2-2000

Boot camps and traditional correctional facilities for juveniles A comparison of the participants, daily activities, and environments

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Abstract

The environments of twenty-seven boot camps and twenty-two traditional facilities were examined in a national study of juvenile correctional facilities. Surveys with administrators and data from institutional files indicated that juveniles in the boot camps had less serious offending histories than did those in traditional facilities. Boot camp environments were more structured and most incorporated military basic training components. There were differences in the use of summary punishments and certain other matters, but few differences were found in therapeutic activities. In general, boot camp juveniles were more active but comparison facilities had more educators and other staff for each juvenile. Juveniles in traditional facilities also had more community contacts. Few institutions had access to any outcome information telling them how and what the juveniles did after release. The potential impact of these differences on the future behavior of juveniles was discussed.

*An earlier version of this research was presented at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology in Washington, DC.

Introduction

Boot camps have been a controversial correctional option since they were first developed for adults in 1983 (MacKenzie & Parent, 1992; MacKenzie & Souryal, 1995b; Meachum 1990; Morash & Rucker, 1990). Boot camps have become a popular and rapidly growing option for delinquents, despite the controversy. Concerns have been raised regarding the boot camp environment as to its overall conduciveness to rehabilitation, ability to provide individualized programming, lack of aftercare, and potential for net widening (Castellano & Plant, 1996; Mac- Kenzie & Parent, 1992; MacKenzie & Piquero, 1994; Morash & Rucker, 1990; Peters et al., 1997). Most boot camp research describes individual programs or compares recidivism rates of adult boot camp graduates to comparison groups (MacKenzie, 1997; MacKenzie & Hebert, 1996; MacKenzie & Shaw, 1993; MacKenzie & Souryal, 1995a; MacKenzie et al., 1995). Little research is available on how juveniles in boot camps differ from those in traditional facilities, or how the environment and daily activities in the camps compare to those of more traditional facilities. This study reviewed the controversy sur- rounding boot camps, examined differences between twenty-seven boot camps and twenty-two comparison facilities, and identified how the populations, selection process, environments, and daily activities differ within these two types of institutions.

Controversial issues surrounding boot camp programs

Boot camps are controversial for a variety of rea- sons. First, there is concern that they focus on lower risk cases, thus failing to address the needs of juvenile delinquents most apt to recidivate (Souryal & MacKenzie, 1995). Boot camps appear to be deceptively seductive alternatives for youths with behavior problems compared to serious juvenile offenders (Austin & Krisberg, 1982; MacKenzie & Souryal, 1995b; Morris & Tonry, 1990). Low-risk cases are less apt to recidivate with or without treatment, so the impact may be negligible (MacKenzie, 1997). In cases where program staff determine who may enter the camps, juveniles who are at the lowest risk for recidivism may be the ones selected.

The focus on lower risk cases means that camps may also widen the net of

control over juveniles (MacKenzie, 1995a; 1995b; MacKenzie & Piquero, 1994). Judges are often faced with the choice of sending juveniles to either traditional state detention centers or training schools, or letting them remain in the community on probation (Byrne et al., 1992; Tonry & Lynch, 1996). Given these choices, judges may tend to give juveniles the benefit of the doubt al- lowing them to remain in the community. If a boot camp alternative, however, is available, then many of these youths may be sent there, resulting in an in- crease in the overall number of youths who are institutionalized. Pressure from the public and policy- makers, who view the programs as appropriate options for undisciplined youth, may also affect judicial decisions to send increasing numbers of juveniles to boot camps (Byrne et al., 1992; MacKenzie & Parent, 1992; MacKenzie & Piquero, 1994; Tonry & Lynch, 1996).

Those interested in juvenile programming have emphasized the need for individualized programs (Acoca, 1995; Peters et al., 1997). The needs of juveniles vary greatly and effective programs must assess each individual's needs and develop appropriate programming to address these needs. The majority of boot camps, however, group juveniles into units or platoons (Caldas, 1990; Gover et al., 1998; 1999; MacKenzie, 1990; 1995a; MacKenzie & Rosay, 1996; MacKenzie et al., 1998; Parent, 1989). Youths enter the facility in a unit, attend classes and treatment programs together, are punished as a group for one individual's misbehavior, and finally graduate as a single unit. Boot camps also tend to maintain rigid rules and inflexible daily schedules (Lutze, 1998), which may not address the individual needs of the in- mates. Critics argue, therefore, that the military philosophy and high level of structure within boot camp programs prohibit the flexibility needed to address the individual problems of inmates.

"Total institutions," such as juvenile residential facilities, have also been described as rigid with regard to rules and daily schedules (Goffman, 1961). Correctional boot camps may appear to be more military-like and structured, though this may only be a matter of degrees. Traditional facilities may be just as structured but without some of the military aspects. If a high level of organizational structure necessarily limits individualization in programming, there may be cause for concern with

both types of juvenile facilities.

Critics are also skeptical about the treatment pro- vided to inmates in military-style programs. These critics have not been particularly surprised by the results from recidivism studies, which have found no differences in recidivism rates among boot camp and nonboot camp offenders (Henggeler & Schoenwald, 1994; Mathlas & Mathews, 1991; Morash & Rucker, 1990). Critics argue that because the boot camp environment has many elements that are antithetical to successful treatment, there is no particular reason to expect boot camp releasees to recidivate at lower rates.

For example, mainstream psychologists believe that treatment and therapy require positive and supportive interpersonal relationships, not the confrontational characteristics of the boot camp environment (Andrews, Bonta, & Hodge, 1990; Andrews et al., 1990; Gendreau & Ross, 1987). Based on prior research showing that therapeutic juvenile programs can be effective, an important issue of concern is how activities are scheduled in boot camp programs com- pared to traditional facilities (Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Andrews, Bonta, & Hodge, 1990; Andrews et al., 1990; Gendreau & Ross, 1987; Lipsey, 1992; Palmer, 1983). At the most basic level, a sufficient amount of time must be scheduled for therapeutic activities if change is to occur.

Boot camps may, in fact, create an environment that encourages short-term change, but if juveniles do not participate in post-camp activities that can help them succeed in the community, these programs may not have an affect on recidivism. Attention is now being paid to what happens to juveniles once they leave facilities and return to the community (Acoca, 1995; Altschuler & Armstrong, 1994; Peters et al., 1997). This issue is moving towards the forefront in juvenile corrections partly because the literature suggests that progress made by juveniles while they are confined to facilities quickly diminishes following their re- leases (Altschuler & Armstrong, 1991; Catalano et al., 1988). Reintegration to the community must start while juveniles are still confined to facilities.

Juveniles frequently return to live with family members, return to their local schools, and are re- united with their previous social networks, so it is important for them

to maintain contact with the community while they are incarcerated. The Intensive Aftercare Program (IAP) model stresses that individualized case planning focus on the special needs of juveniles and their relationships with their social net- works (e.g., family, close friends, etc.) (Altschuler & Armstrong, 1994). To accomplish this, aftercare counselors should be advising juveniles from the be- ginning of the residential period.

In addition, the involvement of offenders' family members in program activities, while they are con- fined, may have more impact on their behavior, once they are released, than other official interventions (Zhang, 1998). This assertion is directly related to the extent to which facilities allow institutionalized juveniles to maintain contact with the community. Such contacts are assumed to facilitate successful reintegration into the community, and according to Altschuler and Armstrong (1994), reintegration into the community is the key to boot camp success (Peters et al., 1997).

The new emphasis in corrections is on performance-based standards and institutional accountability (Boone & Fulton, 1995; Dilulio, 1993; Logan, 1993; MacKenzie et al., 1998). In order to develop programs that will successfully prepare juveniles for their return to the community, facility staff and administrators need information about what happens to juveniles who leave their programs. In addition to recidivism rates, it is important to measure juveniles' positive activities. Zhang (1998) notes that most pro- gram evaluations do not include measures of in- mates' prosocial activities—such as school enrollment, employment, involvement in drug treatment, or vocational training—once they are released from institutions. If facilities are to be held accountable for what happens to juveniles after they are released, in- formation about post-release activities must be made available.

National evaluation of juvenile correctional facilities

The current research was part of a national study of juvenile correctional facilities that compared the environments/conditions of boot camp confinement to those of traditional facilities. Twenty-seven boot camps were compared to twenty-two traditional facilities using surveys of juveniles and staff, administrator interviews, institutional records, and video- tapes. This study focused on the data collected from administrator

interviews and institutional records and attempted to answer the following six questions:

1. Are boot camps selecting juveniles who have less delinquent backgrounds in terms of offense histories than traditional facilities?
2. Do the environments in boot camps differ in their levels of structure or security and custody from traditional facilities?
3. To what extent do facilities incorporate a military philosophy into their environments and do boot camps differ from traditional facilities with regard to this philosophy?
4. Do boot camps and traditional facilities differ in the emphasis placed on therapeutic programming?
5. Does the level of contact juveniles have with the community, while institutionalized, differ by type of facility?
6. Do facilities have access to information regarding post-incarceration behavior?

Methodology

Facilities

Juvenile correctional agencies throughout the United States were contacted to identify all boot camps, for juvenile delinquents, in operation. In all, fifty programs in twenty-seven states were identified and contacted. Two programs were eliminated from the pool of potential participants because they were nonresidential facilities. An additional two were eliminated because they were in the process of developing their programs and would not be fully operational in time to participate in the research. The remaining forty-six eligible programs were invited to participate in the research and of these, twenty-seven programs in twenty states (or 59 percent of the eligible programs) participated. There were several rea- sons some programs did not participate. For example, some states require outside researchers to obtain writ- ten consent from the parents of juveniles in order for youths to participate in research. This was not logistically possible due to the time constraints of data col- lection during the site visits. Some facility administrators believed the research would be too time consuming for

their already overburdened staff and refused to commit staff time to assist with data col- lection. A few sites did not participate due to a decision on the part of the State's Correctional Research Division. Finally, some sites did not reveal the basis for their decision not to participate.

A matched comparison facility was identified for each boot camp participating in the study. This facility was selected in consultation with the agency responsible for the boot camp facility and/or administrators at the boot camps. The goal was to identify the facility where the juveniles in the boot camps would have most likely been sent had they not gone to boot camp. All comparison sites were in the same state as the boot camp. At times, the comparison site was a large facility with specialized programming for different types of offenders (e.g., sex offender units). In such cases, a subset of the facility was identified where juveniles similar to the boot camp residents would reside. Only this subset or unit was compared to the boot camp. All questions in the surveys referred to the smaller unit and not the total facility.

The number of traditional institutions ($N = 22$) serving as comparison facilities for the boot camps was smaller than the number of boot camps ($N = 27$) because four of the participating states had two boot camps each. In one state the two boot camps were the only facilities where delinquents were confined so there was no viable comparison site. The remaining three states had one comparison site where the juveniles would reside if the boot camps had not been operating. This site was used as the comparison for both of the boot camps in the state. The data included twenty-five boot camps with comparison sites (three sites were used as comparisons for two boot camps) and two boot camps did not have comparison sites.

Responsibility for the operation of the participating facilities varied. Seventeen were privately operated (eleven boot camps), five were operated by county agencies (four boot camps), and twenty-seven were operated by state or multigovernmental agencies (twelve boot camps). Most of the programs ($N = 40$) were located in small cities, towns, or rural areas (twenty-three boot camps), while only nine were located in a suburb of or in urban areas (four boot camps).

Procedure

The forty-nine participating correctional facilities were visited between April 1997 and August 1998. During the site visits, juveniles and staff were surveyed, a survey was administered to the facility administrator, and a video survey and checklist was completed during a walk-through of the institution. This research focused on information obtained from the survey conducted with the facility administrator(s), as summarized in this study.

The survey consisted of 244 structured questions and took approximately two hours to complete. Questions in the survey related to the facilities' populations; selection and admission procedures; programming components; daily schedules; facility characteristics, such as health and medical assistance policies; staff issues; release supervision and after- care; grievance procedures; safety and security is- sues; and institutional impacts. Some questions re- quired information to be obtained from institutional records. When appropriate, these data were collected as summary statistics for a specific time period (one year).

To insure consistency in the survey administration process, questions were asked in a structured interview format by one of the project's three coinvestigators so that questions could be clarified and responses recorded in the same fashion. All coinvestigators participated in the development of the survey and were equally familiar with the survey format. One coinvestigator to guarantee reliability coded the data from all forty-nine surveys.

The majority of the interviews were conducted with the facilities' main administrator, such as the warden or director. This indicated the importance to facilities that questions from this survey be answered accurately. At a few facilities more than one administrator sat in on the interviews, such as an assistant di- rector or assistant warden. This usually occurred at facilities where the director or warden had not been employed by the facility for at least one year.

Indices

Four indices were developed to examine the differences between boot camps and comparison facilities:(1) population seriousness, (2) institutional structure, (3)

institutional security and custody, and (4) military atmosphere (see Appendices A–D for descriptions of items in each index).

The *population seriousness* index was developed in order to describe the population admitted to each facility in terms of offense seriousness. Administrators were asked whether juveniles with specific characteristics were admitted to the facility (convicted of violent crimes, past history of violent acts, arson, sex offenses, waived to adult criminal court, etc.). Responses were coded 0 if juveniles were legally or administratively excluded from the facility, 1 if they were admitted to the facility but in limited numbers, or 2 if admitted. Responses were summed and di- vided by 7 (the total number of items), which yielded a seriousness score for the population. Each facility received a score between 0 and 2. Scores closer to 0 indicate that the population of juveniles admitted to the facility does not have serious delinquent back- grounds when considering type of current offense and past history of offending. A score close to 2 indicates that the population admitted to the facility has serious delinquent histories. Scores ranged from .29 to 2 (coefficient a = .71).

The ten-item *institutional structure* index gauged the degree of structure in the daily routines of the facilities. A high structure program requires juveniles to adhere to various rules with a regimented schedule of activities. For example, they may be required to wear uniforms, enter the facility in groups, pass inspection, and have set daily schedules of activities. Responses were coded 1 for yes, and 0 for no, for each of the ten questions. These responses were summed and divided by 10 (the total number of items) to form an index ranging from 0 to 1. A score closer to 1 indicates a high degree of structure in the facility. Index scores ranged from .40 to 1 (coefficient a = .75).

The eight-item *institutional security and custody* index measured the degree to which physical barriers and supervision are used to control juveniles. A pro- gram with a high level of security and custody has locked buildings, requires staff to search juveniles and visitors when they enter the facilities, and keeps juveniles within eyesight of officials when they leave the facilities. Administrators were asked to respond to these items on a five-point Likert scale from never (1), to always (5).

Responses were summed and di- vided by 8 (the total number of items) to form index scores ranging from 1 to 5. A score of 1 indicates a facility with a low level of security and custody and a score of 5 indicates a facility with a high level of security and custody. Scores ranged from 1.38 to 5 (co- efficient a = .71).

The *military* index measured the degree to which military aspects are incorporated into the program (i.e., whether juveniles have to march to class, call staff by military titles, wear military uniforms, and practice drill and ceremony). Response choices were: no (0), or yes (1) to nine items. Index scores were formed by summing the responses and dividing by 9 (total number of items) to form an index ranging from 0 to 1. A score of 0 indicates low militarization and 1 indicates high militarization. Military index scores ranged from 0 to 1 (coefficient a = .71).

Results

The twenty-seven boot camp programs studied were developed between 1988 and 1997. Most of the twenty-two comparison facilities were much older than the boot camps—developed between 1885 and 1995. Boot camp program capacities ranged from 24 to 250 juveniles. The overall capacity range for comparison facilities was much wider, from 28 to 500. Juveniles in boot camp programs were between ten and twenty-one years old. The age ranges were slightly lower for comparison facilities, which had an overall age limit of eight to twenty-one years old. Most of the boot camp facilities served males only, but five of them served both males and females. All but two of the comparison facilities served male delinquents only. The average length of stay for juveniles in boot camps ranged from two to fourteen months, with an overall average length of stay of 4.5 months—the range in average length of stay in comparison facilities was from three to twenty-six months, with the average length of stay being 8.3 months. At the time of the site visits, boot camp pro- grams were operating at an average capacity level of 93 percent and comparison facilities were operating at an average capacity level of 100 percent.

Selection and characteristics of juvenile participants

The first issue of interest was the selection process for juvenile participants in the different facilities. The question was whether most boot camps limited their population to juveniles who had the lowest delinquent offense histories, that is, did they limit the type of juveniles who could enter the facilities? If so, boot camps would be widening the net of control over juveniles who would have otherwise received sentences of probation.

In general, the answer is that boot camps were admitting offenders with less serious offense histories. Traditional correctional facilities scored significantly higher on the population seriousness index (t (47) = -4.7; $p < .001$), compared to boot camps, indicating that they admitted more seriously delinquent juveniles (Table 1). In addition, comparison of the seriousness Index using the Mann-Whitney nonparametric test indicated that traditional facilities ranked significantly higher in the seriousness of their populations (Fig. 1). The individual items in the index and additional items from the survey indicated that all of the facilities, boot camps and comparisons, admitted nonviolent offenders to their facilities (see Appendices A–D). Almost all of the facilities admitted only juveniles who had been adjudicated as delinquent, while only five facilities permitted juveniles who were diverted from further criminal processing (three boot camps). Approximately half of the boot camp programs (sixteen facilities) accepted status offenders while only six comparison facilities included status offenders. The only indication that boot camps tried to target more serious delinquents was in three programs where first-time offenders were excluded from participating. None of the comparison sites had such restrictions.

Not only were the populations' delinquent histories more serious in traditional facilities, but also (as shown in Table 1), traditional facilities (in comparison to boot camps) were less apt to target a "certain type" of juveniles. Juveniles who entered traditional facilities were never required to volunteer to participate; fewer were interviewed by facility staff before admission; and fewer were required to pass physical, medical, and psychological evaluations prior to being admitted. In addition, personnel at fewer of the comparison facilities were able to determine who would be assigned to the facility (44.4 percent of the boot camps versus 22.7 percent of the comparison sites). No only did boot camps have less delinquent populations, they were able to be more selective about who

entered their programs.

Table 1
Differences in juvenile populations within boot camp programs and traditional correctional facilities

	Boot camp programs[a]	Comparison facilities[b]
	% yes, (*n*)	% yes, (*n*)
Serious population index*, *M* (*SD*), a = .71	1.01 (.43)	1.55 (.38)
Facility targets a certain type of juvenile	41.7 (10)	18.2 (4)
Juveniles must volunteer to be considered for the facility	25.9 (7)	0 (22)
The personnel at this facility determine who is assigned to this facility	44.4 (12)	22.7 (5)
The court determines who is assigned to this facility	48.1 (13)	50 (11)
A juvenile corrections agency determines who is assigned to this facility	63.0 (17)	77.3 (17)
Juveniles are interviewed by a facility staff member prior to admission to the facility	55.6 (15)	31.8 (7)
Juveniles must pass a physical evaluation prior to admission to the facility	81.5 (22)	45.5 (10)
Juveniles must pass a medical evaluation prior to admission to the facility	88.9 (24)	40.9 (9)
Juveniles must pass a psychological evaluation prior to admission to the facility	66.7 (18)	40.9 (9)
Facility admits juveniles evaluated as being suicide risks	66.7 (18)	90.9 (20)
Facility admits juveniles evaluated as having psychological problems	70.4 (19)	100 (22)
Facility admits juveniles with histories of abuse (either physical or sexual)	100 (27)	100 (22)

[a] $N = 27$.
[b] $N = 22$.
* $p < .001$.

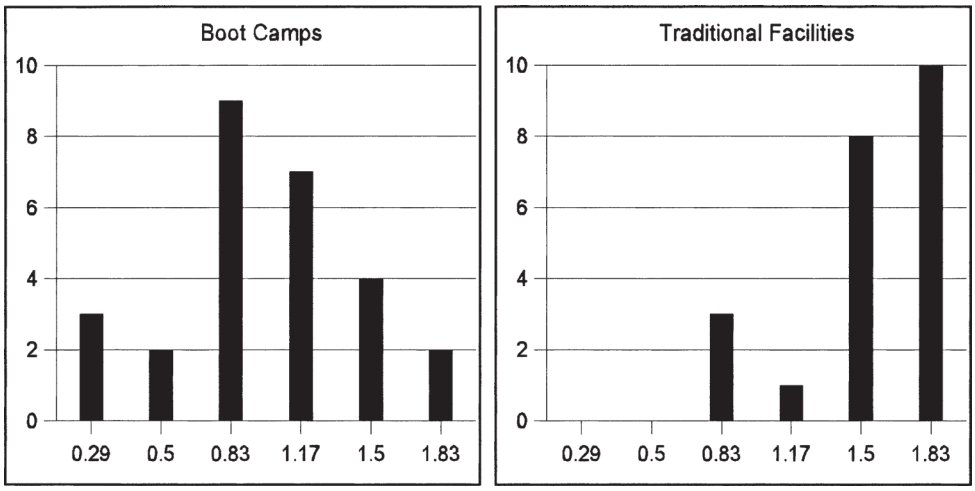

Fig. 1. Distribution of population seriousness index scores for boot camps and traditional facilities. Boot camps: *SD* = .43; median* = .86; *N* = 27. Traditional facilities: *SD* = .38; median* = 1.71; *N* = 22. *Significant Mann-Whitney U-test: *p* < .001.

The concern that more juveniles would be sent by the courts to boot camps, instead of being sentenced to the jurisdiction of juvenile correctional agencies, did not appear to be warranted since approximately the same percentage of the programs received juveniles who were court assigned (48.1 percent boot camps compared to 50 percent comparison facilities). Little information was obtained that permitted conclusion about whether boot camp participants were juveniles who would, if the boot camps did not exist, be in the community or in a comparison facilities. The data, however, suggested that boot camps are able to be more selective in who they admit and that the juveniles in boot camps are less serious delinquents in comparison to those in the traditional facilities.

Facility environment

Of considerable interest was whether the environments in boot camps differed from the environments in traditional facilities, since environmental conditions might be expected to have a direct impact on in- mate behavior. The boot camps were expected to have military basic training camp components, though traditional facilities might also be highly structured. Table 2 shows that the environments of the boot camps were

significantly more structured than those of the comparison facilities (t (32) = 9.5; p < .001), according to the institutional structure index. In addition, the Mann-Whitney nonparametric test indicated that boot camps rank significantly higher in terms of structure (Fig. 2). It is important to note, however, that the individual index items suggested that several program characteristics were consistent across both types of facilities (see Appendices A–D). For example, nearly all facilities required juveniles to get up at the same time every day, make their beds, shower at specific times, and follow strict schedules every day. Major differences were found in how the juveniles entered the facilities (whether in groups or on an on- going basis), how they were required to address the staff when speaking to them, and whether they were required to march to program activities.

There was no significant difference between boot camps and traditional facilities with regard to the security and custody index (t (46) = -.37; p > .05), indicating that the physical barriers and supervision of the juveniles was approximately the same in both types of facilities. Boot camps and traditional facilities did not really differ in the extent to which they maintain custodial control over the juveniles confined to their institutions. This finding was somewhat surprising because the juveniles in boot camps appeared to be less serious delinquents.

Military philosophy

The third question addressed the degree to which the military philosophy was incorporated into boot camps, compared to other facilities. According to the correctional literature, a military philosophy within a juvenile correctional environment is controversial. This research examined the incorporation of military components into facility environments for two main reasons. One expectation was to see if the military philosophy was incorporated to a higher degree within boot camps, although it was important to see just how different facilities appeared on this aspect alone. On the one hand, it is possible that military components create a therapeutic environment, but on the other, this philosophy may create a confrontational atmosphere that works against treatment efforts. This question was also explored in order to determine how much variation exists in the incorporation of this philosophy within boot camps, since it is well

documented that these programs differ in the extent to which the military model is emphasized.

As expected, boot camps incorporated significantly more military components than comparison facilities, as measured by the military index (t (45) = 18.8; p < .001). The Mann-Whitney nonparametric test also confirmed that boot camps rank significantly higher according to the military index (Fig. 3). In short, boot camps were very different than traditional programs for juveniles. Looking only at the boot camp facilities to examine the extent to which they embrace this philosophy, it appeared that most of these programs incorporate the major, traditional military aspects. For example, all programs required juveniles to wear military uniforms; march to class, meals, and other activities; to participate in drill and ceremony, and physical fitness training. The military philosophy was also incorporated in employee procedures at nearly all of the programs—such as requiring the staff to wear military uniforms and to use military titles. It is important to point out, however, that there was some variation in this regard. For example, approximately 75 percent of the programs used summary punishments and challenge courses. In addition, juveniles in eleven boot camps entered the facility on an ongoing basis, in- stead of in platoons, squads, or groups. Most of the pro- grams placed a heavy emphasis on military components; however, there were differences in some aspects.

Table 2
Comparison of boot camps and comparison sites on structure, security and custody, and military components

Indices	Boot camp programs[a]	Comparison facilities[b]
Institutional structure index*, *M* (*SD*), a = .75 (range 0–1)	.94 (.08)	.63 (.14)
Security and custody index, *M* (*SD*), a = .71 (range 1–5)	3.33 (1.01)	3.43 (1.01)
Military index*, *M* (*SD*), a = .71 (range 0–1)	.87 (.13)	.12 (.13)

[a] N = 27.
[b] N = 22.
* p < .001.

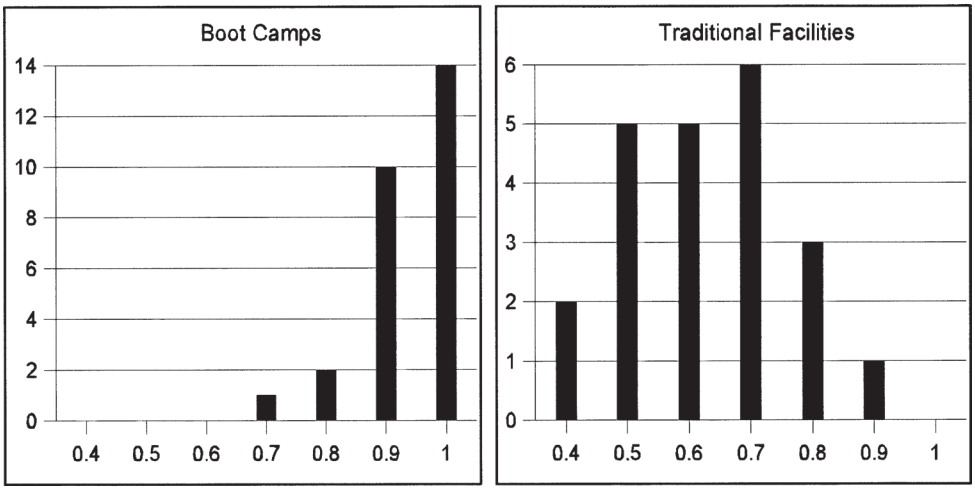

Fig. 2. Distribution of structure index scores for boot camps and traditional facilities. Boot camps: *SD* = .08; median* = 1.0; *N* = 27. Traditional facilities: *SD* = .14; median* = .60; *N* = 22. *Significant Mann-Whitney U-test: *p* < .001.

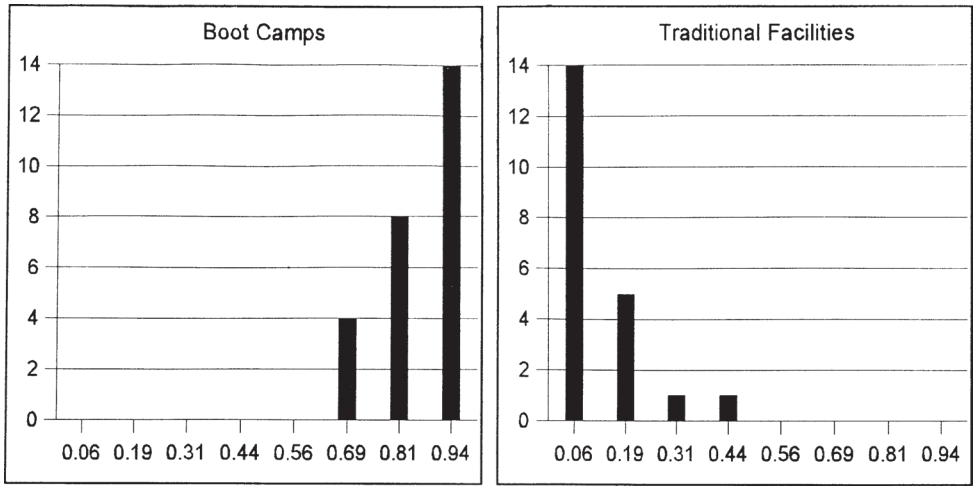

Fig. 3. Distribution of military index scores for boot camps and traditional facilities. Boot camps: *SD* = .13; median* = .89; *N* = 26. Traditional facilities: *SD* = .13; median* = .11; = 21. *Significant Mann-Whitney U-test: *p* < .001.

Correctional programming emphasis on therapeutic activities

Of additional interest were the differences be- tween boot camps and traditional facilities in the priority they place on various programming components. There is concern with regard to juvenile residential facilities about the activities juveniles engage

in during the day and whether they are kept occupied. Equally important is how they are kept occupied. It was important to examine whether differences existed in the emphasis placed on therapeutic programming. Previous research established that therapeutic programming for juveniles can be effective, so it was important to find out whether juveniles were participating in activities that would facilitate long- term change.

Administrators were asked about the activities available for juveniles in the facilities and how many hours these activities were scheduled each week. Many facilities did not schedule programming components on a consistent basis each week and instead offered activities on an “as needed” basis, or not at all. Table 3 shows that the only activities consistently scheduled each week in both types of facilities were education, treatment services, physical fitness activities, and visitation.

Advocates argue that the atmosphere of boot camps is more therapeutic and critics argue that it is less conducive to treatment. Significant differences were not found in the average amount of time scheduled by boot camps and traditional facilities each week for education, vocational training, and treatment services. On average, however, comparison facilities scheduled 6.1 more hours each week for vocational training and 5.4 more hours for treatment services than boot camps. Treatment services included: the time juveniles spent in substance abuse treatment, psychological treatment, or individual one-on-one meetings between a juvenile and staff member.

All facilities scheduled time each week for juveniles’ participation in physical fitness activities, which included the time juveniles spent in adventure, challenge, or ropes courses; drill and ceremony; and sports. As expected, juveniles in boot camp programs spent significantly more time than those in comparison facilities, participating in physical fitness activities. Juveniles in boot camps were scheduled to spend 22.7 hours each week in physical fitness activities while youngsters in comparison facilities spent 12.6 hours each week in such activities. Juveniles in boot camps had less free time, though it appeared that most of the reduction was due to the increased time spent in physical fitness activities. As mentioned earlier, one concern with the military philosophy within the correctional environment is that a higher priority is placed on physical fitness activities rather than the type of therapeutic activities that have been found to have an

impact on later behavior.

It is interesting to note that for four of the ten programming components examined, there were significant differences in the number of hours scheduled by the two facility types. Boot camp programs scheduled significantly more time for physical fitness activities than traditional facilities, though comparison facilities scheduled significantly more time for juveniles to engage in visitation, free time during the week, and free time on the weekend. Table 4 shows that nearly all facilities conducted academic instruction within the facilities and held educational classes during the summer months. In addition, juveniles in over half of both types of facilities attended classes according to their appropriate grade levels instead of according to their squads, platoons, or housing units. The remaining facilities, which pro- vided academic instruction according to groups have reduced their flexibility with regard to addressing individual problems. It is interesting to note that of all the juveniles who entered all of the facilities last year, a higher proportion of juveniles at comparison facilities took GED exams (43 percent compared to 23 percent in boot camps). The two types of facilities, however, had approximately the same GED passing rate. About three-fourths of those who took the GED exam last year at both types of facilities passed the test.

One issue related to correctional programming had to do with the extent to which youth are provided with individualized attention while confined to an institution. Boot camp programs had higher juvenile to staff ratios (Table 4). The juvenile to teaching staff ratio was much higher for boot camps than for comparison facilities. In boot camp programs there were 10.2 juveniles for every one teaching staff member but in comparison facilities there were 6.6 juveniles for every one teaching staff member. This indicates that juveniles in comparison facilities had the opportunity for more individualized attention in school. In addition, for boot camps, there were 3.5 juveniles for every one custody and treatment staff member while in comparison facilities there were 1.6 juveniles for every one custody and treatment staff member. This study was unable to distinguish between staff members that were specifically assigned to custodial responsibilities versus treatment responsibilities. The majority of custody staffs in juvenile institutions also had counseling and treatment responsibilities. These

overall findings, however, indicate that there may have been more opportunities for juveniles to receive individualized attention in traditional correctional facilities than in boot camp programs.

Table 3
Mean number of hours scheduled each week for programming components in boot camps and traditional facilities

	Boot camp programs[a]		Comparisons facilities[b]	
Program component	% Schedules (*n*)	Mean hours (*SD*)	% Schedules (*n*)	Mean hours (*SD*)
Educational classes	100 (26)	24.35 (5.07)	100 (19)	25.74 (8.48)
Vocational training classes	40.7 (10)	7.25 (7.35)	54.6 (6)	13.33 (9.25)
Treatment services	100 (23)	5.06 (3.93)	100 (16)	10.49 (12.25)
Physical fitness activities*	100 (26)	22.67 (7.08)	100 (18)	12.61 (6.07)
Work	44.4 (11)	10.58 (10.25)	59.1 (9)	11.78 (10.03)
Chores	88.9 (22)	12.25 (8.99)	100 (19)	11.5 (8.98)
Visitation*	100 (24)	4.29 (3.55)	100 (19)	7.14 (4.77)
Free time during week*	63 (15)	5.55 (3.08)	86.4 (15)	9.57 (6.27)
Free time on weekend*	81.5 (20)	3.63 (1.69)	90.9 (16)	10.88 (6.89)
Community service	48.1 (12)	5.66 (6.04)	54.6 (8)	4.06 (8.47)

The *n* sizes for the cells in this table represent the programs that reported regularly scheduling a specific number of hours for juveniles to participate in these activities each week. Some programs did not schedule each activity on a regular basis and in- stead used them as needed. Other programs might not use an activity at all. For boot camp programs, less than 10 percent of data were missing for all activities, except for the treatment category, where 15 percent of the programs did not respond to these questions. For comparison facilities, less then 20 percent of data were missing, except for the vocational training and treatment services category, where 27 percent of the programs failed to respond to these questions.

[a] $N = 27$.

[b] $N = 22$.

* $p < .05$

Table 4
Juvenile correctional facilities, educational and staffing issues

Educational programming	Boot camp programs[a]	Comparison facilities[b]
Juveniles attend classes grouped according to their appropriate grade levels, % yes (*n*)	59.3 (16)	59.1 (13)
Academic instruction is held inside the facility, % yes (*n*)	100 (27)	95.5 (21)
Academic classes are held during the summer months, % yes (*n*)	96.3 (26)	100 (22)
Proportion of juveniles who took the GED exam last year, out of those who entered the facility last year, % (*n*)	23.3 (20)	42.9 (17)
Proportion of juveniles who passed the GED exam last year, out of those who took it, % (*n*)	74 (19)	75.2 (17)
Inmate to teaching staff ratio	10.17:1	6.59:1
Inmate to custody and treatment staff ratio	3.46:1	1.62:1

[a] *N* = 27.
[b] *N* = 22.

Juveniles contact with the community

In addition to differences in programming, facilities were compared on the degree to which juveniles had community contact (Table 5). Most juveniles confined to institutions return to the community after completing their sentences, therefore, it is important for juveniles to maintain contact with their social net- works. According to administrators, juveniles in boot camps returned to the community after an average of 4.5 months of confinement and juveniles in traditional facilities returned to the community after an average of 8.3 months. One of the interests of this re- search was whether juveniles' contact with the com- munity was different depending on the type of facility they were confined to.

Policies and procedures in traditional facilities permitted juveniles to have more contact with the community while confined to the institutions than the boot camps did.

Boot camps had stricter policies for juveniles regarding visitation, phone calls, and letter writing (Table 5). For example, juveniles in half of the boot camps were not allowed to receive visitors during the first to second months of confinement. Only three comparison facilities had this restriction on visitation. In addition, five boot camp programs did not allow juveniles to receive visitors during their entire confinement period. This was not a policy implemented at any of the comparison facilities.

Juveniles in comparison facilities had a significantly greater amount of time scheduled each week for visitation with family and friends. Comparison facilities scheduled an average of 7.1 hours each week for visitation while boot camp programs scheduled only 4.3 hours on average. In addition to having a longer period of time for visitation, visitation was al- lowed more often in comparison facilities. On aver- age, juveniles in boot camps were allowed to receive visitors about once each week (.92 times/week), while in comparison facilities juveniles were allowed to receive visitors one and a half times each week.

The same can be said for phone calls—juveniles in boot camps were allowed to make an average of 1.1 calls each week while juveniles in comparison facilities were allowed to make an average of 1.6 calls each week. The length of the call permitted, however, by both types of facilities was approximately the same (about 10.5 minutes). In addition, boot camp programs were more likely than traditional facilities to limit the number of letters juveniles could write each week. Boot camp policies regarding visitation, phone calls, and letter writing were more restrictive than policies within traditional facilities.

Institutional impacts

A final area of interest for this study involved the amount of access facilities had to information regarding institutional impacts. If facility staff and administrators plan to develop a program that will have an impact on juveniles once they are released, it is necessary for the staff to know what happens to them after they leave. Do facilities collect or receive any in- formation at all about how the youth are doing once they are released from the facility? This is information that could be collected by the facility itself or by another agency that then provides it to the institution. If institutions do not have

Table 5
Juvenile correctional facilities, visiting, letter writing, and phone call regulations

Program regulations	Boot camp programs[a]	Comparison facilities[b]
Program had a "no-visit" policy during the first or second month juveniles were in the facility, % yes (*n*)	51.9(14)	13.6(3)
Program had a "no visit" policy during the entire time juveniles were in the facility, % yes (*n*)	18.5 (5)	0 (0)
Visitors needed to schedule their visits in advance, % yes (*n*)	59.3 (16)	36.4 (8)
Juveniles who had children were encouraged to have their children visit during visiting hours, % yes (*n*)	77.8 (21)	81.8 (18)
Contact with family or friends through visits or phone calls could be limited as punishment, % yes (*n*)	25.9 (7)	52.4 (11)
Facility permitted juveniles to make a set number of phone calls each week, % yes (*n*)	62.5 (15)	55.6 (10)
Juveniles were required to write letters to their relatives, % yes (*n*)	37 (10)	22.7 (5)
Program limited the number of letters juveniles could write in one week, % yes (*n*)	40.7 (11)	9.1 (2)
Average number of times per week juveniles were allowed to receive visits from family or friends, *M* (*SD*)	.921 (.52) (*n* = 25)	1.49 (.65) (*n* = 21)
Average number of hours per week opened for visitation, *M* (*SD*)	4.29 (3.55) (*n* = 27)	7.14 (4.77) (*n* = 21)
Average number of phone calls juveniles Were permitted per week (of those who had a set number), *M* (*SD*)	1.08 (.58) (*n* = 15)	1.60 (1.05) (*n* = 10)
Average number of minutes permitted per call, *M* (*SD*)	10.48 (6.97) (*n* = 25)	10.58 (7.83) (*n* = 19)

[a]*N* = 27.
[b]*N* = 22.

access to this type of information (e.g., whether juveniles are attending school, working, participating in drug treatment, etc.), it is impossible for them to know whether their programming resources are appropriately focused and are having an impact on juveniles' behavior. This information could be used for the development of performance-based standards for the operation of facilities as well.

Table 6 shows that nearly all of the institutions who participated in this study were not provided with this type of impact information. In fact, answers to these questions were consistently missing from 20 percent of the facilities while 43 to 69 percent of the facilities reported that this information was simply unavailable. Even sixteen facilities were unable to determine if juveniles, who were released from their facilities last year, had since been readmitted to their own facilities.

Discussion

Overall, these findings indicate that boot camps differed from traditional facilities in population, the level of structure in the environment, and in the incorporation of the military model into the correctional atmosphere. Facilities did not differ significantly in their levels of security and custody. Traditional facilities, however, had visitation, phone call, and letter writing policies that allowed juveniles a greater amount of contact with the community than boot camps did. In addition, traditional facilities scheduled more time each week for juveniles to participate in treatment services and vocational training. Traditional facilities also had more educators and custody/treatment staff for each juvenile. These juveniles potentially received more individualized attention than their boot camp counterparts.

There are, however, limitations to these findings. For example, the data did not allow explicit examination of why variations existed between boot camps and traditional facilities in terms of various factors, such as population seriousness and structure. As a result, conclusions were inferred from the answers to questions regarding the admission process, the facility environment, the military philosophy, the emphasis on therapeutic activities, and the permitted level of contact with the outside community. The findings indicate that there was substantial variation both be- tween

and within boot camps and traditional facilities. From these data, however, one cannot test how these differences across facilities affect actual post- release behavior. This presents an important limitation that should be addressed in future research.

Despite the limitations of the present data, this study did provide some indication of why recidivism rates—found in previous research comparing juveniles released from boot camps to those released from traditional facilities—have not differed. Most important, is the fact that while juveniles in boot camps were kept busier and had less free time, their increased activity levels were not attributed to more academic classes or therapeutic activities. As shown by previous researchers, the type of treatment pro- vided to offenders must be carefully designed to ad- dress their "criminogenic needs" (Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Andrews et al., 1990; Lipsey, 1992). There is no reason to believe physical activity alone will be successful in reducing recidivism. From these results, boot camps would not be expected to be any more successful than traditional facilities in reducing recidivism.

In fact, many of these findings suggest that comparison facilities may be more successful than boot camps. In particular, they had more staff for each juvenile, which afforded the opportunity for juveniles to have more individualized attention. Traditional facilities were also less structured, again suggesting the possibility of more individual attention. More juveniles in traditional facilities took GED examinations. In addition, these juveniles had more access to out- side contacts while they were in the facilities. This may help them with the difficulties inherent in making the transition back to the community (Altschuler & Armstrong, 1991).

It is difficult to design a program that successfully rehabilitates juvenile delinquents without having some basic information about how the juveniles are adjusting once they return to the community. From the findings here, however, it is clear that institutional personnel do not have access to or are not provided with this type of information. As a result, the potential impact of institutional differences on juveniles' post-release outcomes could not be examined. This information is critical for determining what types of institutional programs or environmental settings are the most effective. Nearly all of this information could be collected by the agencies

responsible for the juveniles' aftercare supervision and forwarded to the facilities. One recommendation from these results is that it is the responsibility of the correctional system to provide the resources and expertise to the institutions needing access to this information. If performance-based standards are going to be developed, more outcome information will need to be documented.

Table 6
Facilities' access to measures of institutional impacts

Information collected on juveniles who were released from the facility last year regarding . . .[a]	Information unavailable	Information available	Information missing
	% (*N*)	% (*N*)	% (*N*)
Juveniles who have returned to school	61.2 (30)	20.4 (10)	18.4 (9)
Juveniles who have since completed high school	63.3 (31)	12.2 (6)	24.5 (12)
Juveniles who have since obtained their GED	57.1 (28)	22.4 (11)	20.4 (10)
Juveniles who have since gained vocational training	65.3 (32)	14.3 (7)	20.4 (10)
Juveniles who have since gained employment	65.3 (32)	16.3 (8)	18.4 (9)
Juveniles who have continued in drug treatment	69.4 (34)	10.2 (5)	20.4 (10)
Juveniles who are receiving psychological counseling	71.4 (35)	6.1 (3)	22.4 (11)
Juveniles who have returned to live with their family	59.2 (29)	18.4 (9)	22.4 (11)
Juveniles who have since been re-arrested in same year	65.3 (32)	10.2 (5)	24.5 (12)
Juveniles who have since returned to this facility	42.9 (21)	32.7 (16)	24.5 (12)
Juveniles who have since been sent to another facility	61.2 (30)	16.3 (8)	22.4 (11)
Juveniles who have died or been killed	57.1 (28)	24.5 (12)	18.4 (9)

[a] Administrators reported that they did not have access to this information (information unavailable), that they did have ac- cess to this type of information (information available), or did not respond to these questions (information missing).

Acknowledgments

This investigation was supported in part by grant #96-SC-LX-0001 from the National Institute of Jus- tice, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, to the University of Maryland. The points of view expressed in this document are those of the au- thors and do not necessarily represent the official posi- tion of the Department of Justice. Thanks are ex- pressed to administrators, staff, and juveniles at the correctional facilities who participated in this research.

Appendix A

	Boot camp programs	Comparison facilities
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Juveniles waived to adult criminal court	.19 (.56)	.64 (.85)
Adjudicated juveniles convicted of violent crimes	1.44 (.8)	1.77 (.53)
Juveniles with a past history of engaging in violent acts	1.33 (.88)	1.91 (.29)
Juveniles convicted of arson	.81 (.88)	1.55 (.8)
Juveniles convicted of sex offenses	.67 (.88)	1.5 (.86)
Adjudicated juveniles previously convicted of serious offenses	1.48 (.75)	1.91 (.29)
Status offenders[a]	1.11 (.93)	1.55 (.8)

Items coded as: 0 = no; 1 = limited; 2 = yes.
[a] Denotes reversal.

Appendix B

	Boot camp programs[a]	Comparison facilities[b]
	% yes (*n*)	% yes (*n*)
Juveniles had to say “sir” or “ma’am” when addressing the staff	96.3 (26)	22.7 (5)
Juveniles were required to wear uniforms	100 (27)	59.1 (13)
Juveniles had to march to class, meals, and other activities	100 (27)	13.6 (3)
Juveniles entered the unit/facility in groups or platoons	59.3 (16)	0.0 (0)
Juveniles had to make their beds everyday[c]	100 (27)	100 (22)
Juveniles’ beds were inspected to make sure they were made properly	100 (27)	90.9 (20)
Juveniles in this unit/facility got up at the same time	96.3 (26)	86.4 (19)
Every weekday, juveniles had a set schedule to follow[c]	100 (27)	100 (22)
Juveniles had a set study time each weekday for homework	88.9 (24)	63.6 (14)
Juveniles had a set time each day for showering	96.3 (26)	90.9 (20)

Items coded as: 0 = no; 1 = yes.

[a] $N = 27$.
[b] $N = 22$.
[c] These items were not included in the computation for the index reliability coefficient because there was no variation among facilities' responses to these items.

Appendix C

	Boot camp programs	Comparison facilities
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Facility was operated to ensure that all entrances and exits were under the control of the staff of the facility	4.07 (1.54)	4.23 (1.45)
Facility relied on construction fixtures (locked rooms, buildings, and fences) to physically restrict free access into the community	3.37 (1.94)	3.55 (1.77)
Visitors were searched for weapons or contraband when entering the facility (included pat down searches not just metal detectors)	2.42 (1.72)	2.5 (1.82)
Visitors had to pass through a metal detector before entering the facility	2.41 (1.85)	2.82 (1.94)
Juveniles were searched for weapons or contraband when entering the facility (included pat down searches not just metal detectors)	4.59 (1.05)	4.82 (.85)
Juveniles had to pass through a metal detector before entering the facility	1.7 (1.46)	2.14 (1.7)
Juveniles left the facility routinely to work, attend activities, or utilize community resources[a]	3.37 (1.55)	3.29 (1.52)
When outside of the facility, juveniles were within eyesight of direct-care officials	4.67 (.55)	4.62 (.5)

Items coded as: 1 = never; 2 = rarely; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = always.
[a] Denotes reversal.

Appendix D

	Boot camp programs[a]	Comparison facilities[b]
	% yes (*n*)	% yes (*n*)
Juveniles had to march to class, meals, and other activities	100 (27)	13.6 (3)
Facility had summary punishments that required physical exercise	74.1 (20)	9.1 (2)
Juveniles entered the unit/facility in groups or platoons	59.3 (16)	0 (0)
Facility staff in this unit had military titles	88.9 (24)	13.6 (3)
Facility staff in this unit wore military uniforms	96.3 (26)	9.1 (2)
Facility had challenge/adventure/ropes course	76.9 (20)	35 (7)
Facility had drill and ceremony	100 (27)	9.5 (2)
Facility had formal graduation ceremony	84.6 (22)	13.6 (3)
Juveniles were required to wear military uniforms	100 (27)	0 (0)

Items coded as: 0 = no; 1 = yes.

[a] $N = 27$.

[b] $N = 22$.

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