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This Issue in Brief ^{ACQUISITIONS}

Corrections Goes Public (and Private) in California.—Authors Dale K. Sechrest and David Shichor report on a preliminary study of two types of community correctional facilities in California: facilities operated by private for-profit corporations and facilities operated by municipal governments for profit. The authors compare the cost effectiveness and quality of service of these two types of organizations.

Mandatory Minimums and the Betrayal of Sentencing Reform: A Legislative Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.—According to author Henry Scott Wallace, mandatory minimums are "worse than useless." In an article reprinted from the *Federal Bar News & Journal*, he puts mandatory minimums in historical perspective, explains how they fall short of alleviating sentencing disparity, and offers some suggestions for correcting what he describes as a Jekyll-and-Hyde approach to sentencing reform.

Juvenile Detention Programming.—Author David W. Roush focuses on programming as a critical part of successful juvenile detention. He defines juvenile detention and programming; explains why programs are necessary; and discusses objectives of programs, what makes good programs, and necessary program components. Obstacles to successful programming are also addressed.

Legal and Policy Issues From the Supreme Court's Decision on Smoking in Prisons.—In *Helling v. McKinney*, the Supreme Court held that inmates may have a constitutional right to be free from unreasonable risks to future health problems from exposure to environmental tobacco smoke. Authors Michael S. Vaughn and Rolando V. del Carmen discuss the legal and policy issues raised in *McKinney*, focusing on correctional facilities in which smoking or no-smoking policies have been a concern. They also discuss litigation in the lower courts before *McKinney* and how this case might shape future lower court decisions.

Community Corrections and the Fourth Amendment.—The increased use of community corrections programs has affected the special conditions of probation and parole imposed on offenders. Author Stephen J. Rackmill focuses on one such condition—that proba-

tioners submit to searches at the direction of their probation officers. Explaining the importance of the Supreme Court's decision in *Griffin v. Wisconsin*, the author assesses the case law before and after *Griffin* regarding searches and points out that policy regarding searches is still inconsistent.

A Study of Attitudinal Change Among Boot Camp Participants.—Authors Velmer S. Burton, Jr., James W. Marquart, Steven J. Cuvelier, Leanne Fiftal Alarid, and Robert J. Hunter report on whether participation in the CRIPP (Courts Regimented Intensive Probation Program) boot camp program in Harris County, Texas, influenced young felony offenders' attitudes. The authors measured attitudinal change in

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A Study of Attitudinal Change Among Boot Camp Participants

BY VELMER S. BURTON, JR., PH.D., JAMES W. MARQUART, PH.D.,
STEVEN J. CUVELIER, PH.D., LEANNE FIFTAL ALARID, AND ROBERT J. HUNTER, PH.D.*

ALTERNATIVES TO incarceration have been adopted in many jurisdictions to address the problem of prison crowding (Burton, Dunaway, & Kopache, 1993; Johnson, Dunaway, Burton, Marquart, & Cuvelier, 1993; Burton, Marquart, Cuvelier, Hunter, & Fital, 1993; DiIulio, 1987). In the State of Texas, prisoner population growth is at its highest level ever. More than 50,000 adult inmates now are housed within the Texas Institutional Division Units (Texas Department of Criminal Justice, 1991).

In light of the alarming expansion of offender populations, community diversion programs for criminal offenders have emerged (see Johnson et al., 1993). As a means to handle offenders, jurisdictions increasingly have turned to creative community-based diversionary programs such as electronic monitoring (Schmidt, 1989), restitution (Galaway, 1977), house arrest (Lilly, Ball, Curry, & Smith, 1992; Coopridner & Kerby, 1990; Ball, Huff, & Lilly, 1988), half-way house commitments (Latessa & Allen, 1982), and boot camp programs (MacKenzie & Ballow, 1989; MacKenzie & Shaw, 1990).

The use of boot camp programs to satisfy the need for an intermediate sanction has gained in popularity with more than half the states presently operating boot camp programs (see MacKenzie & Ballow, 1989). The increased use of boot camp intervention is timely for several reasons. First, a sentence to boot camp satisfies both the public's demand for punishment and provides skills to offenders to help them reintegrate into society (Burton et al., 1993; Lambert, 1990; MacKenzie & Shaw, 1990; cf. Morash & Rucker, 1990). Second, according to Sechrest (1989) and Samaha (1991), boot camps reduce problems associated with total institutionalization, while reducing the substantial costs of long-term confinement.

The Harris County, Texas, Boot Camp CRIPP Program

Although previous research has assessed the merits of boot camp programs for offenders, continued evalu-

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ation of the various dimensions of boot camp programs and participants is important. The study described here assesses the value of the boot camp experience for young felony offenders sentenced to a boot camp program in Harris County (Houston), Texas. Specifically, the study measures the degree of attitudinal change among probationers participating in the Harris County, Texas, Courts Regimented Intensive Probation Program (CRIPP) boot camp program. CRIPP, implemented in May 1991 to handle convicted criminal offenders under probation supervision, is a community-based correctional program for convicted offenders administered by the Harris County Community Supervision Corrections Department (CSCD). The Harris County Sheriff's Department provides drill instructors (DI's) to supervise boot camp participants and provides security and custody staff for the CRIPP program.

Following a military model, boot camp participants are grouped together in a cohort of 48 members, who remain together for a 90-day period. CRIPP probationers are provided an array of services to meet medical, vocational, physical, and social (including drug and alcohol counseling) needs.

Medical Services. Probationers sentenced to the CRIPP boot camp program undergo an extensive medical examination prior to arrival. Once at the boot camp, probationers with physical limitations preventing their participation are referred back to the sentencing court. Probationers are also provided medical counseling services such as AIDS counseling and anonymous and voluntary HIV testing.

Vocational Services. Probationers are provided opportunities to participate in vocational skills training. The boot camp program makes available a computer lab and teaches probationers basic computer literacy skills.

Physical Training. Given the militaristic nature of the boot camp environment, paramilitary training (in the form of physical conditioning) constitutes most of the probationers' activities in the program.

Social Skills. Boot camp participants may choose to undergo drug and alcohol counseling. These services, provided by workers from the county health department and the probation department, are designed to enable probationers to control their illegal actions and break the cycle of chemical dependency.

The goals of the aforementioned services are to improve each probationer's ability to function in a law-

abiding fashion upon completion of the CRIPP boot camp program. Upon release, probationers are transferred to "superintensive" probation supervision. "Superintensive" probation is a 90-day supervision plan in which probationers have daily contact with probation officers for the first 30 days, biweekly contact the second 30 days, and one contact weekly for the last 30 days.

Purpose of Study

Previous studies assessing boot camp participants' attitudes have been limited in several respects. They have based their conclusions on small samples (for example, MacKenzie & Shaw, 1990) or have focused only on state-level programs (MacKenzie & Ballow, 1989; see also Sechrest, 1989).

In the study described in this article, we sought to improve on previous assessments in several ways. First, our study employs a county-level boot camp program administered by a county department. This study is important in that unlike the majority of previous evaluations which have focused only on state-operated boot camp programs, this study seeks to determine the ability of a "locally"-operated boot camp to change probationer attitudes. Second, the study examines a greater range of crucial probationer attitudes than does earlier research. Finally, the analysis includes more cases than any previous investigation, i.e., the entire population of offenders sentenced to an urban county's boot camp program.

The aim of this study is to determine whether the boot camp experience alters offender attitudes as measured upon entry and exit of the program. The study measures attitudinal change in the areas of coping/self-control, perceptions of boot camp staff, and the benefits of participating in drug and alcohol counseling and AIDS counseling. Probationer attitudes are also assessed by measuring changes in opinions toward the CRIPP program, perceptions of future opportunities, and the quality of relations with family and friends.

Methodology

To assess the effect of experiencing the CRIPP boot camp program, we developed both incoming and exit surveys to measure the degree of attitudinal change in the population of CRIPP boot camp probationers attributable to their CRIPP program participation. Accordingly, the data contain *matched* responses to an incoming and outgoing survey instrument assessing participants' attitudes covering eight individual-level and program dimensions.

During September 1, 1992, through March 1, 1993, surveys were administered to CRIPP boot camp participants.¹ This data collection process yielded a population of 389 matched cases (e.g., probationers who completed both the incoming and outgoing surveys) to be analyzed

statistically in this study. This analysis will indicate any significant degree of attitudinal change of the population of probationers completing the entire CRIPP program.

Data Characteristics

The current study includes responses from 389 matched incoming and outgoing surveys. For probationers in the current analysis the age range was 17 to 24 years of age with 57 percent being age 19 and under. The majority of probationers were black (42 percent), 35.5 percent were white, 21.5 percent were Hispanic, and 1 percent were Asian. Further, 49 percent were sentenced for nonviolent offenses, 31 percent for drug-related offenses, and 20 percent for violent offenses.

Attitudinal change was assessed in the areas of 1) perceptions of boot camp staff, 2) alcohol/drug counseling, 3) AIDS education/counseling, 4) perceptions of the boot camp program, 5) perceptions of the boot camp as a place of punishment and rehabilitation, 6) perceptions of future opportunities, 7) interpersonal relations with friends and family, and 8) indicators of self-control, impulsivity, and individual coping skills. Statistical analyses (t-tests) were conducted to examine significant changes in the responses of the population of CRIPP probationers when entering the program and at time of completion.

In each of these eight domains, probationers were asked a series of questions with a Likert response set ranging from 6 to 1. Accordingly, probationers answering a "6" to an item were indicating strongly agree, while a response of "1" indicated strongly disagree with a statement. Additionally, questions asked on incoming surveys were modified slightly to be appropriate for the outgoing survey. The content of the questions, however, was not altered.

Perceptions of Boot Camp Staff. Seven questions in the survey examined probationers' perceptions of the CRIPP drill instructors and staff. For example, evaluation measures included items assessing the degree of respect for staff, the ability to handle criticism, and attitudes toward authority figures. Table 1 indicates that all seven items used to assess probationers' attitudinal change in the area of perceptions of boot camp staff are statistically significant.

Moreover, as reported in table 1, for each item the attitudinal change is in the predicted direction. For example, with the last item, probationers in the outgoing survey more strongly disagree with the statement: "I do not respect my DI as a person." Thus, the data suggest that respect increases through participation in the program and interaction with the DI. Also, from the interaction with the DI and over the course of the program, probationers come to view their DI as

TABLE 1. PROBATIONERS' PERCEPTIONS OF BOOT CAMP STAFF

Item:	Incoming Mean	Outgoing Mean	Probability
What they dished out in here has made me not want to be a criminal.	1.58	5.39	.000*
The physical training part of this place was not a problem in getting out of here.	2.43	1.57	.000*
I handled the staff here telling me what to do.	1.98	5.18	.000*
Criticism makes me nervous.	3.07	2.89	.044**
I feel self-conscious and uncomfortable when in the presence of those whom I consider to be my superiors.	3.32	2.93	.000*
I think that my DI understands my feelings and problems.	2.68	4.47	.000*
I do not respect my DI as a person.	2.35	1.49	.000*

* = $p < .01$ ** = $p > .01$ to $.05$

N = 389 matched CRIPP probationers

TABLE 2. PROBATIONERS' PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF ALCOHOL AND DRUG COUNSELING

Item:	Incoming Mean	Outgoing Mean	Probability
Drug counseling allowed me to kick my illegal drug use.	3.58	4.72	.000*
The drug counseling here is going to be a waste of time.	2.42	1.93	.000*

* = $p < .01$

N = 389 matched CRIPP probationers

someone who understands their problems and feelings. This finding suggests that DI's may be serving as positive role models and figures to be "looked up to" by CRIPP probationers.

Alcohol and Drug Counseling. Incoming probationers were asked questions regarding the extent of their previous drug and alcohol involvement and whether they feel related counseling would be beneficial in stopping these habits (see table 2). Outgoing probationers are asked the same questions, along with questions measuring their anticipated reinvolvement with illegal drugs and alcohol. Also, this group was asked to assess the effectiveness of drug and alcohol counseling services provided by the boot camp program.

Table 2 reveals that both of the two items assessing the perceived effectiveness of probationers' continued drug use are statistically significant. In fact, probationers believed that counseling will enable them to "kick their habit" and that counseling is *not* a waste of time—suggesting a positive effect of the CRIPP program.

AIDS Education and Counseling. The survey also contained items measuring the perceived risk of

contracting HIV and whether probationers' lifestyles increase such risk. Table 3 reveals that AIDS education/counseling services, as employed in their present form, were not statistically significant. That is, the data suggest that this service has not made a positive and significant change in attitudes of CRIPP probationers voluntarily participating in HIV education/counseling services.

Perceptions of Boot Camp Program. CRIPP probationers were asked their overall perceptions and opinions regarding the boot camp program. For example, probationers at both incoming and outgoing points were surveyed to determine how challenging the program is, the helpfulness of CRIPP training, and whether they thought prison would have been a better alternative than a sentence to the boot camp.

Table 4 reports that CRIPP participants viewed the program as helpful. Further, they thought it would make a positive change and would rather receive the benefits of the program than be in prison. Overall, probationers demonstrated a positive and favorable view of the boot camp program as a means of curbing any potential future criminal behavior.

BOOT CAMP PARTICIPANTS

TABLE 3. PROBATIONERS' OPINIONS OF AIDS EDUCATION AND COUNSELING

Item:	Incoming Mean	Outgoing Mean	Probability
Given my behaviors, my chance of getting AIDS is low.	4.22	4.28	.542
A large number of people are guilty of bad sexual conduct.	4.14	4.21	.450

N = 389 matched CRIPP probationers

TABLE 4. PROBATIONERS' PERCEPTIONS OF BOOT CAMP PROGRAM

Item:	Incoming Mean	Outgoing Mean	Probability
This place really won't do anything for me.	2.20	1.76	.000*
Places like this are only tough on the "outside" but are really easy to get through.	3.04	3.11	.470
The CRIPP training was not helpful.	2.02	1.47	.000*
I'd rather be in prison than in this place.	1.88	1.23	.000*

* = p < .01

N = 389 matched CRIPP probationers

TABLE 5. PROBATIONERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE BOOT CAMP AS PLACE OF PUNISHMENT OR REHABILITATION

Item:	Incoming Mean	Outgoing Mean	Probability
Maybe my being here will make me a better person.	5.03	5.37	.000*
As I see it, this place exists to punish people for their crimes.	3.28	2.56	.000*
90 days in this program was enough time to change a person like me.	1.84	5.17	.000*

* = p < .01

N = 389 matched CRIPP probationers

Perceptions of the Boot Camp as a Place of Punishment and Rehabilitation. Items contained in table 5 measured probationers' incoming and outgoing attitudes toward the boot camp program as a source of punishment and/or rehabilitation. Accordingly, participants were asked whether they viewed CRIPP as a place to punish people for their crimes, whether the program can change people, and whether completion of the CRIPP program makes an individual a better person.

Table 5 reports that of these three measures, all produced significant attitudinal change in probationers. The lower mean (from incoming to outgoing surveys) for the item assessing the view that the place exists primarily to punish people illustrates

how probationers come to see the place as being more than just a place to punish and may in fact see it as a place to reform offenders. This is further illustrated by the significant finding for the item which measures probationers' opinion that CRIPP has the capability to positively change people.

Perceptions of Future Opportunities. To assess probationers' perceptions of their future opportunities, questions in table 6 measured their opinions about going to college and obtaining a regular job. Given that boot camp staff stress personal responsibility and the importance of setting and achieving personal goals, these questions measure the degree to which probationers aspire to positive/reintegrative goals.

TABLE 6. PROBATIONERS' PERCEPTIONS OF FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES

Item:	Incoming Mean	Outgoing Mean	Probability
My chances for ever going to college are low.	2.86	2.47	.000*
I can't seem to hold a steady job.	2.62	2.40	.014**
Someday, I would like to have a college education.	5.43	5.49	.311

* = $p < .01$ ** = $p > .01$ to .05

N = 389 matched CRIPP probationers

TABLE 7. PROBATIONERS' INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH FRIENDS AND FAMILY

Item:	Incoming Mean	Outgoing Mean	Probability
Most of the time I feel like a follower of others.	2.60	2.50	.233
My friends led me into a life of crime.	2.83	2.67	.084***
My present family life is bad.	2.28	1.80	.000*

* = $p < .01$ ** = $p > .01$ to .50*** = $p > .05$ to .10

N = 389 matched CRIPP probationers

TABLE 8. PROBATIONERS' LEVEL OF SELF-CONTROL, IMPULSIVITY, AND INDIVIDUAL COPING SKILLS

Item:	Incoming Mean	Outgoing Mean	Probability
It is natural to get upset by the errors and stupidities of others.	4.04	4.00	.595
I feel that many people could be described as victims of circumstances beyond their control.	3.86	3.73	.139
My personal appearance and looks are important to me.	5.42	5.62	.001*
I shrink from facing a crisis or difficulty.	2.89	2.65	.005*
It makes me angry and upset when other people interfere with my daily activities.	3.70	3.65	.575
I did most of my crimes trying to impress other people.	2.32	2.50	.039**
I get impatient and begin to fume and fret when other people delay me unnecessarily.	3.51	3.08	.000*
When I'm in a group, I'm always afraid I might say or do something wrong.	3.07	2.37	.000*

* = $p < .01$ ** = $p > .01$ to .05

N = 389 matched CRIPP probationers

Table 6 reports responses to questions on both the incoming and outgoing surveys to determine whether boot camp participation shapes future perceptions of opportunity. We found that boot camp participants entered the program assuming that they had minimal future opportunities but left the program believing the future held greater opportunities to achieve success in the areas of work and education.

Interpersonal Relationships With Friends and Family. Items in table 7 assess probationers' relationships with friends and family members before and after completing the program. These questions also identify both positive and negative aspects of these relationships which are potentially crime-producing.

Table 7 reports that of the three questions asked of probationers, two generated significant results. That is, after completing the CRIPP program, probationers' outlook on their family life had improved. Second, after completing the program, probationers come to realize that their friends led them into crime. Accordingly, the data at hand suggest that DI's emphasize that probationers should be careful in selecting friends and associates. If probationers accept the need for such caution, they will have effectively identified a potential source of criminality—*involvement with criminal associates.* This rationale fits neatly into a goal of the program to make individuals accountable and responsible for their actions.

Self-Control/Impulsivity/Individual Coping Skills. Another area investigated in the incoming and outgoing surveys was probationers' level of coping skills, self-control, and degree of impulsiveness. The survey questions were designed to assess the amount of individual-level change in probationers after completing CRIPP.

In table 8, of the eight questions asked of probationers, five produced significant and positive findings. Table 8 reveals that CRIPP graduates demonstrated greater self-control and better coping skills than they did when they first entered the program. Additionally, according to these data, they appear to be less impulsive and more in control of their personal situations.

Discussion

The aim of this evaluation of the CRIPP boot camp program is to measure the degree of attitudinal change in probationers before and after their experiences in the program in eight key individual and programmatic areas. An assessment of the data suggests that the CRIPP program is making a significant and positive attitudinal change in probationers who complete the program.

Further, the findings from this study suggest that probationers have more favorable attitudes upon completion of the program than they do when entering the boot camp facility. Most notably, the data suggest that the CRIPP program has improved offenders' relationships with family, has led probationers to view more favorably the CRIPP program, has instilled in probationers more positive perceptions of their future opportunities, and has caused probationers to perceive themselves as having greater self-control and less impulsiveness.

Moreover, the positive effects of CRIPP participation are evidenced in all areas except the AIDS counseling/education services. This finding may be attributed to the fact that not all probationers use these services regularly. Accordingly, probationers may have only participated sporadically and may not have formed an opinion.

Some commentators have questioned whether a sentence to a boot camp program effectively reforms offenders (cf. Morash & Rucker, 1990), while others have contended that boot camp programs (and similar intervention programs) are destined to fail and are ineffective at reducing future law-violating behavior. While this study did not address the issue of recidivism, our findings do reveal a positive attitudinal change among a population of boot camp participants completing the Harris County, Texas, CRIPP program.

Thus, the question remains: do intervention programs, such as boot camps, affect or shape "critical attitudes" of offenders? Our findings suggest that the CRIPP boot camp experience *did positively change probationers' attitudes* in crucial areas, which may potentially shape the likelihood of future criminality. While critics claim boot camps are ineffective, perhaps the focus of their criticisms should not be directed toward specific offender intervention programs—instead, attention should be focused on the quality and nature of "aftercare" services former boot camp participants receive.

Ideally, if boot camp programs successfully change offender attitudes and aftercare/followup strategies are efficiently applied, perhaps boot camp programs will become a viable alternative to full incarceration for offenders. On the other hand, in the absence of "intensive" quality "aftercare" programs, boot camp participation alone will likely fail—as have similar correctional treatment programs—as a solution to reforming offenders (cf. Gendreau & Ross, 1979; Finckenaue, 1982). For example, when reviewing evaluation studies assessing correctional treatment programs, Gendreau and Ross (1979, p. 485) found that "intensified services" provided to offenders increase the likelihood of successful offender reformation. To meet this goal, the Harris County Community Supervision and Corrections Department will con-

tinue intensive aftercare of released boot camp participants by transferring probationers to "superintensive" probation supervision.

As a suggestion for future investigations evaluating the merits of boot camp programs, the availability and quality of aftercare programming for offenders following a boot camp commitment must be addressed. Instead of measuring the success of boot camp intervention against only recidivism rates, evaluation researchers must also measure the degree of offenders' participation in superintensive probation, interpersonal and family counseling, and employment services. Without taking this total approach, it is probable that researchers will find that the boot camp experience, when considered independent of aftercare, will perhaps fall by the wayside as just another ineffective correctional "panacea" (cf. Finckenaue, 1982) similar to many previous offender intervention programs.

NOTE

¹The 389 matched cases for the 6-month period were of a total of 401 potential subjects. The attrition of 12 probationers was due to physical limitations, illness, and rules infractions, which prevented these 12 individuals from completing the program.

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