAINTENANCE COSTS DESCRIPTION¹

FY 1991

		GENERAL POPULATION	RID POPULATION
1.	Salaries	15.62	15.62
2.	Employee Benefits	4.96	4.96
3.	Department Overhead (A)	3.57	3.57
4.	Custody Division Overhead (B)	1.89	1.89
5.	Services and Supplies	4.29	0.00
6.	Countywide Overhead (C)	1.90	1.90
7.	Medical Services Cost (D)	0.33	0.33
8.	Training Reimbursement	(0.22)	(0.22)
9.	Transportation Cost	2.55	0.00
10.	Cost Increase Estimate (E)	3.36	3.36
	Total	\$38.25	\$31.41

- (A) This cost includes the Sheriff's executive and administrative salaries, county overhead and employee benefits applicable to these salaries and applicable supplies cost.
- (B) This cost includes the Sheriff's Custody Division administrative salaries, countywide and departmental overhead and employee benefits applicable to these salaries and applicable supplies cost.
- (C) This cost is comprised of various general government, unbilled costs applicable to the Sheriff. These costs are determined in the Countywide Cost Allocation Plan using guidelines established by the Federal Government, and include insurance, rent, building use, county counsel, data processing, etc.
- (D) Medical services were not included in RID appropriations.
- (E) This cost represents a constant inflation factor which is applied each year.

¹ Source: Auditor-Controller Auditing Branch, County of Los Angeles.

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