



Research Digest

Shock Incarceration in the U.S.

A Literature Review

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SUMMARY

The literature reviewed in this paper dates from 1986 to 1991 and relates to shock incarceration programs in the United States of America. (Shock incarceration programs are programs based on the U.S. military's basic training (boot camps), are designed for young adult offenders, which are considered an alternative to a longer term in prison).

While some of the literature is anecdotal almost all the papers reviewed have in some way attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of shock incarceration. The bulk of this literature clearly shows that:

- there is a difference of views among researchers regarding the reliability of the data already gathered, however, most agree that insufficient time has elapsed to allow for the gathering of sufficient data;
- it is difficult to identify the common goals of shock incarceration and that there is no conclusive evidence to support or deny the effectiveness of

the programs in achieving those common goals that have been identified;

- claims made for individual programs and the evidence provided by those closely associated with them do not withstand independent objective testing.

Considerable research is currently being undertaken to try to measure the effectiveness of shock incarceration programs, but the differences in characteristics, content, methods of inmate selection and accounting for each program make the task of evaluation complex.

Notwithstanding this lack of objective program evaluation and the concerns being expressed by some correctional officials, more shock incarceration programs are being opened. These programs appear to be popular with the public due largely to media reports and articles extolling their virtues, but very little research has been done to

determine the level of public understanding of what shock incarceration is or to quantify public opinion on this issue.

Interviews with inmates generally report a positive change in their own attitude and behaviour during the time spent in the program, but they are being released, albeit under supervision, into the same environment in which they previously offended. This point was made strongly by Mackenzie (1990(b)) who states that:

"returning to the home environment may present such overwhelming difficulties for offenders that positive changes during incarceration cannot be sustained" (p.8).

An area of major concern for some researchers is that shock incarceration programs are based on the "traditional" military model which is no longer used by the U.S. military. This earlier "traditional" military model had some highly unsatisfactory elements which have been discarded by the U.S. military.

As well there is concern that a model which was designed to train and prepare men for war is not an appropriate method for deterring and rehabilitating young adult offenders.

The discussion evoked by these papers and the concerns addressed in them are timely given the intention of the New South Wales Department of Corrective Services to open a correctional centre for young adult offenders, in the near future,

at Newnes. While the Newnes program is designed to be highly structured and physically arduous it does not contain the more negative features of the military model.

In conclusion, while it is not possible to provide a comprehensive evaluation of shock incarceration programs in the U.S., they have generated considerable interest and researchers are currently attempting to gather sufficient data in order to make some valid conclusions.

INTRODUCTION

Shock incarceration was first introduced in Oklahoma and Georgia, U.S.A. in 1983 (Osler, 1991) as a viable alternative to prison sentences for young adult offenders. A number of other U.S. states quickly followed suit. In May 1990 there were 21 shock incarceration programs with 3 more (Arkansas, Maryland and New Hampshire) scheduled to start in 1990 making a total of 24 shock incarceration programs being run in 17 states across the U.S. (Mackenzie, 1990(b)).

A more recent survey conducted by Corrections Compendium (Marlette, 1991) reports that there are now at least 34 shock incarceration programs being run in 27 U.S. states and that a further 13 states are considering developing such programs.

More than 50% of U.S. states have already adopted shock incarceration programs for young adult offenders. This does not include similar programs already in place or being developed for juveniles.

The generic title for such programs as Basic Training (Florida), Special Alternative Incarceration (Georgia) and Regimented Inmate Discipline (Oklahoma) is "shock incarceration"

(Sechrest, 1989). These programs are also commonly referred to, in the U.S., as "boot camps" and the terms are used interchangeably in this paper.

Boot camps have achieved popularity in the U.S. with politicians, the public and media alike (Morash & Rucker, 1990). The expression "boot camp" stems from the basic training given to new recruits in the U.S. military who are exposed to a highly structured, physically arduous and disciplinarian regime in order to prepare them for the rigours of military service.

However, shock incarceration is not a program for volunteers wishing to undertake a military career. Those who attend boot camp will usually choose to "volunteer" given the option of boot camp or regular prison by a judge or corrections department. Boot camp sentences are for a set period of time, usually between 90 and 120 days, and are an alternative to a prison sentence which could be up to 10 years (Sechrest, 1989). Most boot camp inmates have been convicted of felonies and most programs "do not point out the significance of the conviction, which precludes military service and carries with it all the problems of loss of rights subsequent to release" (Sechrest, 1989).

During the eight years since the first boot camp was opened much has been written about them. Boot camps have their supporters (Welborn, 1989; Waldron, 1990; Reichel & Gauthier, 1990) and opponents (Sechrest, 1989; Morash & Rucker, 1990) as well as those who believe they have a potential for rehabilitation (Mackenzie, 1990(b)) and those who caution against premature judgements based on insufficient data (GAO¹, 1988, CJN² 1/9/89; Osler, 1991).

The boot camp concept, while considered by many western countries, has not been adopted in its entirety outside the U.S. Press reports suggest that New Zealand has introduced a similar program (Moore, 1991) and that Britain (Morash & Rucker, 1990) has also introduced a program but has refrained from adopting the extreme military style of those in the U.S. Marlette (1991) reports that Canada, while close to the U.S. geographically, has no shock incarceration programs.

New South Wales is about to open its first camp for young adult offenders at Newnes, near Lithgow. While it will include some of the elements of a boot camp prison, i.e., its content will be highly structured and physically arduous, the intention, at Newnes, is not to militarise the inmates.

This paper aims to present an overview of the boot camp phenomenon by reviewing some of the voluminous U.S. literature now available on the subject. A literature search did not reveal any papers written on shock incarceration and/or boot camp emanating from Australia or New Zealand.

BOOT CAMPS IN PERSPECTIVE

(a) The military model

The boot camp model has its origins in the U.S. military basic training program which stresses discipline, hard work, authoritarian decision making and control by a drill sergeant. The model assumes that "the military ... is a *male* preserve, run by men and for men according to masculine ideas and relying solely on *man* power" (Morash & Rucker, 1990). Built into this image of masculinity is a tendency to reject women and female characteristics.

Morash and Rucker (1990) state that:

"Aside from overt rejection of women and femaleness, the boot camp model, with its emphasis on unquestioned authority and aggressive interactions and deemphasis on group cooperation and empathy, promotes a limited image of the 'true man'." (p.215)

Over time the military has changed and refined this "traditional" model and has deleted the use of negative strategies in dealing with new recruits. However, in the military, basic training is just the beginning of a career after which the new recruit develops under supervision and is supported by the military "family".

A great deal has been written on "traditional" military boot camp training and the effects of military training on female recruits. Morash and Rucker (1990) provide an extensive analysis of the model and its problems, citing a wide range of sources for further reading.

(b) Boot camps in a correctional setting

A major area of concern is the translation of the "traditional" military model into a correctional setting. Nevertheless, many U.S. states have enthusiastically adopted the "traditional" military model including the image of masculinity that the model engenders.

Some states have employed ex-military personnel as drill sergeants (CJN 3/3/1986; Morash & Rucker, 1990) while others send correctional personnel to the military to be trained as drill sergeants (NIJ³ Reports, Nov/Dec, 1990).

Those who support correctional boot camps often do so because they see the features inherent in the military model such as discipline, hard work and respect for authority as the key to reforming the young adult offender.

However, those who are opposed to the use of the "traditional" military model for correctional purposes believe that the military model is inappropriate in a correctional setting and that the negative aspects of the model are open to abuse.

Morash and Rucker (1990) summarize some of the more negative aspects of the "traditional" military model when translated to a correctional setting as follows:

"The imagery of the people that we send to boot camp as deserving of dehumanizing treatment is in itself troubling, but even more so in light of the fact that the inmates are disproportionately minorities and underclass members. The boot camp idea also raises the disturbing question: Why would a method that has been developed to prepare people to go into war, and as a tool to manage legal violence, be considered as having such potential in deterring or rehabilitating offenders? Wamsley (1972, p.401) concluded from a review of officers' manuals and prior research that military basic training is designed to promote fundamental values of military subculture including

(1) acceptance of all-pervasive hierarchy and defence patterns; (2) extreme emphasis on dress, bearing, and grooming; (3) specialized vocabulary; (4) emphasis on honour, integrity, and professional responsibility; (5) emphasis on

brotherhood; (6) fighter spirit marked by aggressive enthusiasm; and (7) special reverence for history and traditions" (p.206).

There is some indication that correctional officials are not as enthusiastic about boot camps as judges, law enforcement officers, legislators and prosecutors. Sechrest (1989) suggests that there are two reasons for this: (1) the emphasis on the military aspects of the program and (2) concerns that the programs offer the opportunity for abuse of authority. These concerns are also considered by Morash and Rucker (1990) who conclude that:

"... the program elements of militarism, hard labor, and fear engendered by severe conditions do not hold much promise, and they appear to set the stage for abuse of authority" (p.210).

(c) Identifying correctional boot camps

In the past there have been a number of programs introduced for young adult offenders in the U.S. which contain some elements of the shock incarceration programs but not all. Mackenzie (1990(a)) gives examples of these programs, "shock probation", "shock parole" and "split sentence", but does not provide any further detail. Mackenzie (1990(a)) uses four criteria to distinguish

shock incarceration programs from these earlier programs. The criteria used, which are common to all shock incarceration programs, are as follows:

1. they are considered an alternative to a longer term in prison;
2. have a boot camp atmosphere, with strict rules and discipline;
3. require offenders to participate in military drills and physical training; and
4. separate offenders in the program from other prison inmates.

In addition, they also include a variety of other programs for inmates, i.e.,

rehabilitation, work, behavioural change. The degree to which each program adopts the military model is varied.

(d) The growth of correctional boot camps

Correctional boot camps began in the southern states of the U.S. Oklahoma and Georgia were the first states to introduce such a program in 1983, followed by Mississippi in 1985. The boot camp model has expanded into 27 states and is being considered by 13 other states. Figure 1 shows those states in the U.S. where shock incarceration programs have been or are about to be introduced (Mackenzie, 1990(b); Marlette, 1991).

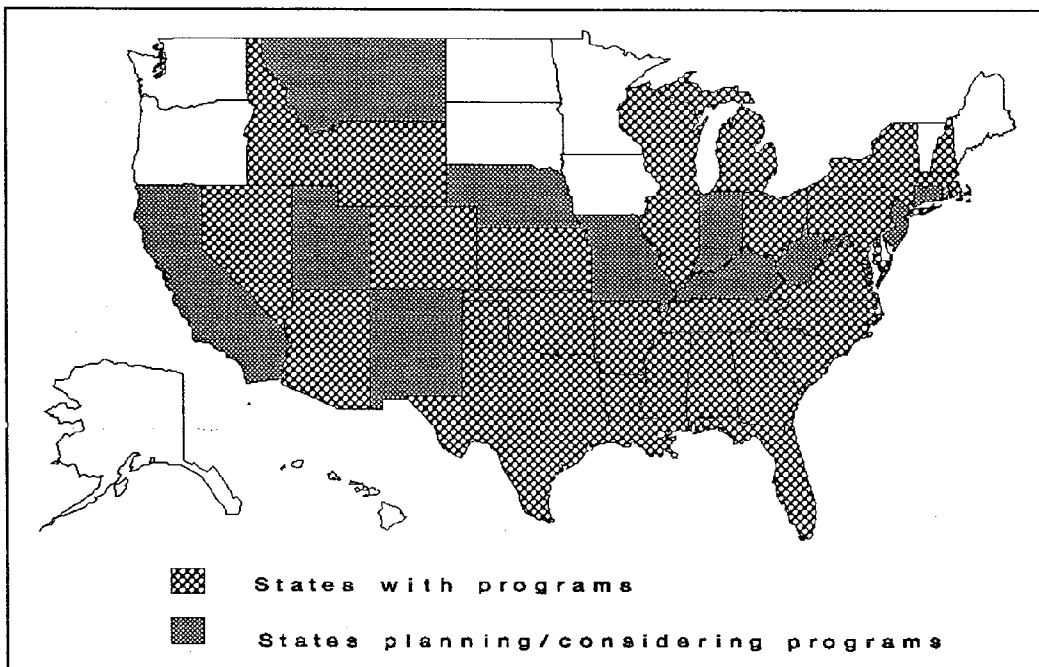


Figure 1

(e) Characteristics of shock incarceration programs

Shock incarceration is believed to provide an alternative sentencing option for young adult offenders and others convicted of non-violent offences, most of whom are serving time on their first felony conviction. However, this is no longer strictly true as some of the states have broadened their entry criteria.

Table 1 below, details the characteristics of shock incarceration programs. The original source for the information contained in this table was Mackenzie (1990(b)). This table has been updated and expanded with information from the Corrections Compendium survey (Marlette, 1991).

Table 1: Characteristics of Shock Incarceration Programs.

State	Year Programs Began	Number of Programs	# of Participants (Male/Female)	# of Days Served	Max. Age Limit	First Felony?	Non-violent Only?
Alabama	1988	1	128 male	90	none	no	no
Arizona	1988	1	150 male	120	25	yes	no
Arkansas	1990	1	60 male	105	none	yes	yes
Colorado	1991	1	100 both	90	25	no	yes
Connecticut	1991	1	100 male	180	21	yes	yes
Florida	1987	1	100 male	90	25	yes	yes
Georgia	1983	2	250 male	90	25	yes	no
Idaho	1989	1	160 male	120	none	no	no
Illinois	1991	1	200 both	120	30	yes	yes
Kansas	1991	1	104 both	180	25	yes	yes
Louisiana	1987	1	120 both	90-180	39	no	yes
Maryland	1990	1	288 both	180	26	yes	yes
Michigan	1988	1	120 male	90	25	no	no

State	Year Programs Began	Number of Programs	# of Participants (Male/Female)	# of Days Served	Max. Age Limit	First Felony?	Non-violent Only?
Mississippi	1985	2	262 both	90-120	none	yes	yes
Nevada	1991	1	? males	?	none	yes	yes
New Hampshire	1990	1	96 both	120	30	yes	yes
New York	1987	5	1350 male 150 female	180	30	yes	yes
North Carolina	1989	1	90 male	90-120	25	yes	yes
Ohio	1991	1	100 male	90	25	no	yes
Oklahoma	1984	1	150 male	90	25	yes	yes
Pennsylvania	1991	1	150-200 male	180	35	yes	yes
South Carolina	1987	2	192 male 24 female	90	26	yes	yes
Tennessee	1989	1	120 male	120	30	yes	yes
Texas	1989	1	400 male	90	25	yes	no
Virginia	1991	1	100 male	120	24	yes	yes
Wisconsin	1991	1	60 male	180	24	no	no
Wyoming	1990	1	20 male	90	25	yes	no
Federal Bureau of Prisons	1991	1	192 male	180	none	no	no

Notes: (1) ? = insufficient information.

(2) No information available on the location of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Age limit: Most states have a maximum age limit set at 25 years of age. In Illinois, New Hampshire, New York and Tennessee the age limit has been expanded to include those up to 30 years of age; Pennsylvania up to 35 and Louisiana up to 39 years of age. Alabama, Arkansas, Idaho, Mississippi, Nevada and the Federal Bureau of Prisons (FBP) have no age limit.

Female inmates: Eight jurisdictions (Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, New Hampshire and New York) now include women in their programs. South Carolina has a separate program for women. Given the concerns expressed by Morash and Rucker (1990) about the "traditional" military model and its attitude toward women, no papers were found that provided any data on female inmates in correctional boot camps and their experiences.

Length of program: Most programs are between 90 and 120 days in duration. Seven jurisdictions (Connecticut, Kansas, Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and FBP) are 180 days in duration. Excepting New York which introduced shock incarceration in 1987, these longer programs are all recent programs, introduced in either 1990 or 1991. Louisiana's program, which began in

1987, is between 90 and 180 days in duration.

Repeat/violent offenders: The programs in eight jurisdictions (Alabama, Colorado, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and the FBP) include repeat offenders and nine jurisdictions (Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Idaho, Michigan, Texas, Wisconsin, Wyoming and FBP) include violent offenders in their programs.

Participation: In seven jurisdictions (Alabama, Mississippi, Nevada, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Texas) participation is mandatory, but in all other jurisdictions participation is voluntary (Marlette, 1991).

Location: The shock incarceration programs in eleven jurisdictions (Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma and South Carolina) are located within a regular prison while the other programs operate in a separate camp or facility.

Dropouts: Some states allow offenders to drop out of the program (Alabama, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina and South Carolina) while others do not (Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas) (Mackenzie, 1990(a)).

Information is not available on the other programs.

The review of Parent's research study (CJN 1/9/89) shows that the dropout rate can be high, for example in Louisiana Parent reports that "about 40 percent withdraw voluntarily, usually during the first week or two, 'when adjustment is most difficult and muscles are most sore'". Others are removed for committing too many infractions. According to Parent, Oklahoma does not let inmates withdraw because "SI offenders have long avoided responsibility for their actions and decisions ... If they could withdraw at their will, it would reinforce that pattern of avoidance".

Aftercare programs: Louisiana, Michigan and New York have intensive supervision programs for boot camp inmates after release, Florida has a moderate supervision program and Alabama and Mississippi use their regular supervision on release program. Release supervision varies in the other states (Mackenzie, 1990(a)).

(f) Boot camps - program content

The components of the boot camp programs in each state appear to vary considerably in their content and

emphasis, but there is little information in the literature detailing specific programs. The emphasis in the literature is mainly on the physical training aspects of the programs.

Marlette (1991) provides some information about the program components in each jurisdiction.

Drug and alcohol treatment: Almost all jurisdictions provide some form of drug and alcohol treatment. Louisiana provides only education and awareness; South Carolina education only and Georgia has no drug and alcohol program.

Education programs: Almost all jurisdictions provide some education programs. Texas provides a life skills program. Alabama, Florida, Georgia and New Hampshire do not provide any education programs.

Counselling/therapy: All jurisdictions except Georgia, Nevada and Oklahoma provide counselling and/or therapy programs.

Work: All jurisdictions have work programs.

Some of the papers reviewed offer information about individual programs, for example, the Oklahoma program

includes some degree of community service, vocational assessment, education, job seeking skills, health education and therapy treatments including drug and alcohol counselling and relaxation while some states also include hard labour (Yurkanin, 1988).

Some states place greater emphasis on rehabilitation activities (Louisiana: 4.5 hours per day) than others (Georgia: 30 minutes per day). Most states surveyed by Mackenzie (1990(a)) were somewhere between these two extremes. Nevertheless, most shock incarceration programs spend a fairly large amount of time in rehabilitation-type activities compared to offenders serving time in a

regular prison. Rehabilitation-type activities include counselling, treatment, education and vocational training (Mackenzie, 1990(a)).

Tables 2 and 3 provide a breakdown of programs in three states by hours per day and program stream.

New York's program, which is 6 months in duration, contains "500 hours of drills, 546 hours of drug treatment, 260 hours of formal education, and 650 hours of hard labor and community service" (NIJ Reports, Nov/Dec, 1990). Calculated on a daily basis this represents approximately 9.3 hours plus 1.4 hours of formal education, a total of 10.7 hrs per day of structured activity.

Table 2.
Program content in Louisiana and Michigan

	Louisiana hrs per day	Michigan hrs per day
Rehabilitation	4.5	2.5
Working	4.0	6.0
Physical training/ drill	4.5	1.5
TOTAL	13.0	10.0

Source: Mackenzie, 1990(a).

Table 3.
New York

New York hrs per day*
3.0
3.6
2.7
9.3

Source: NIJ Reports, 1990.
*estimates only, refer to text.

This lack of commonality between states is seen as a problem by some researchers as it reduces their ability to evaluate the effectiveness of the content of the various programs.

EVALUATING BOOT CAMPS

The literature search did not reveal any papers which evaluated all existing boot camp programs against a standard set of criteria. Two papers - the GAO Report, published in September, 1988, and Parent's study (CJN 1/9/89) - reviewed some of the existing boot camps against identified common objectives. These reports are as follows:

- (1) **GAO Report** - This report contains an analysis of two programs, Florida and Georgia, as well as interviews with Federal Prison officials and the National Institute of Justice. At the time this report was written (late 1987) only seven boot camp programs were operational. The objectives of these programs included offsetting prison overcrowding, reducing prison costs, and reducing recidivism. The report concluded that it was "too early to tell" whether or not these objectives could be achieved.
- (2) **Parent's study** - By the end of

1988 the number of operational boot camps had risen to seventeen (some only opened in 1988). Parent conducted on-site studies of six programs in four states and collected information about other programs. He looked at prison costing, net-widening, attrition rates and recidivism and reached the following conclusion:

"Until evaluation results become available, policymakers should view claims of incredible success with skepticism, and should be cautious about proceeding with shock incarceration development on the basis of high hopes, preliminary data, or press clippings" (CJN, 1/9/89, p.3).

Most of the more recent writers refer to these reports. Osler (1991) considers the GAO report to have been superseded by Parent's study which in his opinion is the "most thorough review of the shock incarceration movement to appear" and notes that "NIJ is preparing a larger study with broader analysis".

Some writers have looked at a selection of boot camp programs and/or have used data published by correctional departments (Sechrest, 1989; Mackenzie, 1990(a)(b); Osler, 1991) while others have relied heavily on anecdotal evidence to support their claims (Pagel, 1986; Welborn, 1989; Waldron, 1990).

(a) Boot camps - what do they hope to achieve?

The aims of individual programs vary considerably and cannot be clearly defined from the literature available. Using the objectives identified in the GAO Report as a basis, more recent writers have confirmed these objectives as the primary goals of the shock incarceration programs.

Speaking at the NIJ Intermediate Punishments Conference in 1990, Chase A. Riveland, Secretary of the State of Washington's Department of Corrections referred to three factors which "spurred" boot camps and intermediate punishments:

"a political need to respond to public concern about crime, a judicial need to find alternative punishments whose conditions were constitutional, and a fiscal need for programs that were more economical than long-term incarceration" (NIJ Reports, Nov/Dec, 1990, p.4).

Mackenzie's survey (1990(a)) identified three goals which were consistent across the seven states surveyed. They are: (1) a reduction in prison crowding; (2) an alternative to long-term incarceration and (3) cost savings.

Osler (1991) identifies five goals, they

are: (1) deterrence, specific and general; (2) rehabilitation; (3) punishment; (4) incapacitation and (5) reduce overcrowding and cut costs.

The following discussion looks at these common goals.

(b) Reduction in prison crowding

This goal is predicated on the assumption that boot camp inmates would have entered the regular prison system and been counted as part of the prison population had they not been sent to boot camp. Most inmates enter boot camp in one of the following ways:

- (1) **Directly from the Court.** In this case a judge extends the boot camp option to the offender as an alternative to a prison sentence. The sentences vary from state to state but could be as long as 10 years. The inmate then attends boot camp for a period of between 90 and 180 days after which the inmate, in most cases, is released on parole.
- (2) **From prison.** In this case the offender has been sentenced to a prison term and is already part of the prison population. Once transferred to boot camp the same provisions as outlined in (1) above

apply.

Option (1) above raises a number of questions relating to the sentence the inmate receives from the court. If the boot camp option were not available would the inmate have been sentenced to prison or would he have been granted a non-custodial sentence? If the inmate had been sentenced to prison then he would have been counted as part of the prison population, but if he had been granted a non-custodial sentence then he would not have been counted. As there is no way of knowing what decision the court would have made had the boot camp option not been available then it cannot be assumed that those entering boot camp under option (1) would necessarily have contributed to a reduction in prison crowding.

Marlette (1991) provides some information on this issue. In 14 jurisdictions the inmate is assigned to boot camp by the Courts. In 11 jurisdictions inmates are assigned to the program from prison. In 7 jurisdictions both the court and the prison are involved in the process.

Option (1) raises the issue of **net-widening**, that is where a person who would otherwise have been granted a non-custodial sentence is drawn into the prison system and thus increases the

number of sentenced prisoners. Some researchers are concerned that the courts are sending young offenders to boot camp for offences that previously would have been dealt with outside the prison system (CJN 1/9/89; Reichel & Gauthier, 1990).

Thus, those who enter boot camp under option (2) above are the only ones we can be certain of reducing the regular prison population at the time of their transfer.

Sechrest (1989) has also raised the issue of **occupancy rates** citing Florida where:

"only 61.6 percent of the program beds are filled, on average, indicating that it is difficult to find inmates willing to undergo this type of program, especially when sentence reductions due to crowded prisons might make their sentence equally brief" (p.18).

So far Florida is the only state reporting an occupancy rate problem, but it is yet another factor that needs to be taken into consideration in evaluating the effectiveness of boot camp programs.

According to Mackenzie (1990(a)) "no state has completed an analysis examining whether the shock program(s) have had an impact on prison crowding" and concludes that "whether the

programs will have an impact on prison crowding depends not only on the number of graduates but also on whether the offenders are drawn from the population of probationers or prisoners".

Osler (1991) points out that:

"It is not merely coincidence that the surge in boot camp programs has occurred at a time that most prison systems are at or near capacity, with several under Federal court orders to create more space. The political pressure to reduce overcrowding without reducing perceived punishment is high, and boot camp can accomplish this if those assigned to the boot camps are convicts who are diverted from longer prison terms" (p.36).

(c) Alternative to long-term incarceration

This goal is closely related to (b) above, that is:

"Most programs have been developed to alleviate prison crowding because the approach reduces time that a person spends in prison" (NIJ Reports, Nov/Dec, 1990 p.4).

Thus, this goal is measurable only for those offenders whose prison sentence is known prior to their transfer to boot camp. Evaluating this goal, as with (b) above, will depend on future research

and data collection.

(d) Recidivism

Early reports published between 1984 and 1986 (Pagel, 1986; Sechrest, 1989), suggest that recidivism among boot camp graduates is low with success rates reported between 75% and 85%. More recent studies, however, refute this suggestion. Sechrest (1989) reports that:

"These data appear to indicate that the programs may have early successes, but in the long term they may not do any better than conventional methods" (p.16).

A review of recidivism undertaken in Georgia found "a three-year recidivism rate of 46 percent for SI graduates, compared to 45 percent for a similar group of young offenders who had not been previously incarcerated". Parent reports that the Chief of Evaluations at the Georgia Department of Corrections advised that "We have a lot of judges and other people who believe this program reforms people but the belief seems to outweigh the statistics" (CJN 1/9/89).

Researchers such as Sechrest (1989), Parent (CJN 1/9/89) and Mackenzie (1990(a)) caution against drawing any conclusions on recidivism among boot camp inmates from the data currently

available.

Osler (1991) asserts that two goals identified by him, specific deterrence and rehabilitation, can be "generally viewed in terms of recidivism". He also argues that the available data should be treated with caution, but points out that a study conducted in New York in 1989, entitled "Shock Incarceration: One Year Out 3", provides some encouraging statistics on recidivism.

Osler (1991) reports on the study as follows:

"The first six platoons were analysed one year after graduation from the program, along with a comparison group, matched by demographics, who were released from traditional incarceration in the same time period. Twenty-eight percent of the control group had been reincarcerated within a year, while only 23 percent of the boot camp graduates had" (p.38).

However, he goes on to caution the reader by noting that:

"the control group were more likely to be reincarcerated for rule violations, while the boot camp graduates had a higher likelihood of being reincarcerated for new crimes"(p.42).

Marlette (1991) supplies some information, in percentages only, about

success rates for boot camps but does not provide comparative information for regular prison.

(e) Cost savings

A number of states have claimed that boot camp programs are a cost-effective alternative to prison. Evaluating such claims is difficult as there is no indication in the papers reviewed as to the basis upon which these costings have been made. Taken at face value some claims appear to show that shock incarceration vis a vis regular prison has resulted in spectacular savings. However, when these claims are compared it seems very unlikely that they could result from an analysis of the same base data. This raises the question: how are these cost savings being measured? For example, set out below are some of the claims and counter-claims made for the New York shock incarceration program:

New York - in 1988 the New York State Department of Corrections reported that "a camp operating for one year with 500 inmates costs approximately \$9,000 per inmate, compared with \$19,400 it costs to house each inmate under regular prison conditions" (Yurkanin, 1988).

In 1989, Sechrest (1989) challenged

this claim: "New York State now reports higher costs for shock incarceration, which...are no doubt indicative of the longer time spent in the program and the depth of the services provided."

And in 1990, New York made the following claim: "The bottom line is that since their inception, boot camps have saved \$101 million for the State of New York" (NIJ Reports, Nov/Dec, 1990).

Again in 1990, Mackenzie (1990(a)) in discussing cost savings reports that "in New York the estimate was \$5.1 million for the first 321 inmates" but cautions that this does not take into consideration the "additional cost of the aftercare program in New York".

Mackenzie (1990(a)) in discussing New York programs states that "the cost of the program was estimated to be slightly higher than the cost of regular prison but the shorter period of incarceration resulted in an overall cost savings". This point is crucial to any analysis of the cost savings attributable to shock incarceration and can only be made in those states, such as New York, where inmates enter boot camp after sentencing to imprisonment.

Mackenzie's point is supported by the findings of Parent's study which reached the following conclusion:

"Whether shock incarceration is in fact more efficient or less expensive is unknown ... Boot camps cost as much as or more than standard imprisonment on a per inmate/per day basis ... If boot camp is used as a substitute for standard imprisonment, the total cost per inmate may be lower, because boot camp inmates are released sooner. But 'in the programs now in operation officials suggested that there is a greater tendency to use SI as a substitute for probation than to use it as an alternative to longer-term imprisonment'" (CJN, 1/9/89, p.4).

Marlette (1991) provides some data on the per diem cost for participants in boot camps and/or regular prison for some jurisdictions. However, costs are not known for all jurisdictions.

(f) Recent evaluation studies

Two studies have recently been published designed to evaluate boot camp programs in New York and Louisiana. The evaluation in New York was undertaken by a Visiting Committee of eminent persons representing the Correctional Association of New York (March, 1991) and in Louisiana the study was undertaken by two well-known researchers into shock

incarceration, Mackenzie and Parent (1991).

New York: The Correctional Association of New York is a non-profit policy analysis and advocacy organisation that focuses on criminal justice and prison issues with legislative authority to visit prisons and report its findings to policy makers and the public. The Visiting Committee reported on three programs - Monterey visited in 1988 (capacity of 250 prisoners); Summit in 1989 (capacity 250 prisoners) which houses "a platoon of women prisoners"⁴; and Lakeview in 1990 (capacity 750 prisoners).

The Committee was supportive of the shock incarceration program and recommended the following enhancements and expansion of the program:

- (i) **Expanding Shock** - "that the State expand the eligibility criteria for Shock to include inmates over 30 and inmates sentenced to prison for a second time." (p.4);
- (ii) **Replicating the Programs Operating Principles** - "DOCS'⁵ management should work with the developers of Shock on ways to transfer Shock's unique features, through training and reallocation of resources, to other correctional facilities." (p.4);

- (iii) **Adding bilingual staff** - "that the State generally step up recruitment efforts for bilingual prison staff ... to include bilingual teachers and doctors who make a commitment to work in the prisons after graduating from school." (p.5);

- (iv) **Improving research** - "more sophisticated analysis and more frequent reports are needed." (p.5);

- (v) **Enhancing 'After Shock' Care** -
 - (a) "The State should therefore expand the enhanced parole supervision now offered Shock graduates living in New York City to their counterparts in the States other large population centers, such a Albany and Buffalo." (p.6);

- (b) "... that officials establish a halfway house for Shock releaseses to provide the needed support for an extended period." (p.6).

Louisiana: This paper proposes "a method for examining the potential of a shock incarceration program for reducing prison crowding" and tests the proposed method using data from the first year of the Louisiana shock incarceration program. Reducing prison crowding has previously been identified as a major goal of shock incarceration programs and in this paper Mackenzie and Parent cite two ways in which prison crowding can be reduced:

- (i) **The direct method** - "the most

direct effect on crowding would occur if offenders spent less time in prison".

- (ii) **The indirect method** - "to change offenders so that their criminal activities upon release were reduced".

In this paper Mackenzie and Parent concentrated on evaluating the direct method and identified the following requirements:

"The direct method of reducing prison crowding requires: (1) a sufficient number of eligible inmates who are recommended for the program, (2) a large enough number of offenders completing the program, (3) a true reduction in the length of time offenders spend in prison, and (4) offender participants who are drawn from those who normally would be incarcerated rather than those who normally would be sentenced to probation (or no net widening)" (p.228).

They began by examining the selection process. Louisiana has a three-stage recommendation process which ensures that boot camp inmates would otherwise have served a sentence in a regular prison. During the first year of the Louisiana shock incarceration program approximately 479 sentenced offenders entered the corrections diagnostic centre

each month. According to Mackenzie and Parent only 6.7% (32/479) of offenders were potential shock incarceration inmates; 5% (24/479) were admitted to shock incarceration and 2.9% (14/479) completed (graduated) the program. On average the occupancy rate was 53.3% (at any time during the first year only 64 out of 120 beds were filled).

Table 4 shows the number of inmates entering and exiting the Louisiana shock incarceration program during the first year of operation.

Mackenzie and Parent report that the average sentence length for those admitted to the program was 44.4 months and these inmates would have been eligible for parole after serving one-third of their sentence, or 14.8 months. Those who graduated from the shock incarceration program spent on average 4.12 months in prison.

Those who were excluded at the diagnostic center had "significantly" shorter sentences than those who entered shock incarceration, 37.7 months. Those who left the program voluntarily (dropouts) would have been eligible for parole, on average, after serving 13.7 months, while those who left for other reasons (washouts) would have been eligible after an average of 14.5 months.

Table 4. Louisiana shock incarceration data

Inmates in SI program	Inmates excluded from program
387 inmates recommended for SI	
298 inmates admitted to SI (77% or 298/387)	89 inmates not admitted: - 30.3% did not volunteer (n=89) - 40.4% medical reasons - 14.6% assaultive history - 14.6% other reasons
169 inmates graduated (43.7% overall or 56.7% of those admitted to the program)	129 dropped out: - 27.5% voluntarily left the program (n=129) (dropouts) - 15.8% left for other reasons such as discipline, medical and other (washouts)

They then examined the impact of shock incarceration "on prison bed-space needs", and developed a formula for calculating "initial person-months of confinement saved (IMPC)". Their calculations indicated potential savings could be made. Their calculations were made based on full capacity but could be redone based on occupancy numbers.

Mackenzie and Parent encountered some problems, they were:

"problems with using the shock program to reduce prison crowding in Louisiana appear to have been related to the small number of offenders entering the program and the number of dropouts and washouts. Some of this problem may have resulted from

the number of different groups required to make decisions regarding the selection and release of offender participants" (p.235).

The selection process is seen by Mackenzie and Parent as the crucial factor in ensuring that net-widening does not occur. The results of their research suggest that:

"a short-term incarceration program can be designed so that it will have an impact on prison crowding. However, in order to have an impact on bed-space needs, careful selection is necessary to ensure that participants are drawn from prison-bound offenders" (p.234).

Clearly, more research needs to be done

before a reduction in prison crowding can be established as an achievement of shock incarceration.

THE INMATES - A SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT

A claim made by the majority of states running shock incarceration programs is that they aim "to change offenders" in the hope that:

"the experience of the shock program will reduce the criminal behaviour of offenders upon release from prison and, also lead to positive changes like increased skill in daily living and increased self-esteem" (Mackenzie & Parent, 1991, p.226).

Anecdotal evidence is used to support these claims. The information provided by inmates, although subjective, offers a valuable insight into their perception of the effectiveness of boot camp prisons and their experiences during the time spent in boot camp. The following are a selection of quotations taken from interviews with inmates prior to their release:

"It's a shock when you first come in. They wake you at five in the morning, yelling at you, screaming at you, telling you to do this or that ... Get up! Clean up! Get moving! ... But it helped me ... somehow" (Pagel,

1986, p.8);

"SAI has taught me to be mentally hard, to be honest, and have integrity about myself... This program has helped me a lot. I am presently attending drug abuse classes, group counseling, job skills ... and am getting ready to take my GED⁶. My teacher is confident that I will pass ... I'm in excellent condition ... I am very disciplined ... Thank you for giving me a chance in life" (Welborn, 1989, p.136);

"The impression I had when I first got to shock was I would do the six months and I'll get out of here ... It wasn't all about that. After they taught me little things about what shock was about, I knew what I wanted. I wanted to change" (Waldron, 1990, p.150).

The literature search did not uncover any papers that quantified the perceptions of inmates before, during and/or after shock incarceration.

WHAT THE PUBLIC THINK

Although a great deal has been published claiming public support for boot camp programs almost no research has been done to quantify public opinion. Reichel and Gauthier (1990) appear to be the only researchers to have actually surveyed the public.

The aim of their survey was to "gauge the probable response of citizens to the use of shock incarceration as a standard sentencing strategy". Their survey showed that:

"the public is willing to support alternatives to imprisonment for both deterrent and rehabilitative reasons" (p.93);

"boot camp corrections has attraction for a wide cross-section of punitive persuasions. In its attempt to provide offenders with strict discipline and rigorous physical labor (deterrence), it tries to help them learn to adjust to authority, instill order and discipline in their lives, and become law-abiding citizens (rehabilitation)" (p.93).

OTHER RESEARCH

(a) The military's correctional boot camp

The U.S. Army has a correctional boot camp located at Fort Riley, Kansas which houses 600 offenders (Ratliff, 1988). The difference between this boot camp and the others discussed above is that this one is for military personnel; in fact, people who have already undergone the military's basic training and who have since been court-martialled for an offence. Almost all the inmates are men (97%) whose average age is 24.

An interesting feature of this program is that between 1973 and 1983 the program "was primarily concerned with rehabilitating and sending Army inmates back to productive military duty". However:

"In 1984, the mission changed to confining and treating inmates for release to the community; only a small percentage were considered for return to duty. Originally 50 to 75 percent of the inmates were returned to duty, but the return-to-duty rate now is only about 6 percent" (p.99).

Ratliff's explanation for this change is that:

"During the 1970s nearly all inmates were confined for absent without leave (AWOL) and other 'military-only' offenses ... Now, however, the majority of the population has committed drug and alcohol offenses or larceny" (p.99).

The program in the Army's correctional boot camp is similar to that of other correctional "boot camps", but there are differences and Ratliff identifies them as follows:

- (i) "... because USACA⁷ trains some inmates for return to active Army duty, there is a reliance on offenders' orientation as a soldier, including their previous basic military training";
- (ii) "USACA uses active-duty drill instructors who have a tradition of training and molding problematic individuals into fighting soldiers";
- (iii) "... one-fourth of all USACA inmates are confined for 'military-only offenses'";
- (iv) "... USACA's whole program is Army. Therefore, the setting is a natural environment for the inmates. They wear the same military uniform as other personnel; they practice military courtesies; and they live in open-bay barracks that are very similar to basic training environments" (p.102).

According to Ratliff (iv) above is the key difference. Ratliff also claims considerable success for this program in terms of cost savings; and identifies a series of program evaluation measures that are currently being used by the Army to evaluate this program.

There is no reference to the Army's correctional boot camp in the rest of the literature reviewed in this paper and thus, no objective assessment of the Army's program is currently available.

(b) Measuring the testosterone level of boot camp inmates

This study (Thompson, Dabbs, Frady, 1990) examined testosterone concentrations among prison inmates in a shock incarceration program (Georgia). They cite a number of papers which claim that:

"Testosterone is related to dominance and aggression in both animals and people ... In prison research testosterone concentrations have been related to early criminal history, violence of current crime, social dominance in prison, misbehaviour in prison, and parole board evaluations of inmates" (Thompson et al, 1990, pp.246-247).

and that:

"Testosterone increases with competitive success and declines with defeat. Kreuz et al. (1971) found military trainees lower in testosterone during the first half of officer candidate school, when more pressure is placed upon them, than during the second half" (Thompson et al, 1990, p.246).

The results of this study were as follows:

"Mean testosterone concentrations changed significantly over the course of the program, reaching their lowest levels after one month - a point where correctional staff predicted stress would be greatest" (p.248);

"Inmates who succeeded best in the program were those who initially dropped less and later increased more in testosterone" (p.250).

This group of researchers is planning further studies of testosterone levels among boot camp inmates compared with inmates in a "more traditional correctional unit in the same prison".

(c) Analysing task performance and training needs among corrections officers

This study, undertaken by Camp (1991), looked at the task performance and

training needs of corrections officers working in Georgia's shock incarceration program (Special Alternative Incarceration (SAI)). Georgia has two shock incarceration units.

The research addressed two questions: (1) an inquiry into the general activities of corrections officers working in SAI units and (2) the training needs of these officers.

This project was conducted in two stages. In stage 1 a series of structured interviews were conducted mainly with officers currently working in SAI. These interviews showed that SAI officers appeared "to perform the same type of duties as officers in the general population" but that the "manner and intensity of this supervision ... appears to be markedly different". Camp (1991) states that this differentiation "has been a focal point in the research".

Stage 2 used a three-part questionnaire primarily developed from the interviews in stage 1. Part 1 "related to demographic characteristics"; part 2 "contained a 48-item task analysis" and part 3 "concerned attitudes about special incarceration".

Part 1, demographics, supplied the following information about corrections officers in Georgia:

"that SAI officers as a group are generally between 26 and 40 years of age, with about 3 to 5 years of correctional experience, and hold the position of COII⁸. About one-third have completed at least some college work, most are currently married, and about 20% are black. The two units have similar officer profiles, with one having somewhat larger, less seasoned but slightly better educated officers than the other" (p.166).

In Part 2, task analysis, the participants were asked to rate their responses in terms of frequency, task importance and training importance. Mean ratings were then calculated on the results. Of the 48 tasks analysed the two top-rated tasks were:

#6: "Detect and identify those inmates and/or groups of inmates who are likely to stir up trouble" and;

#20: "Control and secure locks and keys" (p.162).

These tasks were performed on a "daily" basis.

Part 3, attitudes to SAI, contained two questions which dealt with "attitudes toward the use of psychological coercion/force and toward the SAI program in general". Camp (1991) found that "SAI officers believe that the use of psychological coercion is an excellent way to maintain discipline and

that most people respond well to it". And that "they feel that it does change behavior".

Camp concludes that both stages of his study support the notion that "training should be concentrated on the activities which make this type of incarceration so uniquely different".

Camp's results also show that 50% of respondents either agree or strongly agree that "the SAI program seems to lack definite goals and direction".

Camp (1991) has not replicated this study in other states, so it is difficult to assess whether the results are applicable only to Georgia, or whether they can be extrapolated to other jurisdictions.

CONCLUSIONS

The literature reviewed in this paper offers some important lessons for those who may be considering introducing similar types of programs in Australia. They are:

- the appropriateness of the U.S. "traditional" military model as a model for correctional boot camps has been seriously questioned;
- the aims and objectives of shock

incarceration programs need to be clearly defined and potentially measurable;

- the effective evaluation of shock incarceration programs cannot be undertaken in the short-term, aims and objectives such as recidivism and cost savings can only be measured over time and require a long-term commitment;
- that extensive aftercare programs, before and after release into the community, should be an integral part of any shock incarceration or similar program; and
- that careful selection procedures are crucial to ensure inmates are drawn from young adult offenders who have been sentenced to prison thereby avoiding potential problems such as net-widening;
- that training programs for correctional officers working in shock incarcerations programs should be carefully designed to ensure that all areas unique to this kind of program have been covered.

NOTES

1. United States General Accounting Office.
2. Criminal Justice Newsletter. This reference refers to an unauthored review of "Shock Incarceration: An Overview of Existing Programs" undertaken by Dale G. Parent and published by the National Institute of Justice.
3. National Institute of Justice.
4. The report did not indicate the numbers which constitute a "platoon" nor did it indicate whether Summit housed male prisoners as well as female prisoners. Drawing on data in Table 1, New York has beds for 150 female boot camp inmates.
5. New York Department of Correctional Services.
6. General Education Development Test.
7. United States Army Correctional Activity.
8. Correctional Officer Grade II.

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