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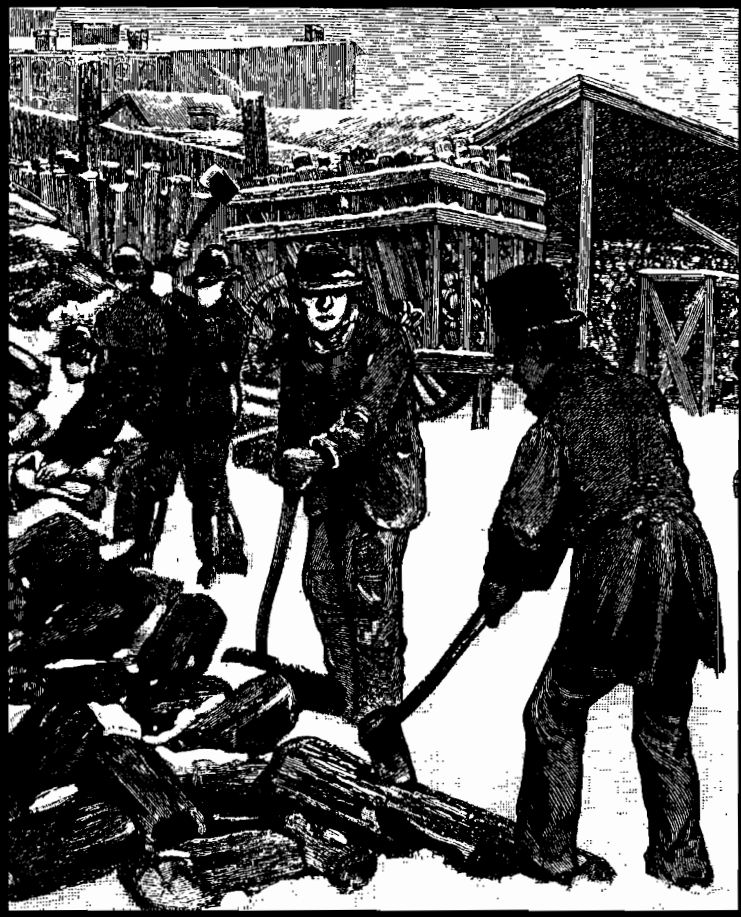

BOOT CAMPS: AN EVOLVING ALTERNATIVE *to* TRADITIONAL PRISONS

January 1995

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January 4, 1995

The Honorable Pete Wilson
Governor of California

The Honorable Bill Lockyer
President Pro Tempore of the Senate
and Members of the Senate

The Honorable Kenneth L. Maddy
Senate Minority Floor Leader

The Honorable Willie L. Brown Jr.
The Honorable James Brulte
and Members of the Assembly

Dear Governor and Members of the Legislature:

As the public has pressured policy makers to find more effective and less costly methods of dealing with criminals, the boot camp concept has gained increasing popularity. Today, with California expected to receive up to $1.3 billion in federal funding over five years that may be used for alternative sentencing programs, boot camps are on the verge of explosive growth and, therefore, public policy decisions must be resolved on an emergency basis.

Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that the funding earmarked for California will produce the desired results. Boot camps -- once a militaristic, discipline-intensive concept -- have matured in many different directions with very little analysis of what works and scant oversight to guard against abuse, waste and failure. The Little Hoover Commission, recognizing the need to maximize the effectiveness of the forthcoming funding, has examined the state and national experience with boot camps and other work-intensive forms of incarceration. The report being transmitted to policy makers with this letter has four findings and 17 recommendations. They include:

- The necessity for state policy makers to develop a comprehensive plan and provide standards. This is critical for both obtaining federal funding and spending it wisely. An essential goal will be to ensure that any state mandates allow enough local flexibility to meet a variety of needs while at the same time establishing parameters that will increase the likelihood of effective outcomes.

- The recognition that the powerful element that makes boot camps and related programs work is the "aftercare" -- the continued contact with the graduates to ensure that education, training and job placement occur. The State needs to take steps to funnel funding and technical assistance only to programs that include comprehensive aftercare components.

Milton Marks Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy

660 J Street, Suite 260 ▪ Sacramento, CA 95814 ▪ *tel* (916)445-2125 ▪ *fax* (916)322-7709

- The failure of the State to provide regulations that would both encourage private-sector development of incarceration programs in California and to provide stringent, but appropriate, operational oversight. The result has been that juveniles have been shipped out of California at great expense when experts agree that similar locally developed facilities would be more effective and less costly.

While the report does not outline the optimum structure and population type for boot camps, it does identify the key components that are critical for making this form of incarceration effective and efficient. The Little Hoover Commission believes the State must move quickly and provide the leadership that can turn boot camps into success stories rather than passing and costly fads. Otherwise California faces the potential of misusing or wasting the $1.3 billion in federal funding. The Commission looks forward to working with policy makers to implement the recommendations provided in the attached report.

Sincerely,

Richard R. Terzian
Chairman

Boot Camps:

An Evolving Alternative to Traditional Prison

January 1995

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Executive Summary

Executive Summary

Any report that seeks to examine the boot camp phenomenon must start by addressing what boot camps are and how effective they have proven. Unfortunately, there is no solid answer to either question. As an evolving form, boot camps have no uniform definition but may include any form of non-traditional incarceration that provides long hours of activity, intensive focus and relatively short sentences. In a field where there are no standardized criteria for outcome measurement, "success" is in the eye of the beholder.

With this as a foundation and spurred by the expected influx of up to $1.3 billion in federal funding that is expected to fuel the boot camp development frenzy, the Little Hoover Commission explored the status of boot camps in California. The Commission's main findings and recommendations are as follows:

- Resources are in danger of being wasted because the State has no centralized plan to prioritize needs and coordinate programs. The new federal funding requires an overall criminal justice plan and the State will, no doubt, meet this requirement. However, if the plan is merely grant-driven, rather than based on an accurate assessment of local and regional needs, then the potential for missed opportunities

rather than based on an accurate assessment of local and regional needs, then the potential for missed opportunities and poorly used resources will be great. ***The Commission recommends the creation of a statewide plan that focuses on the cost-effective development of boot camps.*** (Finding 1, Recommendation 1)

- A lack of minimum standards, specialized training, information sharing and state oversight increases the risk that boot camps will fail to meet expectations. Local officials, however, correctly fear that heavy-handed state mandates in this arena will eliminate flexibility to develop programs that are most appropriately suited to local needs and populations. ***The Commission recommends clearly defined, quantifiable goals and standards set by the State, accompanied generally by local control.*** (Finding 1, Recommendations 2-4)

- Boot camp experiments to date have focused on low-risk, neophyte criminals. Targeting other populations as well may yield dividends in the form of lower incarceration costs, reduced recidivism and more availability of prison beds for serious offenders. ***The Commission recommends a series of pilot projects that will test boot camps with pre-delinquent juveniles, already-imprisoned low-risk inmates, and soon-to-be-released inmates.*** (Finding 2, Recommendations 6-9)

- The so-called aftercare portion of boot camps -- and in particular job placement success -- are widely acknowledged to be the key elements that make boot camps work. Yet, for the most part, these are the weakest links in today's boot camp process. ***The Commission recommends a standardized three-phase model for boot camps that heavily emphasizes job placement.*** (Finding 3, Recommendation 12)

- Private-sector operators have been all but stymied from developing California programs because of regulations that were designed to meet other needs and are inappropriate as criminal incarceration requirements. ***The Commission recommends the creation of a new category of regulations that will ensure adequate oversight while encouraging the development of private-sector sentencing alternatives.*** (Finding 4, Recommendation 17)

Introduction

Introduction

A rush to "boot camps" is on in America and California, with these programs receiving increasing attention as an alternative sentencing option -- punishment that falls between traditional incarceration and probation -- for both adult and juvenile offenders. The primary goal has been to reduce the costs of imprisonment by placing lower-risk, non-violent offenders in abbreviated, highly structured programs outside of crowded mainline institutions. Fueled by a potential $1.3 billion in federal funding over the next five years, boot camps are expected to multiply rapidly in California. Without careful planning and evaluation, the risk of wasting significant resources that are badly needed is very real.

Boot camp name covers a variety of concepts

What is a boot camp? These two words are interpreted differently by numerous experts. In defining the scope of the study, the Commission found that the label "boot camp" is unpopular with many involved in the programs and does not convey the variety of increasingly sophisticated approaches. In addition, the military model is not the only form of intensive correctional camp. To recognize the range of approaches, it was necessary to expand the focus of the study to include "work-intensive correctional programs" that do not qualify as "boot camps" but have related features. This includes all intensive programs that include a full day -- up to 16 hours -- of work, physical training, study and counseling. The report also addresses private

organizations -- often called "experiential" programs -- that provide camp settings for youthful offenders who undergo physical conditioning, athletic competition and challenging outdoor experiences, usually instead of military drill and ceremonies.

For ease of reference, the term "boot camp" in this report is used to cover both the military-based and the work- and experience-intensive programs for adult and youthful offenders, all of which have a counseling emphasis and intensive aftercare programs.

Called "shock incarceration" in some states, the military-style programs are often criticized for their perceived potential for mental and physical abuse, if only because of media presentations of correctional officers in drill instructor uniforms screaming at in-coming offenders and ordering them to do pushups. As a result, the trend in recent programs, and specifically in California, has been toward a "modified" or "refined" approach that minimizes intensive verbal confrontations. The emphasis is now on character and responsibility development through a structured environment and intensive work-and-study schedule to build self-esteem and self-discipline. Military-style drill and ceremony are used as a tool to quickly instill discipline and teamwork.

Federal funding will drive development of more boot camps

The anticipation of about $1.3 billion in federal money from the 1994 national crime bill will further interest in the boot camp option and makes it imperative that controls be established and standards enacted so that funds are not wasted. Since the funding flow will commence shortly, it is essential that public policy decisions be addressed on an emergency basis.

Fresh from a study of the adult corrections system and concurrent with its examination of the juvenile justice system, the Little Hoover Commission embarked on an assessment of California's experience with boot camps and their potential for reducing recidivism and costs.
The Commission soon learned that boot camps are experimental at this point and it is too soon to make definitive conclusions about effectiveness and cost savings.There are indications that re-arrest statistics at this time are not as positive as had been expected. The national experience has been that offenders participating in the earlier forms of boot camps have shown a re-arrest rate similar to that for offenders sentenced to mainline institutions. Cost reductions largely come from shorter commitment times and tend to disappear as programs improve staffing levels to achieve better results.

Therefore, the challenge is to evaluate the full range of boot camp applications to learn what is effective and to determine whether the multiple benefits of these intensive programs are valuable enough in their aggregate to justify investing more public funds.

As part of its investigation, the Commission conducted a public hearing on June 23, 1994 (please see **Appendix A** for a list of witnesses). The nine-month study included a review of national and state literature, a survey of boot camp descriptions from across the nation, attendance at a conference on alternative sentencing, extensive interviews with public and private experts, and visits to three county-operated boot camps, two state-sponsored boot camps, a state aftercare facility (where offender treatment is continued after boot camp graduation), a county juvenile ranch, and two conservation (fire-fighting) camps for adults and juveniles.

The study has resulted in this report, which summarizes the programs of the California agencies and jurisdictions with operational boot camp systems, plus those in development; reviews professional opinion concerning the degree of state oversight needed; and identifies pilot projects and priorities that will allow a complete comparison and evaluation of the opportunities presented by a boot camp "continuum." In addition, measures are reviewed that can improve the vital aftercare process of social re-integration during probation and parole.

The report begins with a transmittal letter, executive summary and this introduction. The following sections present a background with historic and technical information on national and state programs, four findings, 17 recommendations, a conclusion and appendices, followed by endnotes.

Background

Background

The "correctional boot camp" has quickly become a common term in the criminal justice vocabulary, although not well defined or understood by many. As a result, its mission and value is much debated among many observers. Although its most effective format is yet to be defined, the concept appears to be here to stay.

Boot camps, commonly referred to as "shock incarceration" particularly in eastern and southern states, involve the use of an abbreviated sentence with a highly intensive daily regime. Typically, these camps use a military format with drill instructors overseeing offenders dressed in fatigues, who are frequently subjected to such punishment as pushups for minor infractions of rules.

Just as there is no single format for boot camps, there is also no one definition that has achieved national acceptance. The National Institute of Justice has identified boot camps as a program that will:

...place offenders in a quasi-military program similar to a military basic training program ...that instills discipline, routine, and unquestioning obedience to orders.[1]

An authority on boot camps has defined them as an "integrated institutional/community-based approach" that establishes "a highly structured schedule that involves team building, discipline, physical-wellness training, education, substance abuse education and treatment, world-of-work readiness training and public

service restitution."[2] The United States General Accounting Office described boot camps as follows:

The camps generally target young, non-violent first-time offenders, who have not yet committed major felonies, subjecting them to a term of "shock incarceration" where they are put through a regimen similar to military basic training....Boot camp programs generally consist of some combination of precision drills, physical exercise, hard physical labor, close discipline, substance abuse treatment (if needed), counseling and education. Although the physical regimen of the camp is strenuous, the camp offers the participant the incentive of a short incarceration period -- usually six months or less -- rather than a period of years.[3]

The key element in all concepts of boot camps is the highly structured schedule that permits no idle time and creates a sense of stress and urgency in the offender. The military format is typically used to develop that mental state and to quickly secure obedience. However, the frequent media presentations of intensive military discipline being used on arriving offenders has led some to equate the current popularity of boot camps to a return to the earliest days of incarceration with its reliance on hard labor and strict regimentation as retributive punishment.

Even in the early 1900s, juvenile offenders at New York State's Elmira Reformatory underwent a type of military training program involving long days of exercise and marching with wooden rifles.[4] But by the 1950s, the philosophy of hard labor was not viewed as progressive,[5] although programs using inmate and ward labor have continued in some form across the nation and in California. Today's work programs in prisons, however, typically involve only a six-hour day.

Underlying concept is two-fold: more effective, less costly

The historical roots of the boot camp concept began with efforts to replace long prison terms with effective ways to deter criminals from repeat offenses in short, inexpensive programs. "Shock probation" (primarily an abbreviated sentence of 30 to 90 days that demonstrates to "first-time offenders" the harshness of prison before they return to their community under probation[6]) was initiated in Ohio in the mid-1960s.[7] In the late 1970s, a form of "shock education" -- the Scared Straight indoctrinations -- was attempted on at-risk youths. In 1974, Idaho started a short-term (four-month) treatment program for felony offenders (both adults and juveniles who were tried as adults; the youngest to date is 15, the oldest, 82) on an old Air Force base in a remote location. In 1989, the program was expanded to include a military format.

The first use of the boot camps as "shock incarceration" began in 1983 and 1984 in the states of Georgia and Oklahoma. The latter was the first to include individual treatment programs and rehabilitative services.[8] This use of militaristic camps began to achieve popular and political support in the late 1980s, accelerating in the 1990s as a result of public outrage over the perception of rising crime and liberal treatment of offenders.

The initial California boot camp program, one emphasizing drug treatment for youthful offenders, was opened on September 1, 1990, by the Los Angeles County Probation Department. The State Department of Corrections in 1992 began an adult boot camp, called the Alternative Sentencing Program (ASP), at San Quentin Prison. This was followed by the California Youth Authority receiving one of the federal model program designations and opening a camp in northern California in 1992 and one in the south in 1993, both under the acronym LEAD (Leadership, Esteem, Ability, Discipline).

A 1993 report by the U.S. General Accounting Office estimated that 30 states and the federal government were operating more than 60 boot-camp adult and juvenile facilities with a capacity of more than 9,000 participants.[9] A recent newspaper article found 46 boot camps in 31 states, holding 7,500 inmates, while another article counts 57 boot camps in 30 states, with about 7,000 beds. In addition, by the late 1980s, 23 states were operating inmate conservation and fire-fighting camps.[10] Sources offer inconsistent estimates because of the variability of definitions as to what constitutes a boot camp. In addition, national studies rarely look at county operations, in spite of the growing interest of local governments in augmenting their limited options for dealing with offenders. A 1993 survey identified 10 local jurisdictions nationally with a jail (adult) boot camp program and 13 more planning to open such facilities.[11]

Federal agencies have encouraged boot camp development

The increasing interest in boot camps has translated into action at the federal level. In 1990, Congress authorized the Bureau of Justice Assistance in the U.S. Department of Justice to fund boot camps as correctional options through its discretionary grant program. In 1992, Congress authorized the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to establish three model juvenile boot camps that emphasize education and other services.[12]

In September 1994, the president signed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994,

which authorizes more than $30 billion over a six-year period ending in federal fiscal year 2000. Funding by major program areas is as follows:

- State and local law enforcement $10.8 billion
- Federal law enforcement $ 2.6 billion
- Prison construction $ 9.7 billion
- Crime prevention $ 7.1 billion

Although it is clear that many of the components are subject to future modification by federal regulations and uncertain funding sources, there are a variety of grants available for boot camp programs. The three primary sections of the act involving boot camps are:

- Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance Grant Program:[13] The 1994 crime bill amends and further funds the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, which had set 21 "purpose areas" for Byrne program grants, including boot camps and programs for "changing attitudes through physical adventure" for offenders. In FY 94, the CYA LEAD program received $500,000 through this program.

  - For FY 95, a national total of $512 million has been appropriated, largely as a grant that would be distributed on a population-based formula but also including $50 million for discretionary awards.[14] The California formula share could be $47.3 million.[15]

  - The total amount authorized for the nation from FY 95 through FY 2000 is $932 million, with California's share under $88 million.

- Certain Punishment for Young Offenders:[16] This program offers formula grants for states and local governments "for the purpose of developing alternative methods of punishment for young offenders to traditional forms of incarceration and probation," with such methods including "alternative sanctions" that create accountability and certain punishment for young offenders.

  - The act authorizes a total of $150 million to be expended nationally from FY 96 until FY 2000. California's total five-year share could possibly be $15 million.

- Grants for Correctional Facilities: This construction grant program is designed to help states "construct, develop, expand, modify, operate, or improve correctional facilities, including boot camp facilities and other alternative correctional facilities that can free conventional prison space for the confinement of violent offenders, to ensure that prison cell space is available for the confinement of violent offenders...."[17] To qualify for these grants, each state must supply "assurances" that it has a "comprehensive correctional plan which represents an integrated approach to the management and operation of correctional facilities and programs."

  - A special FY 95 appropriation of $24.5 million in discretionary funds has been set aside solely for adult and juvenile boot camp planning, development and construction-related costs, but not for operations. This money will allow recipients to design their overall boot camp and alternative sentencing programs.[18]

  - The FY 96 national authorization is $750 million of formula grants, with a potential California share of $114.1 million.

  - For each FY thereafter the amount rises, with the last year of the program, FY 2000, authorized at $2.07 billion.[19]

  - Over a five-year funding period, this program authorizes almost $8 billion nationally,[20] of which almost $1.2 billion could go to California.[21]

Modern camps are evolving into more complex programs

The increasing level of state and local government interest in and federal funding for boot camps comes at a time when the camps are evolving from rudimentary concepts and experimentation into more mature and complex programs. Modern camps are becoming increasingly sophisticated, offering a variety of components that address a wide range of rehabilitation issues. According to one researcher, these basic characteristics are found across the nation regardless of the type of boot camp and the population targeted:

- Most have adopted the military model to some degree.

- Duration ranges from 90 to 180 days (with New York's program being the longest).
- Most camps take only volunteer offenders who wish to reduce their incarceration time.
- They are staff-rich, which means that on a daily per-capita basis the camps cost as much or more than traditional prisons.
- Participants tend to be young, non-violent and without prior felony convictions.[22]

Most successful camps are small but highly structured

Research in California has identified components that create a successful camp program. In a 1989 report the California Youth Authority identified the most successful aspects of county probation juvenile camps (not boot camps) that had lower recidivism rates. These camps (some 16 percent of the total) had a recidivism rate of between 40 and 49 percent. The least successful camps (about 2 percent of the total) had re-arrest rates between 90 and 99 percent, and the statewide average of all camps was 63.5 percent. The camps with the best recidivism results were found to have these characteristics, compared to less successful camps:

- Comprised of a single, smaller living unit, located in a rural setting.
- Camp occupancy rate was lower.
- Length of stay tended to be longer.
- Program emphasized academic training and work activities, with substantial use of volunteers.
- In-camp program assignments were made uniformly.
- Youth were present at their case reviews.
- A high youth-to-staff ratio.[23]

These features undoubtedly apply equally to boot camps, which typically include many more academic and work activities. In addition, a growing body of national literature and experience is available to permit generalization of what components are considered essential or useful to the operation of boot camps and related programs. The design of the more successful camps often includes these components:

- Precise, obtainable, measurable goals and objectives for the program.

- Eligibility criteria that ensure an adequate number of the targeted offender populations is available to the program.

- "Shock" tactics only for the first day or days of arrival to secure attention and immediate conformance to orders and to initiate an environment of high, demanding expectations.

- Military drill, formations and courtesy, used primarily as a means to develop discipline, unit pride and efficiency of movement. (A heavy emphasis on precision marching and military-style ceremonies often may be replaced with physical training, outdoor challenge or intensive physical work.)

- A highly structured, intensive (no idle time or recreational TV), stress-producing program up to 15 or 16 hours in duration every day (with no more than half a weekend day off) that maintains a "sense of urgency" in the offender, using either a military, work, physical conditioning/athletics and/or outdoor-challenge regime combined with study and counseling.

- An aftercare component based on individual treatment plans that include, at a minimum, job training and placement assistance, community service and substance abuse treatment.

- A clear chain of command for operation of the camp, with a single administrator, supervisor or commander in charge and accountable for all operations.

- Clear and thorough operational rules and regulations, with assurances of consistent application by staff without intrusion of staff personalities, plus adequate spot-checking by management.

- Clear, focused and complete rules of behavior for incoming wards/inmates that clarify exactly what is expected of them, presented in a format that emphasizes violations that can lead to program dismissal. Often used is a "contract" between the

boot camp participant and the program clearly stating appropriate attitudes, behavior and dedication to achievement. Access to a grievance process may be available. Awards and punishments are provided in small increments to acknowledge success or failure in meeting rules and expectations.

- Clear standards to preclude verbal and physical abuse and humiliation, emphasizing positive motivation, with descriptions of permissible physical exercise used as punishment.

- A single living unit, with community dwelling (barracks) and eating (mess hall), preferably in a rural or remote location, separate from the mainline institution.

- A racial mix of staff and offenders that results in camp participants having contact with persons different from themselves.

- A redirect/temporary detention component for technical parole/probation violations that does not require a return to traditional incarceration.

- Family involvement in the progress of the offender, including receipt of his life plan and post-graduation placement plan, prepared for offenders' aftercare and parole/probation.

- A high staff-to-participant ratio, permitting frequent individual counseling as needed.

- Thorough, independent outcome evaluation.

Education, job training are becoming more important

Since camps across the nation -- both boot camps and traditional juvenile probation camps -- are increasingly emphasizing rehabilitation, the quality of educational and vocational training components is vitally important. These include General Equivalency Diploma (GED) preparation for those lacking high school diplomas; computer training; workplace and work-readiness skills; and basic communication skills. Especially important is counseling on social and personal responsibility development, including self-restraint/anger control, victim awareness, self-esteem development, sex education and parenting responsibilities. The highest emphasis is placed on substance abuse counseling and treatment. Mandatory preparation of a "life plan" is used

in many programs to help define the offender's goals and decisions for the short and long range.

Typically, the boot camp brings with it high expectations for performance by the participants. As one professional has said, "Here change not only is expected, it's demanded. It's a whole different emphasis and atmosphere than most prison settings."[24] A key to the success of any boot camp is its intensity and the resulting stress placed on the participant. A theme of the California Youth Authority's LEAD program is: "The physical rigor of the program demands that each cadet demonstrate a 'sense of urgency' no matter the program element he is participating in."[25] One researcher noted that "some psychic unrest" must occur in the individual before change is possible.[26] Another found that:

There may also be an advantage in the fact that boot camp prisons create radical changes in the everyday living patterns of these offenders.... a period of radical change that creates reasonable stress may be a time when people are particularly susceptible to outside influences....this may be an excellent time to have an impact on offenders, making them reconsider their past choices.[27]

At the Commission's hearing on boot camps, the president of Rite of Passage, a non-profit juvenile correctional program in Nevada, observed:

Demands of the program create a stress which makes the boy receptive to counseling. Counseling, in turn, helps the boy succeed with the program requirements and internalize the values which are taught.[28]

Lessons learned from the Civilian Conservation Corps of the Depression era also teach the value of strong structure and work as a means of rehabilitation. An article in 1933 noted that "the forestry camps already are proving that a moderate dose of enforced discipline brings out something in a young man that nothing else can."[29] A graduate of the San Quentin Prison boot camp, who spoke at the Little Hoover Commission hearing, highly praised the experience while describing it as "the hardest thing I've ever done." Observers agree that boot camps can deliver a more intensive level of work and challenge than offenders have ever encountered. The theory is, then, that this experience pushes the offender to the edge of his abilities, while counseling and accomplishment of tasks builds self-esteem, with a resulting change in anti-social attitudes.

But does it work? The evidence is both limited and mixed in its findings, and academic observers tend to be more skeptical than the managers and staff members of

boot camps themselves. The areas where boot camps have been anticipated as having the greatest impact are commonly agreed to be these:

- Reduction of recidivism.
- Cost saving in institutions by reducing overcrowding and the need for further prison construction.
- A means of providing options short of state incarceration for local probation departments and courts.

Boot camp recidivism rates have not met expectations

Recidivism: Initially, the proponents of boot camps anticipated a reduction in recidivism, which would both protect public safety and save public funding by forestalling or eliminating the need to build more prisons. However, nationally the data has not supported this hope. Many of the national evaluations to date -- which, it should be noted, largely address the earlier generation of less-sophisticated camps -- tend to show a re-arrest rate about the same as traditional institutions. Many feel that recidivism statistics for the California pilot programs, when available, will also fail to show a major improvement.

In California there is not yet available a strong base of evidence to support conclusions. A recidivism figure of 30 percent is frequently cited by operators of boot camps as indicating success. However, it is a rate that has also been achieved by other programs that do not have a comparable level of sophistication. California's longest operating boot camp, run by the Los Angeles County Probation Department, reports a 38 percent recidivism rate.[30] This can be compared to the more traditional Fouts Springs Boys Ranch, run by Solano and Colusa Counties, which reports a 40 percent rate. (It should be noted that the population of the Los Angeles camps may include much more experienced offenders than those from northern California counties.)

The Twin Pines Boys Ranch in Riverside County, even before recently converting to a boot camp-style operation, cited a 30 percent rate,[31] as does the CYA parole violation program that is located at Fouts Springs Boys Ranch[32] and the experience-intensive program run by the non-profit Rite of Passage in Nevada.[33]

The recidivism rate reported by Santa Clara County for its unique quasi-boot camp for female substance-abuse

offenders is now 30 percent, similar to other programs. This rate is a dramatic improvement when compared to the facilities' pre-boot camp re-arrest rate of 85 percent. This may be attributable to the fact that it is not a sentence-reduction program, which would be attractive to all offenders, and is open to volunteers only. Hence, only the most motivated offenders who are more serious about rehabilitation are participants.

A point of reference for these recidivism rates is the 63.5 percent estimate made by the California Youth Authority for county probation juvenile camps across the state.[34] For additional comparison, in 1991 the adult recidivism rate for Department of Corrections prisons was 69.7 percent,[35] while its work-furlough camps were reported at 40.3 percent and the fire-fighting conservation camps at 39.1 percent.[36] (In the late 1980s, one source estimated that recidivism for conservation camps was only 20 percent.[37]) The California Youth Authority reports a 53 percent rate,[38] but this does not reflect those ex-wards who have been committed to the adult prison system.

Nationally, recidivism estimates for boot camps cover a wide range. One of the lowest is in Idaho, where only some 17 to 18 percent of the boot camp releases are re-arrested (about 11 percent on technical violations and 6 percent on new crimes).[39] An important report comes from New York's Vera Institute of Justice, which provides job placement and skills training services to the state's large population of boot camp graduates. Since the program began in 1989, this private organization has placed about two-thirds of its participants into full-time, non-subsidized employment within about two months of graduation. These "shock parolees" show an 8 percent rate of return to prison within a year of parole, as compared to the 23 percent rate for similar parolees not in the "aftershock" parole program.[40] The role of such programs in the boot camp process is discussed further in Finding 2.

Comparing rates is often a case of apples and oranges

What all of these figures demonstrate is unclear. It should be noted that comparison between programs and jurisdictions is made difficult by the lack of a national and state consensus definition of "recidivism,"[41] the variable way these statistics are gathered by different agencies, and the class of offenders being addressed by different programs. In addition in California, there is a lack of current information that would provide the context for recidivism rates because the State no longer collects many types of juvenile crime statistics.

While boot camp recidivism figures in general appear lower than institution rates, the populations being compared are very different since all types of camps tend to have less-violent and less-sophisticated offenders. Some believe that if the recidivism rate remains at least roughly equal to that of mainline institutions, the other benefits achieved will make boot camps worthwhile. A thorough evaluation of boot camps requires a comprehensive analysis of other potential benefits and roles that these programs can play in the overall state correctional continuum.

Overcrowding and Costs Savings: Boot camps have been embraced in California, as elsewhere, as a means of reducing prison crowding and its associated costs. The enabling legislation (SB 1124, Presley; Statutes of 1992, Chapter 1063) for the Department of Corrections adult boot camp declared the statute to be an urgency measure, with the following explanation of the serious challenge facing California's correctional system:

The state prison is currently overcrowded and is expected to become overcrowded to the point that the state will face a public safety crisis. The trend of using incarceration as a primary punishment option, growing public intolerance for criminal behavior, the impact of drugs and gang violence, and the inability to correct deviant behavior, and the resulting parole failures all have multiplied overcrowding with drastic effects. As a result, additional punishment options must be created as soon as possible to reduce prison overcrowding while protecting public safety.

Currently, state prisons are at 186 percent of capacity, with 125,669 inmates.[42] The CYA institutions house 9,255 wards at 137 percent of capacity.[43] The Legislative Analyst's Office has reported that despite the State's massive construction program, prison overcrowding will be worse at the end of the decade. It is estimated that state prison populations will reach about 202 percent of capacity by 1999, with some 171,000 inmates.[44]

A major goal for boot camps has been to reduce the populations of mainline institutions in two ways: in the short-term, providing beds in lower-security barracks, thereby reducing pressure on the prisons, and, in the long term, reducing recidivism. If such goals were realized, savings would be achieved in these ways:

- Reduced use of existing bed space, with a reduction of overcrowding that creates fiscal impacts and places debilitating pressures on staff.

- Reduced need for more prison construction to accommodate future population increases.

However, some observers question whether boot camps -- at the scale now found across most of the nation -- can in the long term secure significant bed savings, which in turn would result in fiscal savings. Some national research has shown these savings to be minimal. For example, a survey found that the Florida boot camp capacity in 1989, as a percent of the total prison population, was only 1.1 percent. The top percentage was 11.6 percent in Mississippi. Based on such findings, a National Institute of Justice study predicted that the potential effect of boot camps on prison overcrowding is small.[45] The possibility remains, however, that these jurisdictions might increase the size of their operations specifically to divert a larger number of offenders from mainline institutions.

Cost savings vary depending on what programs offer

In California, the cost savings associated with boot camps depend on the alternative picked for comparison. The following chart illustrates the costs of boot camps and comparable programs, such as boys ranches and private programs:

TABLE 1
COMPARATIVE COSTS OF BOOT CAMPS AND RELATED PROGRAMS

AGENCY	PER CAPITA PER DAY
CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY:	
LEAD Boot Camps	Not available until 1995
Conservation (Fire) Camp (with CDF)	$51.51
Institutions	$86
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS:	
ASP Boot Camp	$59
Conservation (Fire) Camp (with CDF)	$34
Prisons	$52
COUNTY OPTIONS:	
Los Angeles Boot Camps	$92.01
County-Run Juvenile Probation Camps (Statewide)	$98.46
Tulare County Boot Camp	$80.40
Fouts Springs Boys Ranch (Non-boot county & CYA)	$61.47 to $80.00 (CYA - $80.67)
Rite of Passage (Non-profit)	NV-$110 CA-$130
Arizona Boys Ranch (Non-profit)	$122
Group Homes	$90.41

As the chart shows, daily per-capita costs for boot camps range from $59 for the San Quentin adult program to $92.01 for the Los Angeles County juvenile drug program. Other related programs range from the least expensive, the Department of Corrections' co-sponsored conservation (fire) camps at $34 a day, to the most expensive, the non-profit Arizona Boys Ranch at $122 a day. The boot camp costs are, in general, higher than those for traditional incarceration and only somewhat less expensive than the private-sector alternatives.

However, it should be pointed out that, despite the higher per diem cost, the shorter stay that is a primary component of the boot camp program lowers overall costs. Coupled with any improvement in recidivism rates, the lower overall costs would give the boot camp concept a rating of success.

The size of the boot camp population is, in fact, the controlling factor regarding its cost effectiveness. New York, which has the largest boot camp program in the nation with 1,158 inmates at any one time, has documented its savings. A 1990 report by the New York Department of Correctional Services estimates that even with higher per-diem costs than other prison facilities, a total savings of $55.6 million had then been realized.[46] A later report identified a savings of $1.24 million for every 100 inmates who graduate. Further, the first 4,411 participants led to an operational savings of $84 million and an avoided construction cost of $93 million.[47]

California's programs have not produced savings

In California, however, the State's experiment with boot camps has not yet been a fiscal success. As was stated in the Alternative Sentencing Program (ASP) Evaluation Design, prepared by the Department of Corrections in 1994, "In order for the program to show any significant savings, it will have to be expanded." If state policy is clarified regarding the long-term mission of boot camps, especially regarding their availability to a much broader population of offenders than is being processed today, significant cost savings may be achieved. However, such an expansive policy has not yet been established.

Local Options: While there are two pilot programs in progress at the state level, the primary interest in boot camps in California is coming from county probation departments, which are seeking new options for the management of their juvenile caseloads. At present the county's primary options regarding youthful offenders is to place them on probation, with any variety of obligations, including attending weekend or evening counseling and classes; to send them to a boys or girls juvenile ranch (also known as county juvenile probation camps); to send juveniles out of state to private programs, such as Rite of Passage in Nevada and the Arizona Boys Ranch; to place them in a group home; or to send the offenders to the California Youth Authority.

All of these options have serious deficiencies. Traditional probation may do little more than perpetuate the juvenile's belief that getting arrested does not

necessarily result in punishment. County probation ranches are not available in all jurisdictions: only 21 counties maintain them at present, they have limited capacities and funding has become unreliable. Out-of-state placement is expensive and isolates the juvenile from his family. Placing juvenile offenders in group homes is expensive but frequently is the only available option. Statistics from the Department of Social Services show that for a number of years counties have been placing many convicted juveniles in six-person group homes that were originally designed for youth with family, physical or social -- but not criminal -- problems. The regulations and capabilities of these homes are simply not adequate to handle aggressive delinquents, as will be examined in Finding 4. Finally, sending a juvenile to the California Youth Authority is supposed to be a last remedy reserved only for the most serious offenders.

Counties can use boot camps as another sentencing option

Boot camps can offer another option to counties. A paper by the National Conference of State Legislatures noted, "In current practice, boot camps do respond to the need for intermediate sanctions tougher than probation and which depart significantly from traditional prison by stressing offender accountability and change."[48] The probability is high that counties will continue to seek the development of boot camps and related programs to address their juvenile justice needs, especially as federal funding becomes available.

There are other reasons, in addition to potential reductions of recidivism and costs and the expansion of local options, that are cited as justifications for boot camps. Some believe that the overall learning experience of this experiment is facilitating a new look at the nation's traditional approach to corrections in general. For instance, a conference of leading national experts supported the position that:

...boot camps have the potential to change the nature of imprisonment and may be a key component in an integrated approach to reducing criminality.[49]

This observation was tempered with the observation that "the cost of such a large scale social experiment is unknown at this time and may, upon closer inspection, prove to be quite daunting." However, the chief deputy director of the California Youth Authority is even more enthusiastic about the overall potential:

...the Youth Authority has found that the pilot boot camps have been a pivotal and fruitful focus for the department as a whole. Specifically, they have served the mission of the department in four important ways: (1) they have revived an interest in state-of-the-art

correctional treatment in both institutions and parole; (2) they have provided an opportunity for a long-term, rigorous program evaluation (with implications for issues that go beyond the boot camp programs themselves); (3) they have placed the YA in the forefront of a number of important contemporary correctional issues, such as turning the tide on the increasingly expensive current rates and lengths of incarceration (which YA boot camps are designed to lower); and (4) they have opened new collaborative relationships with other public and private agencies, such as with the National Guard, the Employment Development Department and the Volunteers of America.[50]

Other positive indicators can be found. For example, a report by the California Youth Authority on county juvenile ranches identifies some of their benefits in addition to potential recidivism reduction. These are also applicable to boot camps:

- Camps provide a period of community protection while the juvenile is incarcerated.
- Camps reduce the need to incarcerate youths in state institutions where they must co-exist with more serious offenders.
- Camps may reduce "violent offending" (that is, while not ensuring there will not be any recidivism, at least acting to reduce the violence level of future offenses).[51]

Inmates leave programs with better, more productive attitude

National research does show that, quite consistently, boot camp inmates who are nearing the end of their program become less anti-social and more positive regarding the boot camp than they were shortly after arrival. This was true of the programs emphasizing therapeutic treatment and those relying on work and physical training.[52] A major result regarding boot camp participants is that they "act less impulsively, accept responsibility for the consequences of their actions, and have a sense of direction," as well as "understand and accept that they are part of a larger community to which they can make positive contributions." This improvement in the positive attitude among boot camp attendees is a pattern generally the reverse of inmates in mainline institutions,[53] suggesting that there is an important potential for camps to affect anti-social behavior. The test, of course, will be how this is reflected in recidivism rates.

National observers find that boot camps reduce the violence level in institutions, both among the participants themselves and against staff. In a recently published evaluation of the LEAD program, the California Youth Authority also found that the interviewed cadets

indicated less fear of being hurt, less need to associate with a gang to be safe and the occurrence of fewer attacks, as compared to mainline wards.[54]

Other encouraging findings are available. For example, the managers of the camp at the Twin Pines Boys Ranch report that in the first six months of its program, as compared to the same period a year ago when the facility was run as a juvenile county ranch, the number of negative incident reports has decreased by 40 percent. They have found that their wards are reacting well to the increased level of military-style discipline and the intensive scheduling.[55] In addition, the CYA report also found that both staff and cadets gave a high rating to the military structure, as well as the enriched staffing ratio and the varied treatment and training activities.[56]

In spite of some positive indicators, many still question the value of boot camps. The most skeptical argue that boot camps are a fad that will in time fade from popularity. Some still debate the philosophy of whether correctional institutions should punish or rehabilitate. Others observe that the boot camp can succeed because it attempts to do both.

Modern version provides nurturing not available in troubled homes

The development of boot camps has come at a time when society is recognizing that the breakdown of the urban -- and even suburban -- family and neighborhood has reached crisis proportion. This alternative sentencing program has evolved into a mixture of tools for discipline, education and nurturing -- in short, a substitute for the family and schools of troubled youths who have seen their homes and neighborhoods collapse and who have failed to achieve the barest minimum of an education. Boot camp correctional officers have been placed in the imposing role of attempting to be parenting figures and role models for the non-violent, youthful offenders who are now the primary population being sent to boot camps.

In all the boot camps and many of the work-intensive programs, innovations are being made constantly. A national overview noted:

Boot camp programs continue to develop and change. The first...emphasized the military atmosphere, physical training, and hard labor. Although these still play a significant role in shock incarceration, many boot camp programs have begun to allot an increasing amount of time to rehabilitation and education.[57]

Nowhere is this more true than in California. The experience nationally and here demonstrates that there is a broad range of options possible under the roof of alternative sentencing and the umbrella of boot camps. The challenge is to identify the best features of those variations and blend them into an effective alternative sentencing tool for protecting the public safety and reducing costs.

Statewide Planning

- *The lack of statewide planning means that boot camps have developed without maximizing the use of resources.*

- *Without State oversight, there is the danger of waste and abuse.*

- *Knowledge about what works and what doesn't work is not shared systematically.*

Recommendations:

- *Create a plan and set statewide goals.*

- *Set enforceable standards and provide adequate oversight.*

- *Provide specialized training and certification for staff.*

Statewide Planning

Finding 1: Correctional boot camps in California have been evolving independently at state and local levels without the benefit of statewide goals, centralized planning, comprehensive minimum standards or state oversight, thereby increasing the risk of wasted resources and program failures.

Development of boot camps in California has been occurring in a piecemeal fashion, without full data-sharing or the guidance of a comprehensive statewide planning process that would provide a clear consensus of their mission and clarify priorities for public funding. The lack of planning is particularly distressing when up to $1.3 billion in federal funding is expected to flow to California and may be wasted or spent inappropriately without focused goals. Some program components have been mandated by state legislation but minimum standards necessary to ensure overall program quality have not yet been defined. Without state inspection and quality control, the risk of failures and abuse increases. In particular, the need to standardize

and upgrade training for appropriate personnel assignments is considered vital to the success of boot camps.

California is new to the concept of correctional boot camps, but, like the rest of the nation, is now developing them at a considerable pace -- a total of nine camps are in place, or about to open, under the jurisdiction of two state agencies and five counties. More camps are on the way. Each program has been developed independently without the assistance of clear policies, comprehensive plans or operational guidelines to guide the investment of public funds. Startup costs of boot camp programs, even when existing facilities are used, are considerable: Riverside County has received a grant of $300,000 for early operation, while Tulare County has estimated a $400,000 initial expense.

Camp concept stretches back to prison work programs

The State does have a long history with the concept of camps, especially for the conduct of work-intensive programs for inmates and wards. California began using prison labor for remote road building as early as 1915. During World War II, convict labor was used to harvest crops and was housed in "Harvest Camps," with some inmates fighting fires for the first time. After the war, the Division of Forestry established camps specifically for this purpose. They are today run by the Department of Forestry and Fire Protection in partnership with, depending on the site, the California Youth Authority, the Department of Corrections or the California Conservation Corps.

Another important camp tradition exists in California: the county probation youth camp or ranch. The prototype effort was established as early as the 1860s in San Francisco, with the modern application of these facilities evolving out of the Depression era of the 1930s.[58] These county programs are discretionary rather than state-mandated and have been facing recent funding difficulties. Presently, 21 counties operate 50 facilities with more than 4,000 beds.[59] Most boot camp programs at the local level have been created at county boys ranches, expanding their existing programs into an intensive military-style format.

Also relevant is the California experience during the pre-WWII era with the federal Civilian Conservation Corps and, since 1976, the state's adaptation of the concept in the California Conservation Corps. Neither model specifically sought out participants with a criminal record (and the California program specifically excludes them,

except in a new transitional program for youthful offenders) but they were clearly designed to assist individuals who were socially and economically at risk, while teaching them a work ethic and job skills.

Today, county boot camp programs are operated by Santa Clara, Riverside and Tulare. Shasta County plans to open a regional facility in cooperation with ten or more northern counties by the end of the year. Several counties have studied the potential for camps, including Sacramento, Orange, Santa Cruz, Kern, Yolo, Alameda and Contra Costa.

State has camps for both youths and adults

At the state level, the Department of Corrections began its Alternative Sentencing Programs at San Quentin Prison, followed by the California Youth Authority with its two LEAD boot camps in northern and southern California. Both are pilot programs with sunset dates of 1997 for CYA and 1998 for CDC.[60] Other state agencies involved in supporting roles are the National Guard, which has supplied a full-time adviser to the CYA program, and the Employment Development Department (EDD). The CYA and the California Conservation Corps (CCC) are currently developing a transitional program called "Fresh Start" for boot camp graduates to be established in northern and southern California.

The chart on the next page presents the key components of the various California boot camps, with comparison to some related programs.

TABLE 2
CALIFORNIA BOOT CAMPS AND WORK-INTENSIVE PROGRAMS

INSTITUTION	YEAR BEGUN	BEDS	ENTRANCE AGES	DURATION CAMP*	AFTERCARE
California Youth Authority LEAD Boot Camp	1992 (No CA) 1993 (So CA)	120	14 and up	4 months	6 months intensive parole
CYA/Fire Conservation Camps	1940s	600	16 and up	Variable	Standard Parole
California Department of Corrections ASP Boot Camp	1993	176	18 and up	3 to 4 months	2 months work training; 4 months intense parole
CDC/Fire Conservation Camps	1940s	4,018	18 and up	Variable	Standard parole
Los Angeles County Boot Camp	1990	210	16-18	Average of 6 months	6 months intensive
Riverside County Boot Camp	1994	70	15-18	6 months	6 months intensive
Tulare County Boot Camp	1994	50 (100 in future)	13-17	6 months (2 months basic tng.)	3 months intensive
Santa Clara County PRIDE Boot Camp	1991	44	18 and up	11 weeks	Standard parole
OTHER PROGRAMS					
County Probation Youth Camps	1930s	Over 4,000	14-18	Average of 5.5 months	Standard probation
CA Conservation Corps	1976	About 1,500	18-23	Up to one year	n/a
Rite of Passage (Non-profit)	1984	300	13-17	11 months (3 phases)	About 6 months, more as needed
Arizona Boys Ranch (Non-profit)	1951	About 400	8-18 (16-18 Boot)	About 14 months (boot)	Up to 2 years

*For comparison, the CYA average length of stay is 23.7 months. Military boot camps generally last 6 to 8 weeks.

As Table 2 indicates, the public work-intensive camps in California provide room for 5,320 inmates and wards, with another 4,000 beds in the county juvenile ranches and camps. In addition, there are 700 beds available in two of the private youth correctional programs that include numerous California juveniles. The length of these programs ranges from 11 weeks to about a year.

The operating jurisdictions in California have adopted a "refined" or "modified" approach to boot camps. The stereotype of the tough drill sergeant with his harsh verbal indoctrination may occur on the first day or days after arrival, but is intended to be quickly replaced by positive reinforcement and self-esteem development. This process is described by the Department of Corrections in a handbook on staff conduct:

Shock orientation will generally be limited to first few days of the program. This is the attention-getting phase. This introduction period is designed to jolt the inmate into a sense of reality, to make him absolutely aware of his status, and what is expected of him. Its further purpose is to strip away all the facades he hides behind. This is why we give him a close haircut, and shave away all the beards and mustaches....We want him to look and feel like all the others around him. Once he sees himself in this new light, all the "phoney" is gone, and he begins to see that he's no better, nor tougher than those around him, then we are ready to begin building true character. Now we can teach adult responsibility, self discipline and personal motivation.

Other than consistency in using the refined format, each jurisdiction has developed its own program independently with its own interpretations of a mission statement and goals and objectives intended to guide operations. In this area, substantial variability exists among camps, both in California and across the nation, a pattern that was noted by the American Correctional Association:

Research indicates that many existing boot camp programs have been designed and implemented quickly without feasibility studies and without written policies and procedures to guide their implementation....the goals varied from one program to another, and sometimes within the same program.[61]

A national survey of states in 1991 by the National Institute of Justice ranked the variety of perceived goals for boot camp programs, with the top three priorities being rehabilitation, reduced recidivism and drug education. The next level was the reduction of facility crowding, development of skills and provision of a safe prison environment. Considered somewhat important were deterrence, education and drug treatment. Last in the priorities, and not considered goals, were punishment

and vocational education. It should be noted, however, that recently, especially in California, the need for vocational education and work skills training has been receiving increasing emphasis as part of the refined boot-camp approach.

The mission statements for the State's two operations demonstrate the variety of concerns that can be addressed with varying degrees of success. The California Youth Authority has published in its LEAD Program description the following goals and objectives:

The California Youth Authority LEAD Program is designed to prevent the further incursion of youthful offenders into the criminal justice system by increasing parole readiness and parole success utilizing a treatment continuum. This continuum consists of a short-term, time intensive, highly structured institutional program which utilizes a military milieu, followed by an intensive parole experience phase consisting of graduated supervision levels.

CYA then established these objectives:

1. *To develop self-discipline, esteem and control.*
2. *To develop positive decision-making skills.*
3. *To develop positive moral/ethical thinking abilities.*
4. *To develop leadership skills.*
5. *To eliminate chemical dependency.*
6. *To increase employability skills.*
7. *To develop citizenship awareness and community responsibility.*
8. *To increase and develop positive life skills and responsible adulthood knowledge.*
9. *To increase knowledge of the impact of crime on victims.*
10. *To increase basic educational competencies in reading and math.*
11. *To develop a pro-social subculture free from contamination of the traditional negative institution environment.*

The Department of Corrections has been somewhat less precise in defining goals and objectives for its adult

ASP boot camp program. Its "major goals" are published in a staff handbook, as follows:

- *To be more effective than straight incarceration.*
- *To reduce overcrowding.*
- *To reduce recidivism by:*
  - *Providing programs on substance abuse, education, emotional stability, health consciousness, work ethics and skills and other areas ....*
  - *Providing discipline in a structured environment with clearly established expectations for changed deviant behavior.*
  - *Expanding parole into a system of highly structured correctional supervision.*

In the same document there is reference to "program goals," which are restated in somewhat different language, addressing the need to reduce overcrowding; cut costs; deter recidivism; and "improve control." Another document offers only the first three goals and adds this summary: "In short, offer a program focused on salvaging and permanently removing from the criminal justice system the criminally unsophisticated first-time offender without compromising the community protection rights of the citizenry." Elsewhere, the "overall mission" of the program is described as "to avert offenders from institutions where inmates learn negative survival skills."

Objectives of ASP include:

- *Provide a structured physical fitness program.*
- *Provide a disciplined, regimented environment to teach appropriate decision making, courtesy, self-control and teamwork.*
- *Provide a program [with an] intensive, demanding environment free of the negative influences and idle time commonly associated with conventional incarceration.*
- *Implement a structured counseling and education program.*

- *Utilize team concepts, community expectations, and tangible consequences to illustrate inappropriate behavior and elicit cooperation.*

- *Provide an intense work program to teach inmates certain practical skills, but more importantly, work ethics, interpersonal relations, and work as a contribution to the community and expression of self-worth.*

- *Provide a vigorous inspection procedure for the inmate.*

Sharing of effective concepts, failed efforts does not occur

Each county has a range of goals, but programs have been developed without much information sharing. There is little or no dissemination of innovations or sharing of solutions to common problems among all the varieties of correctional and work-intensive camps -- including boot, conservation, fire-fighting, county probation and private. In addition, redundant research is being done by every jurisdiction that evaluates the potential for a camp.

A management text finds that such lack of communication is a typical but non-productive pattern, noting that managers tend to solve problems through their own base of experience but "they also do so inefficiently, wasting time, money and energy." Such has been the case with boot camps. Each jurisdiction has had to re-invent the boot camp, wasting time and resources and often not securing access to the most current state-of-the-art information. The text further notes that "the most effective way to improve managerial performance is to improve the use of information."[62]

A researcher writing on juvenile boot camps last year observed, "One problem on the horizon for boot camps is that there are no accepted standards to guide their development or to ensure that they offer essential services." He notes that many are "generic" and that everybody "freelances and invents their own design," with the result that the boot camp label covers a "potpourri" of components.[63]

There is concern that the overall concept has not been fully thought out and focused on a mission that can be achieved. In testimony prepared for the Little Hoover Commission's hearing on boot camps, the executive director of the California Probation, Parole and Correctional Association observed:

Suddenly California is in love with boot camps. Politicians from both parties and at all levels of government are calling for boot camps....Corrections practitioners...are urging judicious, thoughtful consideration and application of the concept to make certain the boot camp model is not oversold and is used appropriately.[64]

Many are concerned about whether camps are being used "appropriately." Even before a realistic and achievable statewide mission statement can be established, there must be agreement about what camps can accomplish. As national authorities have said:

In order to determine whether or not boot camps 'work,' officials must define, in clear, operational terms, what boot camps are supposed to achieve.[65]

Debate continues, even while programs are being created with their own goal statements, which are typically optimistic in tone, suggesting all things are possible. The precise selection of objectives for boot camps is extremely important, since evaluations of program success must be based on whether defined expectations have been satisfied. For example, if reducing recidivism is the primary or sole criterion, boot camps might be labeled a failure. Hence, a mission or goal statement that fails to focus on multiple needs and measurable outcomes could result in negative evaluations.

For example, a professional staff member at a California boot camp offered this advice:

The Boot Camp Program must have a specific, simple and attainable goal/objective in mind. This goal/objective must have a distinct and set way of monitoring and evaluating its success. Both staff and participating wards must be made aware of... exactly what the goals/objectives of the program are.[66]

The American Correctional Association in its *Manual for Standards for Adult Correctional Boot Camp Facilities* advocates that goals be measurable as well as specific:

Many existing boot camp programs have written mission statements, but they have incorporated goals and objectives that are not measurable. For boot camps to be successful, however, the most fundamental requirement is that the mission statement, goals and objectives be stated in clear, precise and measurable language. The boot camp mission statement should also address in specific terms the role of the program within the correctional system, and it should specify how particular program elements and components contribute to the achievement of that larger mission.[67]

Of the counties operating boot camps, to date only the Riverside County boot camp has included as part of its mission statement a specific percentage of its ward population that is projected to be affected by each element. For example, two of the objectives for its academy are:

- To develop self-discipline, esteem and control. (Goal: 25 percent of graduates to demonstrate self-esteem improvement.)

- To develop positive decision-making skills. (Goal: At least 50 percent of cadets are to earn peer leadership positions.)

With objectives designed in a similar fashion, any agency can accurately evaluate the success of its program. A state mission statement can provide cohesiveness to the more specific and quantifiable local interpretations.

Statutes address boot camp components to a limited degree

California is not entirely lacking in statewide mandates, however. For the past several years, the Legislature has been defining specific components that must be included in certain types of camps. For example, the Governor and the Legislature recently approved the Juvenile Offender Local Prevention and Corrections Program (AB 799, Friedman; Chapter 157, Statutes of 1993), which requires several program components to be included in county juvenile ranches and camps, as well as in juvenile boot camps. These include generalized references to a "residential treatment program," a "structured and disciplined program for each resident," individual counseling, "work experience and vocational training through work crew assignments" and other functions. Further, all county camps are required to:

- Provide a positive reinforcing environment that redirects physical, social and emotional energies into constructive channels.

- Emphasize responsibility for one's actions.

- Employ goal-setting methods to maximize self-discipline, self-confidence and sense of pride.

In addition to these standards, county juvenile boot camps were directed by this legislation to maintain a "highly structured, military-style environment," plus include "greater emphasis on physical conditioning, athletics, and team building" than do county probation

camps. The law also included the legislative intent that a comprehensive boot camp program should include diagnostic assessment, community-based aftercare and accountability.

Other legislative proposals have sought to establish the range of components for boot camps. Such specificity in program mandates has been described by some professionals as "micro-managing," especially because essential program components have not yet been defined through a comprehensive planning and oversight process. In addition, no public or private study has fully documented all the activities believed necessary to make a camp effective. To date, the first such publication in California, one offering only preliminary and partial findings, is the California Youth Authority's evaluation of the LEAD program, dated May 1994. The next report is due by the end of 1995.

The challenge is to set standards that avoid micro-managing

A key challenge for the State is to avoid the temptation to micro-manage boot camps and thereby diminish the ability of counties to define programs that meet local needs. Some officials at the local level see any state involvement as pre-empting their ability to run their own program or to attempt innovations. For example, the chief probation officer of Los Angeles County believes the statewide standards as now defined in the California Administrative Code regarding all juvenile camp programs in general, "are sufficient for boot camp operations without addition or modification."[68]

Another county probation officer says, however, "It is critical that statewide standardization of both adult and juvenile boot camps be established and enforced to reduce the risk of abuse of inmates and ensure minimum programming is offered to inmates." He also believes that an oversight process or agency is required: "Without enforcement, standards often are ignored."[69]

Others, however, emphasize local flexibility. The executive director of the California Probation, Parole and Correctional Association said:

...differences in kinds and designs of boot camps make it impossible to address the subject as if boot camps were a single, simple thing. The complexity and variety of boot camp programs make it obvious that legislating or otherwise mandating the form and functions of boot camps is not advisable, nor are statewide standards which seek to impose any one particular design. Boot camps must be able to reflect the populations they are designed to serve...as well as the social, geographic, and/or correctional environments in which they exist. They must be able to contain the elements determined by their designers and operators to be necessary to meet expressed goals, and because those goals will be philosophically or

programmatically different from one boot camp to the next, there must be flexibility and latitude maintained within the model.[70]

Overall, there is strong opinion that several key problem areas require increased attention by the State. These issues include:

- State planning to assess local needs and opportunities and guide the investment of public funds through requiring compliance with state goals if funding is sought.
- Eliminating the potential for physical and mental abuse.
- Upgrading the quality of staff selection and training.
- Assuring statewide program consistency and quality.

State lacks a centralized approach to boot camp planning

State Planning: At present there is no plan or policy framework to identify the State's vision or expectations for boot camps and related programs or to guide the allocation of available resources. In addition, no agency has been specifically designated as responsible for future planning in this area. However, planning is expected to be spurred by recent federal and state legislation.

The 1994 federal crime bill mandates the development of a state plan that, while not focusing on boot camp concerns, includes them within the overall issue of using alternative sentencing options to open up beds for violent prisoners.[71] To obtain funding for grants to construct (but not operate) correctional facilities, including boot camps and other alternative correctional facilities, states will be required to demonstrate that they have "a comprehensive correctional plan." This document must represent an integrated approach to the management and operation of correctional facilities and programs" and address a variety of components.

As described in the Background, this act may offer a variety of funds that can be used for boot camps, not all of which will be under the State's control. Local governments can apply directly for funding of projects under discretionary grants that the Department of Justice can approve independently of any state plans or goals. Therefore, the potential exists for public funds to be

invested in projects that may not further the public understanding of the long-term potential of boot camps.

State-level planning for the development of alternative correctional facilities must also be coordinated with a new planning program recently authorized in California by the Community-Based Punishment Act of 1994.[72] Each county, or grouping of counties, can prepare its own plan to establish a community-based punishment program to expand the use of "intermediate sanctions" for "non-violent offenders and substance abusers who could be successfully treated in appropriate, less-restrictive programs without any increase in danger to the public." These sanctions, falling between incarceration and probation, specifically include boot camps. The Board of Corrections is directed to establish guidelines for the counties to follow in preparation of their plans and to ensure related state and local actions are consistent.

CYA also has been assigned the potential role of working with localities to develop new boot camps under AB 799 (Chapter 157, Statutes of 1993). There is no mandate to accomplish this mission within the context of a state plan, however, and to date CYA has not assessed local government needs and resources affecting community-based alternative sentencing options.

State involvement could lead to cost-effective regional camps

The lack of statewide planning hinders the pursuit of the economies of scale that may be realized by grouping boot camps in regions across the state. However, several counties already have considered a regional approach. For example, it was determined that the three counties of Santa Cruz, Monterey and San Benito did not have an adequate inmate population base to support even a regional facility.[73] On the other hand, ten or more northern California counties will jointly operate a juvenile boot camp by the end of the year. In the San Francisco Bay Area, a "public safety corridor" will unite several city and county jurisdictions in a regional approach to alternative programs including a boot camp.

Maximizing the use of federal funding could become a hit-or-miss goal without statewide coordination. The national crime bill will provide some funds for program startup but not for site acquisitions. Other funding is available only for construction of facilities, including boot camps, and not for operations. All funding that can be used for operations will be available only for a limited period. Without comprehensive planning to identify the most cost-effective design of camps, plus the potential for

regional groupings and using abandoned military sites and other public facilities, programs may well run into future fiscal problems.

Another issue that can best be resolved by statewide planning is the development of equal facilities for women. In early 1994, a federal court decision found the boot camp program in Virginia unconstitutional because it did not allow female offenders the opportunity to shorten their sentences through an abbreviated program. Although a woman's boot camp facility does exist in Santa Clara County, and several camps -- such as in Shasta, Los Angeles and Tulare Counties -- have or are planning facilities for juvenile females, there has not been a statewide assessment of this population and the need for local facilities. In California, women are a small portion -- about 3 to 6 percent -- of the overall jail, prison and institutional population, suggesting the potential for a consolidated program. However, the value of a single statewide boot camp or several regional facilities to accommodate incarcerated females has not yet been examined.

As indicated above, the present lack of statewide planning for boot camps puts California at a disadvantage in both competing for funds and in ensuring that maximum value is obtained from public investments.

State oversight could serve as deterrent to abusive practices

Potential Mental and Physical Abuse: The primary criticism of boot camps seems to be based on the premise that the traditional military model carries with it the high potential for both physical and mental abuse. In California and elsewhere, there is negative reaction to the concept of "shock incarceration," especially because of media portrayals of practices still used in some eastern and southern states. Camps in California may use "shock" techniques on the first day, as wards/inmates unload from the bus and meet the stereotypical screaming drill instructor before getting their haircut, but this confrontational style is intended to soon change to less-intensive verbal corrections.

However, there is in any correctional or teaching environment the potential for staff guidance to turn into harassment and result in petty discipline delivered inconsistently. Social researchers almost universally agree that negative feedback and public humiliation have no value as an educational or rehabilitation method and will reduce other positive influences.

The CYA's Standard Operating Procedure manual for the LEAD program's staff, who are called TAC officers (for Teach, Advise, Counsel), provides detailed guidance on how staff can work and talk with cadets, even offering suggestions on body language and voice intonation. The following examples illustrate the close attention given to issues of abuse avoidance and self-esteem development:

- *While the TAC Officer cannot avoid hurting the feelings of some sensitive individuals, he will make every effort to avoid being abusive and insulting....*

- *Perception of dignity, concepts of fairness and equality vary greatly between one Cadet and another. The Cadet may not be treated as he thinks he should and may feel insulted, embarrassed, disappointed or otherwise slighted, depending on his point of view.*

- *After corrections have been made, the TAC Officer should lower his tone and tell the Cadet to stand at ease in front of his desk. He should be told the purpose of this counseling session is to help improve his performance and not to further test him. The TAC Officer's demeanor should be relaxed, yet formal.*

- *After the counseling preliminaries, threat avoidance is the rule if the purpose of the counseling session is to get the Cadet to open up.*

An internal memo for the LEAD staff establishes CYA's boot camp policy regarding abuse of all types:

Discipline is not meant to be degrading or humiliating to our cadets at any time. We must constantly remind ourselves that we are attempting to establish a program that has validity and holds cadets accountable for their behavior at all times....Our program philosophy is that LEAD will be a positive experience that the cadets will be able to build upon during the remainder of their lives. We can only accomplish this goal if we as TAC Officers remain positive and demonstrate to cadets that they can be held accountable without being humiliated or degraded.[74]

The Department of Corrections also has addressed this issue. An internal memo in early 1994 advised boot camp staff of these concerns:

The term "discipline" has several meanings, most of which relate to a body of knowledge, training rules, instruction and exercise designed to the proper conduct or action. Some have come to grossly misuse the term by applying only one of these meanings, "punishment inflicted." The nature of the Boot Camp Program must emphasize the broader and fuller meaning of the term which is to bring a state of order and obedience by training and control....

Learning experiences must be constructive and promote improvements and development of positive attitudes and behaviors. ... on-the-spot corrections may not be designed to cause ridicule, destroy self esteem, self worth, degrade or humiliate the individual. Nor will the experience reinforce negative images of the program or staff.[75]

An undated paper by the Department of Corrections entitled "Staff Conduct" includes these points:

- *Primary goals are to build the inmate's self-esteem and to return a productive citizen to society.*
- *Rigid military discipline will be common. Demeaning name calling will be conspicuously absent. Suggestions that the inmate can't make it through the program will not be permitted. Performance will be criticized, not people. The emphasis to the inmate will be, "You can and will succeed..."*
- *Because it can utterly destroy the program, even slight abuse of an inmate, verbal or physical, will not be tolerated. Our purpose is to foster respect, not fear. We will structure everything we say so as to generate a perception of fairness, purpose and respect.*
- *...we can permit no profanity directly towards inmates. We will not be able to teach self-control, respect, courtesy and good manners if we fail to demonstrate these qualities ourselves.*

Physical contact with camp inmates is controversial

Physical contact by staff members in any threatening or negative manner other than in self-defense is universally held to be inappropriate in California. However, in some private-sector programs, it has occurred or been allowed in specific circumstances. For example, at the Arizona Boys Ranch, which largely receives California placements, it was been reported that staff members have sometimes grabbed wards by their clothes during intensive portions of the program. The staff at Rite of Passage, also a non-profit correctional program, is allowed to use a "passive restraint" technique -- essentially a bear hug -- on out-of-control wards. These measures, as well as any physical punishment, are considered controversial, requiring close regulation and oversight.

The recent evaluation by CYA of its boot camps reported that even though its enabling law forbids training methods that are personally degrading, humiliating or inhumane, and even with its high emphasis on this during

staff training, interviews of about half of the boot camp wards reported they had been "embarrassed or humiliated in front of other wards." The report noted:

The LEAD program is expected to promote self-esteem and it is specifically not expected to demean or humiliate anyone. Therefore, that over half of the cadets reported such experiences is a cause for concern.[76]

This program of the California Youth Authority has generally been found by observers to be well-run by highly motivated personnel. That CYA can make this finding is both refreshing in its candor and a reminder that the objective of teaching self-esteem, while at the same time maintaining discipline, is challenging and difficult.

It should also be noted that physical contact may not always be negative. Because of the unique mission of boot camps, many drill instructors and staff members function as mentor, role model and parent figure. Many observers have noted the development of "interpersonal relationships" between drill instructors and platoon members.[77] Given the staff's mission of providing positive feedback and self-esteem development, there are occasions when positive touching, such as a hand on a shoulder, will occur. At graduation ceremonies, such as observed at the San Quentin Prison, many boot camp graduates sought out their drill instructors for an open display of affection. At a county probation camp, a staff instructor was seen giving a fatherly hug to a youth, who was distraught after receiving discipline. The ward's clear appreciation of the positive gesture, which immediately restored his confidence, demonstrates that boot camps are not typical correctional systems subject to traditional rules.

Many professionals recognize the difficulty of defining standards in this area but agree that even the best boot camp programs require much more training in the art of concurrently providing discipline and instilling self-esteem. Otherwise, abuse may occur, undermining the potential for boot camps to successfully change participant behavior.

Staff aptitude and training are key to camp success

Staff Selection and Training: The ultimate success of a boot camp, regardless of its design, is dependent on the quality and dedication of staff running it, experts agree. A chief probation officer notes that the "proper selection and training of staff is critical" and that:

...a standard [should] be established and enforced in the selection of staff to perform the military instructor or drill instructor role. Without a detailed screening process, with careful attention given to psychological testing to seek out abusive and overly authoritarian attitudes, the risk of psychological and even physical abuse of wards or inmates is high. Only seasoned and experienced staff should be selected to perform the D.I. role....mandatory training for drill instructors [should] include courses in motivation, leadership, counseling, physical education as well as military drill...[78]

The military puts major emphasis on training its drill instructors. Each branch has its own academy to prepare professionals for that demanding assignment, ranging in length from five weeks for the Air Force to 11 weeks for the Marine Corps.[79] In reality, the military drill instructor has a less complex mission than does the correctional instructor, yet boot camp training programs in California do not presently exceed two weeks. (For comparison, a training program for Michigan's boot camp program lasts three weeks.)

Four areas of concern regarding the staffing of boot camps are often identified in the literature and by professionals: the need to improve training beyond traditional correctional courses; the critical importance of hiring persons best suited by personality and training for this demanding work; the availability of the largest possible pool for selection; and means to minimize burnout and turnover resulting from the intensive workload.

A professional in one of California's boot camps has advocated a much higher level of attention to training:

We need to be continuously training and refreshing staff in order to maintain a positive, intelligent and productive environment. Drill instructors come into the job trained as custody staff for a regular prison setting. The work of a drill instructor requires far more than the typical custody staff work. Currently, our staff receive an additional two week Boot Camp specific training prior to their employment here. They learn about behavior management, human psychology and the Boot Camp philosophy. This is a great deal to learn and assimilate in a single two-week period....we need to do more training and retraining on a regular basis to keep employees working effectively. It is too easy to regress to a purely custodial mentality....Staff must be engaged in learning themselves to expand their behavior management skills and increase their effectiveness.[80]

In addition to handling traditional correctional issues and -- for many -- military drill and ceremony procedures, boot camp staff members must also understand the principles of self-esteem development, positive thinking/reinforcement, group dynamics, abuse avoidance, juvenile psychology, interpersonal communication, ethnic and cultural concerns, gang psychology and the "Code of the Streets."

Very simply, the boot camp has created a new kind of correctional professional who must be a combination of drill instructor, disciplinarian, teacher, motivator, social worker, role model and substitute parent. For boot camp staff to inspire in wards and inmates attitudes of self-esteem and self-discipline within a short period of time is an impressive task. This balancing act is described in the Youth Authority's operations manual for its staff:

...the TAC officer ["Teach, Advise, Counsel"] should be positive, motivational and strict... [in later stages] he is much more personal; he becomes the Cadets' mentor. However, he will not become a "pal" or a "peer." He must retain some measure of reserve. To act in an undignified overly friendly manner causes a severe loss of respect for the TAC officer.[81]

There is no course in existence today that can teach all these skills or prepare a traditional correctional officer for the boot camp challenge of maintaining discipline while being a role model and counselor. Creating such an instruction program will require the expertise of all agencies that are now involved in correctional staff training, including:

- Local jurisdictions operating boot camps.
- Regulation-setting authorities, including the new Commission on Correctional Peace Officers Standards and Training (CPOST)[82] and the Board of Corrections (which has statutory responsibility for establishing selection criteria and training standards for local probation and corrections officers, as well as juvenile hall counselors).
- California Youth Authority (which was mandated in 1993 to assist counties to develop boot camp programs) and the Department of Corrections.
- The National Guard (which has been authorized to provide contracted boot camp-related services to counties[83]).

The ability to select appropriate staff can be hindered

Selection of personnel for boot camps can be a problem at present, especially for the California Youth Authority. A labor arbitration ruling limited the ability of management to assign its selected personnel to boot camps with four-month rotations. The so-called "60-40" ruling determined that the existing Memorandum of Understanding between the Youth Authority and the California Correctional Peace Officers Association (CCPOA) required that 60% of the Youth Counselor positions be based on seniority and 40% by management selection for each program rather than by institution-wide

assignments. Management is not able to modify, once accepted, a "bid" schedule (hours of work/assigned days off) until a position becomes vacant.[84]

This decision has limited the ability of CYA to make staff selections based solely on aptitude and to design shifts as needed. The Department of Corrections has avoided this situation but mediation has produced such requirements as limiting correctional officers to only those counseling duties depicted by their job classification.[85] The warden at San Quentin has sole determination of the selection and removal of staff from the boot camp program,[86] since the only pool available for the camp are employees at that prison. At present there are no state legislated standards or regulations controlling staff selection decisions for any camp system other than those general requirements for employment within the operating agency.

There is not available a statewide reserve pool of trained professionals who can be called upon to fill vacancies and absences, or to allow overworked staff to take time off. Burnout, therefore, continues to be a serious problem, according to those involved in the programs.

A statewide approach to staffing boot camps and providing training offers the best potential for creating a successful outcome. Without careful attention to this issue, boot camps are likely to display erratic or disappointing outcomes.

Flexibility should not lead to inconsistency and poor quality

Program Consistency and Quality: While program flexibility is needed to meet specific needs, there are concerns that unclear regulations may be applied unevenly and even arbitrarily in boot camps. Inadequate training and management can also permit this to happen, with the risk of abuse and damage to rehabilitation efforts and, consequently, to avoidance of recidivism. Many feel this potential for inconsistency is a reason to increase state overview.

Observers have noted the variability in operational practices and inconsistency of rule enforcement not only from program to program but also within specific camps from shift to shift. Different personalities will always bring their own style to work, but several professionals within boot camps have warned that inadequate training, incomplete operational rules and/or irregular management oversight may be the actual cause of program inconsistency.

Offenders will develop disrespect for a system that lacks its own discipline and allows them to behave differently according to the time of day or the personality involved. A text on common-sense management of businesses offers advice that applies equally to a correctional boot camp:

Don't enforce the rules today and ignore them tomorrow! People are content in knowing what is expected from them and they adjust to the rules even when the rules and the enforcement are strict. Therefore, don't be erratic....Your inconsistency will translate into employee disciplinary problems and an uneasy feeling throughout your department. [87]

The very nature of boot camps and human behavior increases the possibility that supervisors may exercise their authority in a personalized way, which may not equate to "abuse" but can reduce program effectiveness.

Consistency of rule enforcement begins with the clarity and scope of material given to the ward or inmate both on arrival to the camp and upon the offender's shift into aftercare parole or probation. A paper on staff conduct used in the ASP boot camp makes the point clearly: "For the program to succeed, it is imperative that the inmate know exactly what is to be expected of him." Not only must verbal instructions and orders be consistent, but the basic standard operating procedures (SOP) for cadets and for camp operation must be clear and accessible, for both staff and participants.

However, substantial variability in the guidance materials given to inmates and wards was found at various camps:

- The California Youth Authority provides a 27-page *Cadet SOP* to its arrivals that is very comprehensive but has a complex format and perhaps more information than most boot-camp cadets can absorb.

- The Department of Corrections provides a thorough 21-page *Inmate Handbook* with a relatively complex format that may make some information difficult to access. The Department also requires each boot-camp inmate to sign a "contract" between himself and the people of the State of California that clarifies the minimum standards of behavior, both during the camp and the parole period.

- Twin Pines Ranch Boot Camp Academy in Riverside County also requires its wards to sign a one-page contract that sets basic behavior rules. A two-page description of the probation re-entry program is also supplied.

- The Los Angeles County Probation Department provides a single page of 22 "general areas of conduct" that are simple statements like, "No lying to staff" and "No gang activity." A second page of 10 "general orders" opens with "I will obey all conditions of my court order," and closes with "I will be more productive in my endeavors."

- The Arizona Boys Ranch publishes a high-quality, 14-page *Resident Handbook* that opens with general information, proceeds to general rules and regulations, and works through such areas as dress code, dining room, mail, telephone calls and personal money. A *Parent Handbook* is also given to the families.

Written policies should be shared with staff and inmates

The American Correctional Association recommends that there be written policy, procedure and practice that ensures offenders are informed of and agree to abide by the rules and regulations governing the facility. Further, ACA recommends that at the time of intake, both boot-camp employee and offender sign a document verifying that the staff has discussed "services available, program goals, rules governing conduct, program rules and regulations, and possible disciplinary actions."[88]

While many favor an increased state oversight and inspection role to standardize boot camp operations, a complication is presented by the existing fragmentation of the correction's inspection capability. The following agencies are, have been or could be involved in facility monitoring and inspection:

- The California Youth Authority is no longer required to inspect county juvenile facilities. In 1992 legislation was enacted to remove this responsibility from the agency until July 1995 when sunset language will restore the inspection mandate. This act retained the requirement that localities continue to conform to regulations but established a self-certification process to be used by the counties.[89]

- The appointed members of the California State Commission on Juvenile Justice, Crime and

Delinquency Prevention currently inspect all state juvenile facilities, including firefighting camps and the LEAD program, but they do not have a role at the local level. Their inspection addresses administration, "quality of life" (the physical plant, meals, religious services, etc.) and programs.

- The Board of Corrections is responsible for inspecting some 500 adult jail facilities and for establishing advisory standards that form the basis of inspection. In addition to the Board's biennial inspections of jails, local health departments annually inspect for health and sanitary conditions and the State Fire Marshal or the authorized local representative is responsible for annual fire and life-safety inspections.[90] Recently an effort to assign to the Board responsibility for inspecting local juvenile facilities was unsuccessful.

- In spite of the importance of substance abuse programs in the correctional system, the Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs has no inspection or certification role, and does not have the capability of assessing the clinical value of such programs in general. It is examining ways to upgrade what is called a "peer review" inspection process where outside authorities are relied upon to evaluate program quality.[91]

- The Division of Youth, Adult and Alternative Educational Services in the Department of Education monitors special education programs, but has not been assigned this role in boot camps and county camps. Each jurisdiction establishes its own educational program for these camps, relying on agency educational experts.

- The California State Council on Vocational Education has a mission of analyzing, reviewing and funding vocational education programs in adult and juvenile correctional institutions.[92]

The importance of the four issue areas described above -- planning, curbing abuse, staff training and standardized quality -- becomes evident when assessing the two state pilot programs in progress. Both have demonstrated some deficiencies or inefficiencies in operation, largely as a result of their prototype and experimental status.

The California Department of Corrections has had difficulties filling bed capacity in its San Quentin ASP boot camp due to the screening language in the enabling legislation that limits the program to certain non-violent offenders. Some observers feel the legislation should be amended to allow a broader population into the program, but the Department does not want to influence the outcome evaluation process that will draw conclusions about the program's validity. However, limiting the targeted population reduces the lessons that can be learned from the program. (This issue is further reviewed under Finding 2.)

The ASP program does not have its own dedicated budget and relies on resources diverted into it from the general prison. There is a history of the boot camp having difficulty securing basic supplies, including an incident when staff had to purchase tennis shoes for inmates out of their personal funds. In addition, largely for fiscal considerations, the program has been limited to personnel selected from San Quentin alone, rather than from across the entire state prison system.

The reporting process or chain of command for the ASP camp is believed by some to be cumbersome and bureaucratic, resulting in splintered decision-making and poor accountability. Several administrative levels leading up to the San Quentin warden are involved, as is a coordination group involving representatives of at least three divisions in the Department of Corrections. This system lacks a single, readily accessible individual who can act without having to first secure multiple concurrences. Administrators in the Department, however, defend the structure as necessary because of the large number of staff involved in the operation of the camp.

The California Youth Authority has recently published an evaluation of the first year of the LEAD program, making several recommendations:

- Work towards variation or modification of Youth Counselor (TAC) assignments and staff rotation to counter staff burnout.
- Expand services and opportunities on parole.
- Develop more of a staff consensus on the goals of the LEAD program, especially regarding cost-savings.

- Maintain and refine the promising features of LEAD (i.e., the constructive environment, leadership training and TAC mentoring).

- Improve staff training to minimize some wards' perception of emotional abuse.

- Improve and maintain adequate and appropriate screening.

- Better understand those wards who present "difficult social or psychological problems."[93]

These state pilot programs demonstrate the complexity of the boot camp mission and the complications that can readily occur in daily operations. Such risks and problems can apply to the entire range of public and private, state and local operations. Many observers believe that since boot camps are experimental, have such a difficult mission, and have the potential for failure and abuses, they require an even more thorough oversight process than is used for traditional institutions.

State oversight coupled with flexibility would improve programs

To assure that boot camps are successful, the entire range of oversight functions -- including the definition of a statewide mission statement, comprehensive planning, standardized operational regulations, uniform training and site inspections -- is felt by many to be vital. While individual programs can be modified to meet local needs and enhanced beyond state minimum standards, the larger concept of boot camps is believed by many professionals to be at risk without further focusing and upgrading of the concept itself.

Many believe that to reach the necessary delicate balance of state oversight and local initiative requires the development of a mission statement, including goals and objectives, for camps across the state. For example, using the missions of existing programs and recommendations from correctional professionals as a guide, one possible composite goal statement would include these points:

- Protect the public safety.

- Contribute to cost reductions in operating the correctional system.

- Contribute to offender's diversion from crime through rehabilitation, treatment and positive reintegration into society.

The objectives that are necessary to achieve these goals can include:

- Reduce recidivism or maintain at levels comparable to mainline institutions.
- Reduce institutional crowding and open up beds for the most serious violent offenders.
- Maintain a challenging and intensive 12- to 16-hour daily program that creates high expectations of achievement.
- Seek to instill discipline, a respect for society and the family, self-esteem and a work ethic.
- Provide state-of-the-art substance abuse education, counseling and treatment that can help achieve a non-addictive status.
- Provide educational, vocational, and life-and-work skills programs that create new opportunities for offenders.
- Provide a variety of responsibility-oriented counseling that helps reduce anti-social attitudes.
- Develop appropriate individualized aftercare service that provides structure, positive affiliations with community organizations and a variety of job and life-training options that facilitate reintegration into society.

In addition to the developing consensus on achievable goals, experts have begun to define model operational standards for adult and juvenile camps. The American Correctional Association recently adopted its *Manual of Standards for Adult Correctional Boot Camp Facilities*, a document in preparation for eight years. This detailed text addresses about 230 program standards, many of which are very specific.[94]

Collaborative effort by State, camp operators needed to set standards

Selecting the goals and operational and training standards most suited to meet California's needs will require a collaborative effort by state agencies, local interests and private operators. While there is no formal task force or advisory committee addressing these issues, in the summer of 1994 the Office of Criminal Justice Planning, which is designated by statute as the State's lead criminal justice planning agency, began holding discussions with key agencies regarding provisions

of the national crime bill and the role of boot camps. However, as the Commission learned in its earlier study on the juvenile justice system, the Office of Criminal Justice Planning has failed to produce a "comprehensive state plan for the improvement of criminal justice and delinquency prevention activities" as mandated in statute, instead issuing fragmented components that meet the requirements of various federal grant programs. The Office's ability to produce an adequate planning effort, not just to meet the criteria of the national crime funding but also to ensure funding is spent wisely to meet needs throughout the state, may be questionable.

Without pro-active state involvement, development of boot camps in California is likely to continue in a piecemeal fashion and more than $1 billion of federal funding may not achieve maximum effectiveness. Without improved training and certification, accompanied by state inspection for conformance to minimum standards, the risk of failures and abuse is increased. The need for local initiative and flexibility can be balanced with State oversight through a cooperative planning effort that emphasizes local control and centralized accountability.

Recommendation 1: ***The Governor and the Legislature should direct an appropriate agency to prepare a statewide plan for the cost-effective development of boot camps and related facilities.***

A plan addressing development of community-based and alternative correctional facilities, including boot camps, should be a component of the comprehensive state plan on criminal justice, already required by existing statute. While the present statute places that responsibility with the Office of Criminal Justice Planning, policy makers may wish to assess its effectiveness in that role before adding further responsibilities. Other possible choices include the Board of Corrections for adults and the Youth and Adult Correctional Agency, or, if implemented, the new juvenile anti-crime agency previously recommended by the Little Hoover Commission.

Besides coordinating efforts statewide, the boot camp plan will help the State qualify for and effectively invest funding from the national crime act. To ensure

California is given a high priority for federal discretionary grants, which can be awarded directly to any state or local agency, and to reduce counter-productive competition for funds between agencies, the plan should be initiated as soon as possible with a completion target well in advance of federal deadlines.

The plan should be preceded by an assessment of state and local needs with emphasis on the opportunities for regional boot camps and a joint facility for women to minimize county operational costs. The plan also should set standards and methods for analyzing outcome and ensure the consistent measurement of "recidivism." In addition, the planning agency should clarify how it will monitor the implementation of this plan with special attention to ensuring that grants are used appropriately and that they secure effective results.

With assistance from public and private agencies and organizations that operate, regulate or support boot camps and other work-intensive programs, the planning agency should develop guidelines for the effective operation of boot camps. An immediate need exists to pool experience and scholarship both to help upgrade present operations and to facilitate the research of other jurisdictions considering the establishment of new camps.

An interim advisory committee could pave the way for a permanent coordinating council, if found to be necessary. Another group that could provide review and coordination is the recently created body, known as the Epple Commission, that will be reviewing juvenile justice issues during 1995 and 1996. Immediate attention should be given by any study group to improving the quality of materials provided to incoming camp participants.

Recommendation 2: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation that clearly defines the State's expectations and quantifiable goals for boot camps, prescribes local control coupled with centralized accountability, and establishes the requirement that only projects consistent with state policy will be eligible for future state grants or subsidy programs.***

A mission statement for California's boot camps should indicate basic directions and opportunities without promising levels of success that may not be achievable. Local and state agencies should be allowed to augment these policies as necessary, especially by establishing specific criteria that allow evaluation of program success in implementing the goals and objectives. Any plan addressing boot camps and other alternative correctional facilities should be consistent with this mission statement. Further, the Legislature can ensure that such funding sources as the national crime bill of 1994 are used effectively in California by clarifying that only projects consistent with the State's policy and planning standards will be eligible to receive further state fiscal assistance after federal funds are no longer available.

A key element of the state mandate should be the creation of a private-public sector advisory board for each boot camp that is charged with annually reviewing the performance of the camp and making recommendations for any needed improvements. Because the quality of program management at each stage of the boot camp process is critical, the advisory board should review both structure and management performance before making recommendations. Since accurate assessment of results relies on extensive data gathering and standardized definitions of what is being measured, such as recidivism, the State needs to set uniform accountability criteria that can be used by all boot camps.

Recommendation 3: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation authorizing the Board of Corrections to establish appropriate minimum operational and program standards for boot camps and to create a licensing-and-inspection process.***

With a broadly based composition, the Board of Corrections is designed to provide a balanced view on correctional issues. It should work with other agencies to develop and adopt camp operational standards. Priority should be given to the definition of mental and physical abuse, permissible physical contact and the use of restraints on camp participants.

Operating under the authority of the Board of Corrections, an inspection team that periodically visits every state, local and private boot camp and work-intensive program should ensure that all program components are being run according to state minimum standards and that they reflect the state-of-the-art in each field. As part of their licensing authority, inspectors should be able to mandate the retrofit and upgrading of program components, within the constraints of available funding.

The team should also place a high priority on encouraging valuable innovations by communicating successful models across the spectrum of camps, ranches, institutions and programs.

Recommendation 4: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation that establishes a "California Boot Camp Staff Training Academy," under the management of the Board of Corrections, where government and private-sector personnel can be trained and certified.***

Boot camps have created a new class of professionals in the field of corrections, requiring a higher level of training than is now available. Certification of graduation should be made mandatory for employment in any public or private work-intensive correctional or experiential program. In particular, the potential for abuse in these programs requires a specialized training program that presents the state-of-the-art in teaching a wide range of skills. Such an academy, which might be placed at a National Guard facility to take advantage of training opportunities, should be managed by the Board of Corrections, which has substantial experience in other correctional training programs.

With a teaching institution that presents a state-of-the-art curricula in the many subject areas affecting boot camp staff, a certification process can be developed that qualifies only those with the proper aptitude to fill these sensitive positions. Academy-trained boot camp specialists would also create a pool of personnel who could be called upon to fill temporary or permanent vacancies as they occur, allowing over-worked staff to avoid burnout.

Such an academy can also assist the Board of Corrections in a data-sharing function through a newsletter circulated among all work-intensive camps.

Recommendation 5: ***The California Depatment of Corrections and the California Youth Authority should continue to upgrade their boot camps.***

Although the two programs are designed to test projects, the agencies should make every effort to fine-tune procedures while the pilots are in progress rather than waiting until project completion to identify and rectify problems. The California Youth Authority should continue to act on the deficiencies reported in its recent LEAD evaluation, with emphasis on improving staff training. The Department of Corrections should ensure that the budget of its boot camp is separated from that of San Quentin prison; the chain of command from the camp commander to the prison warden includes an individual authorized to make timely operational decisions; and adequate operational funds are available to the camp commander.

Both agencies should seek to open up recruitment for their boot camps staffs from their entire system rather than solely from within the institution where the camp is located. Both agencies should seek to simplify and focus the packet of rules and responsibilities provided to incoming boot camp attendees, especially since violation of standards can result in dismissal from the program.

Pilot Programs

- *The State's two pilot programs are limited in scope and nature.*

- *Boot camps may be effective in dealing with inmates other than the currently targeted first-time, low-risk offenders.*

Recommendations:

Create pilot programs that will test the boot camp concept with:

- *Existing inmates serving time for non-violent crimes.*

- *Inmates shortly before scheduled release.*

- *Youths who are at-risk to become criminals.*

Pilot Programs

Finding 2: The limited variety of formats and rigid selection criteria for pilot programs will not result in a thorough testing of boot camps as an effective alternative sentencing option.

The existing pilot boot camp programs in California are insufficient to fully test the potential value of all forms of work-intensive correctional programs. The common target of lower-risk, non-violent offenders who are new to the institution may not be the population best suited for placement in these camps. Also because of funding constraints, few counties will send juveniles to camps if they are true first-time offenders. Other populations that may be appropriate for inclusion are already-incarcerated offenders with more serious, but not violent, criminal histories; low-security-risk offenders placed in conservation (firefighting) camps; pre-release offenders who need social reintegration skills; and younger juveniles who typically now receive probation. In addition, the military approach of most of these camps is not the only available format, but is receiving the greatest attention. Developing a wider range of boot camp formats

would allow the State to thoroughly evaluate the effectiveness of this form of alternative sentencing.

Experts are re-evaluating best target audience

The definition of the most appropriate target audience for boot camps directly relates to the goal of reducing recidivism. Historically, shock incarceration programs across the country have been designed for what has been called "first-time, non-violent offenders" or so-called "non-hardened" criminals. While these are amorphous and imprecise labels, they do imply that boot camps have been presumed to be best designed for the "good boys of the bad boys." Many professionals question this emphasis, since these offenders are the least likely to be re-arrested in the first place. It is felt that selecting these individuals for boot camps can both prejudice outcome evaluations and avoid the greater social need of breaking anti-social patterns of more experienced offenders. A relatively narrow focus in population selection may not allow a thorough understanding of the potential of boot camps.

The executive director of the State Coalition of Probation Organizations argues that, while some first-time, non-violent offenders can be helped by boot camps, "we don't feel boot camps were best designed for these types." Further, she found the existing system to be a "waste of taxpayer dollars" as now designed: "It is much more appropriate for mid-to- heavyweight offenders than first-time offenders."[95] A professional in a California camp observes, "I believe it is with the young gang-bangers, guilty of more traditionally criminal activity than driving under the influence, that we do our best work."[96]

Others observe that emphasis on the less sophisticated, non-violent offenders is causing the corrections system to "widen the net" and incarcerate those who would likely be put on probation -- thus, they argue, there are no fiscal savings. Still others, who are deeply concerned about social disorder, argue that the "net" should be widened if public safety is to be protected and youthful offenders, in particular, are to be interdicted before becoming sophisticated criminals. They also note that this will reduce future costs of incarceration.

The two experimental boot camp programs being operated by the State, one by the Department of Corrections and one by the California Youth Authority, are designed for very specific target audiences. The Department of Corrections has had difficulties filling bed capacity due to the language in its enabling legislation that limits the program to offenders who have not previously

served a term in a state or federal prison or a CYA institution, as well as have not been convicted for a specific list of violent crimes. At times there have been as many as 50 to 60 empty beds in a facility capable of housing 176 inmates. Recently the shortfall has left empty only about 20 beds, reportedly because the Department is placing a higher emphasis on recruitment during inmate intake.[97]

In 1993, the Department admitted to the boot camp 60 individuals who had committed robbery in the second degree. It was later decided that these offenders were not eligible for the program and were dropped before graduation. This decision has contributed to the program's difficulty in filling all available beds. In response to whether its eligibility criteria should be expanded, the Department replied in an internal briefing paper:

Expanding the criteria while the program is still in its pilot stage would create more public safety concerns. Can't expand to a great degree without jeopardizing public safety. The theory needs to be tested to see if it does work, for what pool of inmates it works and its cost effectiveness.[98]

This reasoning, however, ignores the fact that the pilot program cannot determine what pool of inmates will be the most affected by the boot camp when eligibility is so tightly constrained.

The mandated entrance criteria for the California Youth Authority in its LEAD program are less stringent but are explicit in excluding those who have committed an offense causing "serious violence or serious bodily injury." The program seeks to include wards "involved with substance abuse" or those identified by CYA as having "an addictive personality" or "at risk of future substance abuse." It is solely a volunteer program.[99] This population is composed of experienced offenders, as a rule, or they would not have been referred to CYA in the first place. However, they are "first-time offenders" in the view of the Youth Authority, which maintains a policy (one that is not mandated by the enabling legislation) that those who have previously been in a CYA institution are ineligible for the LEAD program. However, parole violators can be involved.[100]

According to the chief probation officer of Los Angeles County, his jurisdiction's boot camps were aimed initially at the "less-sophisticated" substance abuse offenders who had been unresponsive to prior rehabilitation and supervision attempts. But he reports

the program has had to go well beyond its originally planned population:

Because of the escalated levels of criminal sophistication of offenders being sent to camp by the courts, the boot camp program has had to evolve to address this type of juvenile. There are very few boot camp participants today who meet the target criteria established in September 1990.[101]

The Riverside County boot camp seeks to address a somewhat more sophisticated target population, described as "a mid-level male juvenile offender who has demonstrated through arrest history a developing pattern of delinquent behavior that necessitates intermediate sanction/intervention to forestall further penetration into the criminal justice system." Typically, these target offenders have been involved in property theft or drug-related offenses. An emphasis is placed on substance abusers (about 70 percent of the target populations) and "non-hard-core" gang members.[102]

A manager of a boys facility, which takes placement of juveniles far exceeding a "first-time offender" label, observes that it is not the arbitrary labeling of groups but the design and structure of the program that makes the difference.[103] Tulare County appears to be taking a similar approach. Its primary eligibility criterion is that the ward "must be in need of intense, correctional intervention to prevent further incursion into the criminal justice system." A specific class or level of offense is not identified, other than to prohibit participation by ex-CYA offenders and those convicted of "any violent offense" as listed in Section 667.5 of the Penal Code.[104]

Other states have found the need to expand their original assumptions about the most appropriate targeted populations. Michigan has reported that its boot camp participants mostly exceed the non-violent label, while Alabama, Idaho and Louisiana also do not necessarily limit their "shock" program to those convicted of their first felony.[105]

While the "first-time, non-violent offender" is not the exclusive target in California, the boot camps here still tend to have been designed to include the lowest-risk candidates possible. Some observers argue that these are the least likely to become repeat offenders anyway, so the boot camp resource is being wasted. For instance, Orange County studies have shown that 70 percent of juveniles arrested never have another contact with the criminal justice system, apparently regardless of the

outcome of their arrest. Others observe that since the incentive being offered to offenders to secure their participation in boot camps is shorter sentences, it would be dangerous to include more sophisticated criminals, especially those with any violence in their history.

The most common thread running through California boot camps is the inclusion of offenders with a substance-abuse history. This appears to be true nationally, as well. In 1989, the While House released a national drug control strategy that noted military-style boot camps can bring a sense of order and discipline to young, non-violent, first-time offenders: "These are the sorts of alternative sanctions that the criminal justice system must explore if it is successfully going to deter and contain drug use." This view has apparently taken hold. Researchers report that substance abuse treatment programs are a universal component of the modern boot camps. All programs operating nationally in 1992 incorporated drug education or a combination of drug education and treatment in their schedule (although the dedicated time was highly variable: 15 days total in one program to every day in New York's 180-day program).[106]

Drug abuse a common background for camp inmates

As a result of the correctional system being overrun by these offenders, individuals being selected for boot camps tend also to be substance abusers. In California the CYA has estimated that 81 percent of its wards systemwide have substance abuse problems,[107] while the Department of Corrections has identified this condition in about 77 percent of its male and 82 percent of its female populations.[108] In the New York boot camp more than 80 percent have had drug problems, primarily from crack and cocaine. About 40 percent have had alcohol problems.[109]

A report by the Legislative Analyst's Office (LAO) noted that it is essential to "target rehabilitation programs to offenders most likely to benefit" and that "substance abuse programs are probably the most important, given that so many offenders commit violent offenses while under the influence."[110] However, treating this abuse may be the most difficult task facing boot camps, for several reasons: the prevalence of the problem, the short period of incarceration and the complexity of treatment needs.

Some professionals doubt that a vehicle such as boot camps as now staffed and trained can adequately handle the task of rehabilitating addicted criminals. For example, a national researcher notes, "While it is clear that many offenders sentenced to boot camps need drug

treatment and education, it is not clear whether these programs are the most effective way to provide it."

A professional working in a California camp holds the same view, noting that the program is taking in a "preponderance" of participants whose:

...criminal history is largely related to substance abuse thereby forcing us into trying to become a substance abuse rehabilitation program. This is not what the program was originally intended to be and not our area of expertise. There are many other public and private agencies much more skilled in this type of work, and substance abuse rehab could best be done elsewhere. Furthermore, due to the very high rate of recidivism in the substance abusing population in general, our own statistics are negatively impacted by the preponderance of this group. If one were to factor out this part of the population in the statistical studies, I believe our rehabilitation rate would look significantly better.[111]

The technical sophistication needed in these substance abuse programs is high. For example, the manual of standards for adult correctional boot camps by the American Correctional Association demonstrates that a substance abuse treatment component must be highly technical and comprehensive. The manual offers detailed standards for drug programs, including: a standardized assessment battery; a written treatment philosophy statement; and written policy, procedure and practice that define a "coordinated staff approach to deliver treatment services" with incentives to increase and maintain the offender's motivation for treatment. The Association also advocates "an appropriate range of primary treatment services" that include, at a minimum:

- Offender diagnosis.
- Identified problem areas.
- Individual treatment objectives.
- Counseling.
- Drug education.
- Relapse prevention and management.
- Culturally sensitive treatment objectives, as appropriate.
- Provision of self-help groups as an adjunct to treatment and as an important part of pre-release planning.

- Pre-release and transitional service needs.

- Coordination efforts with community supervision and treatment staff throughout the pre-release phase to ensure a continuum of supervision and treatment.

Today's boot camps are attempting to cope with the issue. For example, the Los Angeles County Probation Department specifically designed its program as a Drug Treatment Boot Camp for juveniles and provides a 15 hour-a-week education program provided by a non-profit contract agency. Staff also receives a 40-hour drug education/training class.

Research on the drug issue as it relates to crime is being conducted. The Office of Criminal Justice Planning (OCJP) has adopted an Anti-Drug Abuse Statewide Strategy as part of its comprehensive criminal justice planning and grants program. Included is funding for the CYA LEAD program and the Los Angeles County boot camp operations. In fiscal year 1993, OCJP also provided a $240,000 grant to the City of Los Angeles to develop a regional training center to accredit drug abuse counselors.[112] However, a recent report by the Legislative Analyst's Office found that in most counties probation departments do not operate their own substance abuse programs.[113]

There is no drug program model specifically for boot camps

At present there is no specific funding for the design and implementation of a model drug and alcohol education/treatment program that can be adapted to a short incarceration period for use by all boot camps. Each jurisdiction still must design its own drug education and rehabilitation program without the benefit of state standards, models or oversight. The Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs does license residential alcohol or drug recovery and treatment programs, but not those in penal institutions. Further, the Department does not presently evaluate the clinical value of any substance abuse programs across the state.[114]

Designing a substance abuse program specifically for inmates or wards may be difficult and expensive, but there is evidence that the effort is worthwhile. A study on jail drug treatment programs by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) found "solid evidence that these programs have a very positive impact on institutional behavior, particularly levels of violence. Furthermore, they may impact post-release behavior." The study called for additional upgrading of these

programs, but because of their increased costs, recommended that existing programs should be redesigned and not used as models.

The council found three factors that affect the value of these programs: the small number of offenders served (hence, the expense is high to design a treatment program that can serve only a limited population); length of stay possible in jail, as compared to the ideal time for a program; and the lack of time and resources to provide extensive pre-release planning and aftercare services.[115] Because of California's intensive aftercare phase for boot camps, the third concern can probably be addressed in most cases. Regarding the first, if boot camps continue to increase, as most anticipate, results from testing a state-of-the-art drug treatment program, designed for a short, intensive incarceration, could be beneficial in reducing overall recidivism.

The issue of what populations to include continues to be one of the main debates that will control the future of boot camps.The range of offender populations believed by observers to be potential candidates for a broader testing of pilot programs includes:

- Multiple-offense inmates or wards who are presently in mainline institutions with more serious crimes and who have a substantial sentence ahead of them.
- Any class of offender who has almost completed his sentence and is preparing to return to society.
- The youngest offenders who normally would be given probation for offenses.

Potential pilot: Existing inmates serving time for "medium" crimes

Pilot Project for Multiple-Offenders Presently Incarcerated. An option used elsewhere, such as in Georgia, allows qualifying volunteer inmates and wards who have been serving "hard time" to select a boot camp option to reduce incarceration time if their institutional performance meets strict requirements. Such an accelerated release program can have an immediate effect on overcrowding of both adult and juvenile institutions and on the cost of building new facilities. Populations identified previously by the Little Hoover Commission in its prison study that may prove suitable for such a boot camp include those convicted of petty theft, driving under the influence, possession of drugs for use and receiving stolen property.

The California Youth Authority boot camps at the Preston School of Industry and the Fred C. Nelles School, as well as the Department of Corrections boot camp at San Quentin, are secure facilities that would allow the establishment of new platoons for currently incarcerated and more serious offenders who meet qualifying standards. Protecting the integrity of the research and evaluation components of the present pilot programs would require that the addition of a different class of participants be managed as a separate program. For example, the 60 inmates at San Quentin who were dropped from the program in 1993 because of their conviction for burglary could be formed into platoons housed separately from the other participants even while participating in the identical program. This would present another opportunity for comparison of recidivism results.

Interest also has been expressed in establishing a boot camp program at the county level for much more serious juvenile offenders who exceed the designation of "first-time" to "mid-level" offenders. The need to include sophisticated "gang bangers" is often mentioned.

Concern will continue to exist about the ramifications of allowing more sophisticated criminals into an accelerated-release program. Detailed selection criteria would be required to seek assurance that the applicant has a sincere desire to be rehabilitated and will not constitute a threat to public safety upon early release. Graduation from the boot camp for such offenders can be conditioned on an even higher level of performance and may require placement in a structured residential aftercare program where further monitoring, education, counseling and skills development can occur.

Potential pilot: Low-risk inmates at end of term

Pilot Project for Low-Risk Offenders Approaching Release. As described under the first finding, California has a long-established network of "prisons without walls" in the form of fire-fighting conservation camps, which are run jointly by the Department of Forestry and Fire Protection with the California Youth Authority and the Department of Corrections. Today, more than 4,000 inmates and wards who are low security risks are placed across the state in 39[116] of these moderately structured, unguarded, remote facilities. In a living environment much more comfortable than mainline institutions, they are exposed to a work ethic, discipline and teamwork by fighting fires and making improvements on public lands.

The primary goals of conservation camps are to open up bed space in Department of Corrections and California Youth Authority institutions and to create an unsalaried labor pool to fight forest fires and do public work projects. However, a larger mission may be possible. The Department of Forestry reports that inmates and wards have been arriving at camps with very little time left in their sentence and recommends that only those with minimum sentence balances of more than six months be considered for the program.[117] This pattern of assignment to camps later in the offenders' sentences suggests the potential for a higher emphasis on pre-release preparation.

Both the Department of Corrections and the Youth Authority recognize the value of developing a work ethic among these inmates and wards, but the level of rehabilitation and education programs is irregular. Corrections does provide some vocational training that is in support of camp operations (such as the motor pool, sewing shop, mess hall, and, for a few, saw mills and furniture construction shops), as well as some hobby services. However, this program does not include further rehabilitation, education or reintegration efforts, as do the parallel camps co-run by the California Youth Authority. The CYA also places more emphasis on the capability of conservation camps to provide wards with necessary services for their successful return to society.[118]

In spite of conditions that would seem to cultivate a higher positive attitude among fire camp inmates, the Department of Corrections reports that the recidivism rate between fire camp and other work-furlough parolees is almost identical -- in 1991, 39.1 percent of conservation camp parolees were returned to incarceration compared to 40.3 percent of those engaged in work furlough. A Commission staff visit to a Corrections co-sponsored camp also found among both Forestry and Corrections personnel a commonly held view that only a small portion of departing inmates -- with estimates ranging from 10 to 20 percent -- have any interest in even attempting to make a successful return to society.

The people of California are benefiting from the fire-fighting labor pool that these camps provide. However, the question remains whether a higher level of expectations and investments could improve the public return. A pilot program that upgrades the rehabilitative components in these work-intensive camps -- that is, the education, counseling, job skills training, and especially

the aftercare -- would offer another form of comparison with the military-based boot camp concept.

Potential pilot: Inmates just before time of release

Pilot Project for All Classes of Offenders Approaching Release: As suggested by the CYA's interest in assisting wards in their return to society, the boot camp also offers an opportunity to provide pre-release preparation for all offenders, especially adult prisoners who today receive little or no help before returning to the streets. As described in the Little Hoover Commission report on the adult criminal justice system, strong interest exists in creating a pre-release program to require all inmates to focus on their life and plan for social re-integration. The report notes that without such a plan and period of preparation, former prisoners are "set adrift" on their return to society. In addition, the parole officer has no listing of commitments made or intentions formed by the freed felon as part of a release process.

The Commission's report illustrated the risks of failing to conduct pre-release planning. At maximum-security facilities, inmates have limited contact with other people and receive no work or education assignments, yet they are released directly to the streets, totally unprepared for what they encounter. For example, one former inmate of Pelican Bay Prison was found after his release homeless and curled in a fetal position on the streets. Another sexually assaulted a woman only days after his release. The report urged that:

...these types of prisoners should be given assistance and guidance before being released to live among an unsuspecting public....the prison system should make every effort to ensure that prisoners are provided structure for planning for their future and that public safety is enhanced by equipping soon-to-be released inmates with the tools for daily living in a free world.[119]

Boot camps very clearly offer a structure with a substantial personal-responsibility counseling program, often including the development of a "Life Plan" (as at CYA) to prepare graduates for their future. A pilot program at a major prison would be able to identify the components of existing boot camps that can be adapted to prepare long-term incarcerated prisoners for a return to the streets.

Pilot Project for a Youthful Population. The California task force to promote self-esteem noted in its final report in 1990:

When a youthful offender gets arrested for a relatively minor crime, such as petty theft or vandalism, penalties are almost never imposed. The child is counseled, possibly diverted to a community-based agency, or merely sent home to his or her parents. The message is that

society is not really serious about expecting people to obey the law, and that very little, if anything, happens when a juvenile breaks the law. To have a truly effective juvenile justice system, a system that teaches personal and social responsibility, we must attach a reasonable sanction to every criminal act, regardless of how minor.[120]

Preliminary research conducted by Orange County has found that a relatively small number of juvenile offenders -- from 8 to 10 percent -- commit up to 80 percent of offenses and that they generally have multiple problems, including school misbehavior, family dysfunction and substance abuse. The report notes that this small group re-enters the system frequently, arrested four to 14 times in a three-year period. Attention to what is called the "8 percent solution" may be the key to reducing juvenile crime.[121]

To move in this direction, Orange County has begun an "integrated services pilot project" where the probation department works with local schools, county social services and community-based organizations to provide services to young, first-time offenders who exhibit specific indications of future delinquency. The goal of the pilot project is to both help these offenders and to provide data on what works.[122]

Some feel that a modified and shortened boot camp -- one providing a maximum of rehabilitation and character development, with only enough military-style format to secure discipline and provide structure -- would be a cost-effective tool to reach the youngest juveniles who have to date been getting no more than a slap on the wrist for their behavior.

This year's national crime bill is specifically offering funds to ensure punishment for juvenile offenders who might otherwise be placed on probation. Under the heading "Certain Punishment for Young Offenders," the law calls for states and local governments to develop alternative methods for:

...young offenders who can be punished more effectively in an environment other than a traditional incarceration, including alternative sanctions that create accountability and certain punishment for young offenders;...innovative projects, such as projects consisting of education and job training activities for incarcerated young offenders, modeled, to the extent possible after...[the] Job Corps....

In addition, the federal act calls for community service programs that "provide work service placement for young offenders at non-profit, private organizations and community organizations."[123] These programs could include boot camps as alternative punishments.

In spite of this new national interest, to date in California there has not been a meaningful examination of the potential for a shorter, modified boot camp-like experience -- one that is much more than just a summer camp but far less than a shock-incarceration program -- for the youngest offenders, such as graffiti vandals, who consistently evade meaningful punishment. There is, however, some conceptual support for the idea. In 1992, the "Assembly Bill 948 Task Force" issued a report on a broad array of recommendations for state and local juvenile justice programs, including one that the California Youth Authority should "provide some programming for younger (under age 14) wards, including intensive, short-term custody and treatment." This was not elaborated upon, but the opening discussion did include boot camps in its list of "specialized regional centers" that could be made available to counties on a contract basis.[124]

A probation officer with more than 20 years experience told Commission staff that:

There needs to be state support for reaching young delinquents. Let's target the new kids that we can identify. Put them in a remote program...for 90 days and take away their idle time. Give them physical training and instruction. Make them work hard, even let them hike and bike, and do the things that the private wilderness programs do. Just keep them busy every second. And be sure there is plenty of aftercare. These kids simply must be taught to be accountable for their actions.[125]

At a Little Hoover Commission hearing on the juvenile justice system, the Legislative Analyst's Office testified that greater discretion in sentencing should be given to local governments to provide additional flexibility, such as permitting more restrictive punishment of some offenders than they currently receive because of a lack of alternative treatment options. For example, persons who currently receive straight probation could receive probation along with a period of incarceration and/or special treatment in a facility that is less expensive and more rehabilitation-oriented than traditional institutions.[126]

In addition to juveniles who become wards through criminal actions, there are other mechanisms that place juveniles under court direction when a juvenile's home life is found to be abusive or neglectful. One of these classes includes juveniles placed under juvenile dependency court direction, for example. Another class in that group called "status offenders" includes chronic school truants and trouble-makers considered to be "incorrigible." As defined in Section 601 of the Welfare and Institutions Code, this is a habitually disobedient or truant minor who is eligible

to become a ward of the juvenile court. Included is the youth who "persistently or habitually refuses to obey the reasonable and proper orders or direction of his parents, guardian and custodian," as well as one who is determined by a school attendance review board to be beyond correction of habitual truancy or demonstrates "persistent or habitual refusal to obey the reasonable and proper orders or directions of school authorities." Section 601.1 requires that such habitually disobedient or truant minors be referred to the school attendance board prior to being named a ward of the court, which can order the minor to participate in a "specified community service or educational program sponsored by a public or private agency." The law limits the ward's participation in such a program to non-school hours.

Consideration of inclusion of this class of "601" juveniles in a modified, shortened summer program might require parental consent and/or amendments to existing law. While this option is controversial, there are some professionals who believe these at-risk youth have been totally overlooked by the system and may be subject to effective rehabilitation through appropriate programs.

Some who favor "widening the net" to include those younger juveniles typically placed on probation are still cautious about using boot camps as a vehicle to do it. Opposition has typically come from those who do not fully understand that the most favored boot camp format today is perhaps more a social rehabilitation tool than a correctional punishment vehicle. As noted in a report by the U.S. Department of Justice about boot camps:

While firm in approach, these programs represent significant attempts to actually change criminal behaviors and should be considered rehabilitative in approach.[127]

To overcome the stigma of these juveniles being incarcerated, there is some support for a private-sector version of such a program that includes the full range of educational and rehabilitative services, similar to such non-profit camps as Rite of Passage and Arizona Boys Ranch.

The goal is to find a means to provide appropriate programs that add predictability to punishment for all forms of wrongdoing. One chief of police said:

Future laws or policies dealing with juvenile offenders should focus on building the framework of accountability and responsibility for youth who will respond to guidance. At the same time, juvenile offenders who do not respond and instead choose to violate society's standards must know they will face definite, certain and firm punishment.[128]

In addition to questions regarding the most appropriate targeted populations for boot camps and the specific problem of how to treat substance abuse offenders is the issue of the format and style of the program itself. In California the boot camp format is essentially military-based, although each individual camp has made some modifications. Critics of the military style describe it as superfluous, carrying risks of physical, verbal and mental abuse, and reducing individual initiative. For instance, testimony by the chair of an advocacy group regarding a boot camp proposal for Sacramento City/County included this critical view of the military component:

The premise of "boot camps" in military training is that discipline brings order and respect for order; respect for the group and the satisfaction and support of inclusion in the group. It teaches self-control and develops group pride and loyalty. However, military discipline also strictly limits independence and initiative and builds a self-respect based on the group membership. It tends to esteem the group over the person; obedience over initiative. However, the military group is not a democratic model and cannot readily transmit those values which make a democracy work. Military discipline demands instant and constant reliability and must threaten sure punishment in order to ensure that reliability. History has shown that this can easily slide into "justifiable violence" and ostracism. It is not a model for order based on learned skills in non-violent conflict resolution and in respecting individual differences. Other approaches to developing discipline are less costly in monetary and psycho-social terms and are more effective in preparing youth for creative, fulfilling futures in which they can serve their self-interest while meeting family and community responsibilities. That is why using "boot camps" in youth development calls for significant revision of the military model, including a change of name.[129]

Several national researchers also question whether the "military mentality" is an appropriate rehabilitation tool for young offenders. They feel it is likely to "increase aggressiveness, impulsivity and feelings of we/they competition." Concern is expressed about "arbitrary discipline and meaningless work" that is likely to decrease, not increase, self-esteem. Some researchers also believe that the "boot camp models are likely to promote an exaggerated macho image of masculinity and problem solving," with some coming out of the program "feeling a whole lot more like Rambo."[130]

Others counter that military drill and command are a time-proven means of quickly instilling discipline, teamwork and group pride. In particular they point to today's refined format that seeks to eliminate derogatory or demeaning styles and is primarily designed to immediately immerse offenders in the full program of education and counseling. The trend to a "refined" approach has caused many camps to depart from the pure boot camp approach. For example, the LEAD program in the California Youth Authority likens itself to an officers

candidate school (OCS). The Riverside County boot camp at the Twin Pines Boys Ranch calls its program an academy in the tradition of a military school. The private Arizona Boys Ranch has as one of its components the Civic Conservation Corps, which has a military-style format. However, it also has a Rangers program that is not militaristic.

The trend in California is clearly towards a semi-military format that, to paraphrase one camp manager, does not dominate or drive the treatment program but instead is incidental and subordinate to it.

Multiple pilot projects would test boot camp effectiveness

A determination about the future role of boot camps in California will require, many feel, a more comprehensive and thorough testing of variations on the theme through a variety of demonstration and pilot projects. In fact, federal guidelines for implementing the 1994 national crime act will give priority funding to applicants that seek to test a variety of approaches, especially in addition to the present military-style used in most camps.[131]

Debate over what kind of format and population should be used for correctional camps -- whether militaristic, physical labor, fire-fighting, athletics/physical training, or outdoor adventure -- seems to miss the key point: It is apparently the degree of rigorous challenge and the unrelenting full-day schedule of intense activity, plus the critically important aftercare, that can make a program successful. A range of programs with these qualities aimed at a substantial variety of offenders may very well achieve important results, but there is no way to anticipate their value until pilot or demonstration projects fully test each option.

A range of pilot projects can allow a more complete evaluation of the intensive/short-term alternative sentencing model through all stages of incarceration -- the *front end* (in the existing boot camps for incoming first-time offenders), *the middle* (for presently incarcerated multiple-offenders who would be placed in separate platoons in a secure boot camp), and the *end* (for any inmate about to return to society, including conservation camp offenders). In addition, younger offenders who now are typically released would go to the true front end of the system under specially designed programs that would seek to divert juveniles before a criminal career is established.

The lack of a full-spectrum testing of all options available in boot camps now means that judgment may be passed on their future before having given the concept a chance. Most facilities and programs needed to accomplish this evaluation are now in place, requiring a minimal investment of public funds that has the potential of providing a major examination of how alternative incarceration programs can be conducted in California.

Recommendation 6: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation that amends the enabling acts for the Department of Corrections Alternative Sentencing Program (ASP) boot camp and the California Youth Authority's "Leadership Excellence Advise Discipline" (LEAD) program to allow a broader range of offenders to be included in each program.***

The act that created the Department of Corrections boot camp defined in detail the assignment criteria for eligible inmates. The language for the CYA program is less comprehensive but still specific. These requirements should be amended to permit the participation of a broader population and give the agencies greater flexibility in making assignments. It may be appropriate to include these new classes of participants in separate platoons for both control and comparison purposes.

Recommendation 7: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation directing the California Youth Authority, in conjunction with a county or counties, to develop a "junior boot camp" or "leadership academy" pilot program to evaluate its capability to modify the anti-social behavior of younger juvenile offenders.***

A modified and shortened boot camp, emphasizing rehabilitation and the teaching of social values and self-discipline, should be designed by CYA and

counties together and should be operated by counties to specifically "widen the net" and include the youngest juveniles who are typically being given probation with no or little punishment for anti-social behavior. Vandals and graffiti practitioners should be made eligible for the program. This pilot study would specifically conform to one of the funding categories of the 1994 national crime bill.

Recommendation 8: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation that creates an accelerated-release pilot project for presently incarcerated adult and juvenile multiple offenders to test the effectiveness of boot camps in rehabilitating a more criminally experienced population.***

The overcrowding of both adult and juvenile institutions and the cost of building new facilities have led to increased interest in testing boot camps as an accelerated-release program that can be at least as effective in reducing recidivism as traditional incarceration. Additional benefits may accrue from such a program, but they cannot now be evaluated due to lack of demonstration projects. Populations identified previously by the Commission in its adult corrections study that may prove suitable for such a boot camp include those convicted of petty theft, driving under the influence, possession of drugs for use and receiving stolen property. A similar boot camp program for more serious offenders should also be tested at the county level.

Recommendation 9: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation that creates a pilot pre-release boot camp program to prepare inmates for reintegration into society.***

At present, the Department of Corrections does little or nothing to prepare most inmates for their return to society. This lack of acclimation to a new and very foreign environment can contribute to the inmate's quick return to old habits. In addition, the lack of

preparation by the institutions puts even more pressure on over-worked parole officers to assist inmates in their social re-integration. Boot camps in California typically include substantial counseling regarding self-discipline, victims' rights, self-esteem development and other important social skills. Those studying boot camps frequently cite their ability to increase the positive attitude of participants, while noting that traditional incarceration generally worsens anti-social behavior. A pilot boot camp should be designed to provide inmates with a meaningful opportunity to make the transition back into society.

Recommendation 10: ***The Governor should direct the Department of Corrections and the California Youth Authority to create pilot programs in conservation (firefighting) camps that focus on upgraded vocational, educational and social skills courses to evaluate how work- and education-intensive camps compare in effectiveness to military-style correctional boot camps.***

The wards and inmates in conservation camps, screened as low risk and non-violent, have qualified for placement in "prisons without walls" where they perform public services with minimal, unarmed supervision. They may also be appropriate candidates for a higher level of preparation through intensive counseling and education for a positive re-integration into society. To permit comparison with military-style boot camps, an enriched aftercare component would have to be included.

Recommendation 11: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation directing the Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs to evaluate the substance abuse counseling and treatment capabilities in all California boot camp programs and develop a model intensive program that can secure maximum benefits within available time.***

The Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs should coordinate this evaluation and program design with state and national experts, including the substance abuse treatment staffs of the California Youth Authority, the Department of Corrections and Los Angeles County, as well as the Office of Criminal Justice Planning.

Boot Camp Structure

- *Successful boot camp programs provide job training and placement so that graduates do not return to a life of crime.*

- *Camps presently do not have resources to provide training or to ensure adequate aftercare.*

Recommendations:

- *Model California's boot camps after a 3-phase program that moves the inmate along a continuum.*

- *Increase resources for training and placement designed to meet a variety of needs.*

Boot Camp Structure

Finding 3: The present structure of the boot camp process in California does not ensure that offenders receive adequate treatment, rehabilitation and job or training placement.

To be effective, a boot camp program, which now is essentially a two-phase basic training and aftercare process, is increasingly viewed as requiring more program length and depth. Aftercare is universally recognized as an indispensable component of the boot camp process, but there is not now available a broad variety of training and job options for graduates entering this phase. Opportunities for placement in on-the-job training or residential vocational education programs are highly sought and largely unavailable, resulting in the return of many boot camp graduates to situations similar to those that fostered their criminal activity. Upgrading and extending the boot camp process into a more formalized sequence of structured training and monitoring is considered by many to be critical to its overall success.

The two phases of the present boot camp process begin with the intensive basic training component -- the boot camp itself -- and is followed by aftercare, usually an upgraded form of the traditional probation or parole process. The second step can include assignment to a variety of local programs for the graduate, largely accomplished through the initiative and knowledge of the parole or probation officer. Regardless of the specific aftercare arrangement, the boot camp graduate is generally returned to the same environment and situation in which he originally became an offender.

There is widespread opinion that the most important aspect of the boot camp process is this period of "intense" or "enriched" probation/parole, which involves a high level of attention and assistance for graduates of boot camps. Some researchers even hold that, in some ways, the boot camp itself is secondary to achieving a positive outcome and it is the intensive followup that creates any success. Many also agree that even the term aftercare is inadequate. According to one study, "It implies that what occurs after boot camp is relatively minor when, in fact, just the opposite is true: What occurs after boot camp is probably more significant than what occurs during the camp itself."[132] Many, in fact, believe that aftercare attached to any program, such as existing county ranches or other forms of incarceration, is the key element that can stop recidivism.

Other professionals argue that the two components cannot be separated. For example, the chief probation officer of Tulare County observed:

While we have a great deal of faith in the boot camp concept as the first part of the program to build self-esteem and self-confidence, we also do not believe that the boot camp can stand alone as a "solo" program....Aftercare has to be a basic part of program development...the boot camp at the front end will satisfy the need to prepare juvenile court wards for successful participation in the rest of the program.[133]

Experience supports this finding. It is generally believed that an intensive, highly structured camp period, whether it is based on military drill and ceremonies or physical conditioning and outdoor challenges, can quickly secure the attention and involvement of offenders. After they are introduced to both discipline and a higher level of personalized attention than they have ever received, they are generally better prepared to participate in aftercare support activities.[134]

The aftercare supervision, described as "enriched" or "intensive" probation or parole, is clearly more

effective than "traditional" parole or probation, involving much more frequent monitoring, mentoring, drug-testing and community-service involvement. However, probation and parole officers are already heavily overburdened. Caseloads for probation and parole officers have been increasing dramatically in recent years. As noted in a report on local programs by the Legislative Analyst's Office:

Because of county fiscal constraints, resources for probation departments have shrunk at the same time their responsibilities have grown. As a result, probation departments have reduced services to the courts, they do not actively supervise a significant number of probationers, and they have had to limit incarceration and services options.... Between 1983 and 1992, probation caseloads increased by 73 percent, and generally became more violent.[135]

The work load in administering the aftercare for boot camp graduates is intensive. For example, a parole agent for the California Youth Authority reported that his assigned ward was seen face to face a total of 18 times during the first 30 days in the community, with eight contacts at his residence or in the field. The agent had helped the graduate secure a position with the Sacramento Local Conservation Corps, was monitoring his progress toward receiving a GED and his attendance at substance abuse seminars, and was assisting him in making presentations to youth groups.[136]

Intensive aftercare is based on the ability of probation and parole officers to carry a lighter caseload, enabling them to meet frequently with their clients, offering advice and assistance in social re-integration. The chart below compares various ratios of probation officers/parole agents to number of offenders.

TABLE 3
PROBATION/PAROLE CASELOADS

AGENCY	REGULAR	BOOT CAMP
California Department of Corrections	1:84	1:22 to 1:30
California Youth Authority	1:50	1:15
Los Angeles County (Juvenile)	1:150	1:35
Riverside County (Juvenile)	1:50	1:30
Tulare County (Juvenile)	1:150 to 200	1:25

Source: Department of Corrections California Youth Authority, Los Angeles County Probation Department, Riverside County Probation Department, Tulare County Probation Department.

As shown, the lightest and theoretically most effective aftercare caseload is a one to 15 ratio, which has been mandated for the California Youth Authority. However, CYA has reported that this ratio has not always been achievable due to overall funding and personnel constraints.[137]

Observers agree that the California model must continue to be based on the "refined" version of boot camps giving substantial weight to the aftercare process. However, many are concerned that boot camp programs are not long enough or broad enough in services provided to achieve the necessary changes in offenders. For example, in testimony prepared for the Commission's hearing, the executive director of the California Probation, Parole and Correctional Association observed that:

...experience to date has found that at least 10 to 12 months is necessary to instill the values of the in-camp program and establish a viable post-camp transition. A year or more of relatively intensive support and supervision, as well as brokering necessary services, should be considered the minimum in terms of appropriate aftercare.[138]

It is when the graduate returns home after graduation that the entire boot camp process can break down. At a recent national conference, one participant expressed the belief that the positive effects of boot camps had a "half-life of a couple hours" after the participant returned to the streets.[139] An almost universally held view is that after offenders graduate from boot camp, their return to the neighborhood where they first got into trouble -- no matter how well they are supervised -- puts them at high risk. They face old temptations and may be targeted by past friends and gang members for a testing of who they have become. For example, a ward interviewed by Commission staff was approached at his home within a half-hour of his return by a past friend who pressured him to buy drugs.

The temptation to quickly return to old ways can be overpowering, as was underscored by a national authority on boot camps:

Research...suggests that returning to the home environment may present such overwhelming difficulties for offenders that positive changes during (boot camp) incarceration cannot be sustained.[140]

Another academic observer of boot camps was described as believing them unsuccessful because offenders eventually return home to their "crime-infested environment," typically with no money or job, so "it's just a matter of time before they return to crime."[141]

Several incidences of boot camp graduates resisting return to their homes have been reported. A ward from Rite of Passage petitioned to remain in the program to avoid going back to his neighborhood (with the result that he received a scholarship to attend community college). Parole agents working in the CYA's LEAD program also have found the need to place more than 20 percent of their graduates in alternative housing, and believe that, in some cases, "these placements have appeared critical to their short-term success."[142]

The Riverside County boot camp also seeks remote placements as necessary, as the county chief probation officer described:

In an effort to avoid negative family circumstances or exposure to old gang ties, some program graduates are placed in the Job Corps or community recovery homes or even with suitable relatives out of state. This high-level casework requires expertise and time on the part of probation officers, yet is critical in the ultimate successful re-entry of the ward back into the community.[143]

Some observers now believe that the two existing phases of basic training and intensive aftercare alone will not prove to be successful in reducing recidivism and that additional steps or stages must be inserted. In its recent status report, the California Youth Authority emphasized the need to:

...continue work on more of a transitional program in the community, to include jobs, if at all possible. There is simply overwhelming evidence that wards lack the opportunities and overall skills required for long-term success.[144]

Increasing attention is being given to developing training programs that unskilled boot camp graduates must complete before entering the present aftercare probation or parole phase. These opportunities range from vocational programs in the community to placement of some graduates in remote residential programs where work and social skills can be further developed.

To accommodate this new emphasis, many believe the boot camp process must be expanded into more phases that offer increased services and program options. Precedent exists for designing correctional programs in such a sequence of phases:

- The California Department of Corrections Boot Camp Program is based on three stages: Phase I -- three to four months of basic training in the San Quentin Prison; Phase II -- two months of work training in a moderately secure facility, dedicated

to work-skills training, job search and placement; and Phase III -- four months of intensive parole supervision after the offender has returned to the community, including development of a residential, employment, and education and/or training program plan.[145]

- Rite of Passage (ROP) has a "three-level treatment program" extending over about 11 months, described as:

...achievement based with students progressing through each level by completing requirements in academics, athletics, community service, and self-development. Each level offers a different social setting as part of the designed transition which takes the student from an old dysfunctional life style to a new successful one: Level I, the Remote Training Campus (RTC) is a self-sufficient facility in the high desert; Level II, the Athletic Training Campus (ATC) is a residential high school outside a small city; and Level III, the Qualifying and Varsity Houses...are homes in communities in the Tahoe Sierra.[146]

- Arizona Boys Ranch offers a four-phase program, followed by aftercare monitoring, which is in essence a fifth phase. These levels are:

  - Phase I - Assessment or orientation phase.

  - Phase II -- Development of a positive work ethic (through community service in national forests, state, county and local parks, plus experience with vocational trades).

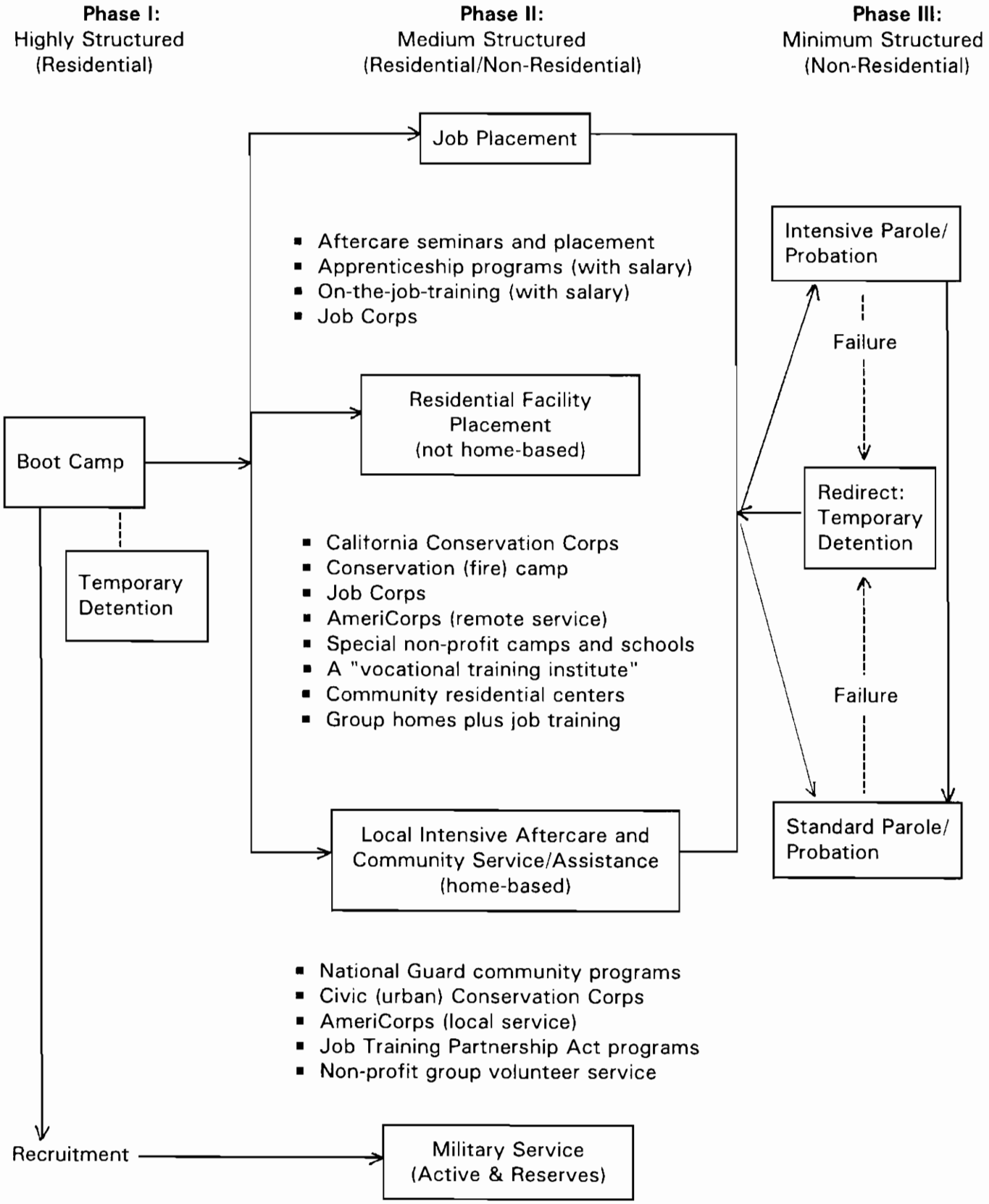
  - Phase III -- Education (with emphasis on GED completion and life-skills training).

  - Phase IV --Preparation for community return.[147]

Observers and camp operators today are expressing strong interest in a boot camp program that is designed as a continuum of three phases that takes offenders through a progressive learning process with continuing obligations but decreasing levels of intensity and structure. Phase Two would place the boot camp graduate in either a remote residential program or in community-based services, followed by a Phase Three of probation/parole supervision.

The following chart illustrates how a three-phased boot camp continuum can be defined. Only some of the second-phase options are now available to probation officers and parole agents.

TABLE 4
A POTENTIAL "BOOT CAMP" CONTINUUM



As the chart shows, a new, intermediate Phase Two would offer a wide range of options for placement of the boot camp graduate. A probation or parole officer who is assigned to the boot camp participant from his entrance into the program[148] would work with camp staff to assign his client to a Phase-Two activity after graduation. These pre-established options would provide further training that these officers would monitor. The degree of success of the graduate in this placement would determine if Phase Three required intensive or the less-expensive traditional parole/probation.

Also shown in the chart is an important innovation that experts feel is vitally needed for the boot camp process: a "redirect" or temporary detention option for graduates who commit a technical or minor infraction of their probation/parole. This not only avoids the costs and impacts of placing the graduate back into a mainline institution, but it also demonstrates that a failure to be accountable for even minor violations will have consequences.[149]

The keys to developing an effective overall boot camp continuum are believed to lie in three areas. The first is a job placement process for those boot camp graduates who are work-ready. For those who are not, which is the great majority according to professionals, one of two options would be pursued:

- Placement in a semi-secure or remote residential facility, distant from the home environment, where vocational and life-skills education is provided.

- Participation in a home-based arrangement that involves local community groups and services.

In many cases, programs already exist but either may preclude boot-camp graduates or fail to give them priority admission. In other cases, programs have not been created but many existing organizations are well positioned to accept boot-camp graduates.

Job placement is important factor in successful camp outcome

Job Placement: The job placement option would in essence complete or make unnecessary any further Phase-Two obligation, effective on the first day of employment (provided the job is retained). This would also enable the graduate to advance into Phase-Three monitoring by his probation or parole officer. However, it should be noted that job placement for ex-offenders offers a difficult challenge. The continuing search for employment opportunities has raised such issues as the

potential for establishing special priorities or tax breaks for the hiring of boot camp graduates.

For example, existing federal law, known as the Federal Targeted Jobs Tax Credit, provides employers with the opportunity to claim federal tax credits for wages paid to ex-felons, among others, according to any of these criteria:

- They are hired within five years of their conviction or release from prison.
- They are participating in the California Youth Authority Free Venture Program or the California Department of Corrections Joint Venture Program.[150]

Another category for boot camp graduates, if included in this law, could produce important opportunities.

There is strong interest expressed at the boot camps, among both the offenders and staff, in developing the opportunity for outstanding graduates to enter the military. Presently, those with a criminal record can attempt a complex case-by-case waiver process, but their priority level is below non-offenders. The Department of Defense's recruitment policy regarding offenders is:

...each Service has its own policies for granting waivers. Persons convicted of a single felony or misdemeanor may request a waiver to permit their enlistment. The waiver process is not automatic; approval is based on each individual case. Waivers are not granted to persons who have been convicted of two or more felonies. Further, none of the Services permits the enlistment of individuals under any form of judicial restraint -- that is, bond, probation, imprisonment or parole....accession criteria or waiver policies for the Services...are the prerogative of the individual branches and determined in a supply and demand context based on Service personnel needs. In a recruiting environment where there are more qualified applicants than there are manpower vacancies, the Services enlist the "best qualified" before those who meet only the minimum standards. In that regard, the Services have established a policy that an individual who requires any type of waiver (e.g., medical, moral character) will be given an enlistment priority below those people who initially satisfy all standards without waivers. As a result, those requiring waivers will have a limited opportunity to enter the military in the foreseeable future.[151]

The National Guard, through its community-based programs, has had some success in securing recruitment of at-risk youth with prior offenses. Many believe that the positive attitude and discipline skills learned by boot camp graduates are, in fact, a resource for the military and that a special exemption should be made so that those graduates who meet education and

other criteria will have at least an equal opportunity to be recruited.

Residential Training Programs: Perhaps the single most important opportunity to ensure that boot camp graduates can successfully reintegrate into society would be the placement of appropriate individuals in residential (away from home) programs while they learn new skills. This opportunity also delays the return of ex-offenders to their neighborhoods and maintains a level of structure and control in their lives. Relatively few options exist in this area.

However, a paper prepared for the U.S. Department of Justice proposes an option that can become part of a new Phase Two in the form of a "national service corps for offenders." The concept is based on the premise that in the present boot camps "participants still do not have adequate opportunities to make lasting changes in their lives." After noting the military rationale for boot camps, this analysis follows:

Typically, enlisted military personnel are assigned to technical schools following basic training where they learn specific skills required in military occupational specialties. In the military then, the boot camp is the first stage in a training continuum aimed at building successful military careers....Today, nothing which resembles the role of the technical school in basic military training exists to support the long term development of job skills in boot camp graduates. Nor do mechanisms exist to maintain the positive peer interaction which takes place in the correctional boot camp platoon. The potential to substitute this positive group behavior for the damaging effects of gang participation common to inner city neighborhoods is great, but it is lost when members of the boot camp scatter after release....What is needed is a post-release program which fosters both these elements for a period of time long enough to enable boot camp graduates to make a healthy readjustment to the more chaotic life of the communities from which they come.[152]

The paper proposes that a "National Correctional Service Corps" be modeled after several precedents: the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s, the new national public service corps within the AmeriCorps program and the California Conservation Corps (CCC). The new program would offer boot camp graduates up to a year of service (either voluntary or assigned, depending on case needs). California is suggested as a possible pilot program site since "several important components of the proposed infrastructure already exist in the state."

One of these existing components identified by the report is the network of conservation (firefighting) camps co-managed by the California Youth Authority and the Department of Corrections with the Department of

Forestry and Fire Protection. To follow on the military analogy, a placement in one of these camps would equate to the first duty station or assignment for a boot camp graduate after his "basic training," providing a less intensive but still disciplined environment for a "tour of duty" (the average stay in a CDC/CDF camp is about eight months), where the individual can continue GED training as necessary, have access to a variety of vocational training experiences, attend job search skills workshops, fight fires when necessary, do regional conservation and governmental infrastructure projects, and in general learn more about work and life options.

The California Conservation Corps recently initiated a similar concept, establishing northern and southern "transitional centers" in cooperation with the California Youth Authority (as well as a separate program with Contra Costa County). This effort is specifically designed for juveniles with convictions that would otherwise make them ineligible for the CCC. Initially, the program will include both CYA institution and boot camp graduates to ensure there is an adequate population, but in time it will be available to LEAD graduates only. There is a high degree of enthusiasm among all boot camp operators, including those at the county level, for boot camp graduates to have access to the CCC program.

Another option is found in the new federal Civilian Community Corps, which offers a remote residential service program for conservation work on public lands as part of AmeriCorps (as enacted by the federal National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993). Participants are housed and trained together on military bases and deployed as teams to community service sites. The Departments of Interior and Agriculture are setting up conservation centers in national forests and on other federal lands. Participation is for one year but a second year may be approved. Presently, preference in selection is given to disadvantaged persons, but persons with criminal records are also eligible. To date, no specific arrangement or priority for boot camp graduates has been made.

Work-skill development programs add time, cost

All such programs help develop work skills in some fashion, but they also lengthen programming time, which in turn means higher costs. Because ex-offenders are typically lacking in marketable job skills, many observers believe that the primary need, especially for boot camp graduates, is a mandated vocational education component in Phase Two. Increasing interest is being expressed in development of a low-security

residential facility or charter school that offers comprehensive vocational training for boot camp graduates, both adults and juveniles, whether from county or state camps. This facility would be similar to the services offered by the federal Jobs Corps for disadvantaged youth and adults (and therefore would conform, for juvenile populations, to one of the funding categories of the national crime bill). Recent legislation authorizes the California Youth Authority to work with three counties to establish an educational and job training program at juvenile camps, ranches or boot camps, subject to the availability of federal funding.[153]

One California expert has suggested that a program might be placed at a National Guard base to expand on the service's existing technical training capability. The Camp Roberts Western Regional Maintenance School, for instance, has classes in the repair and maintenance of generators and vehicles.[154]

The California State Council of Vocational Training is in a position to play a major role in this area. As required by federal law, this council, appointed by the Governor, acts to implement a state plan on vocational training by passing federal grants to appropriate agencies. One of its mandates, not yet addressed by the agency but reportedly scheduled for 1995, is to analyze and review vocational education programs in both adult and juvenile correctional institutions. The Council and the Office of Criminal Justice Planning, plus other appropriate public and private organizations, could develop a program that is vital to meeting the training needs of boot camp graduates.

The private sector also can develop such programs. For example, Rite of Passage in Nevada is currently developing its own comprehensive vocational program that will include light manufacturing, building construction, automotive repair, and health and safety services.[155]

Demand heavy for programs while graduate lives at home

Home-Based Community Placements: Not all boot camp graduates require a removed residential placement. In fact, at present these options are limited, creating a heavy demand for community-based services and training programs. However, the placement of graduates in these few programs is achieved only inconsistently today, depending largely upon the experience and contacts of the probation/parole officer. Some of the available options are:

- National Guard education programs:

  - STEP (Student Training and Enhancement Program) -- Offered jointly with the Los Angeles Unified School District, largely for inner city minorities, including instruction in math, science and engineering. One component includes ten six-day encampments at Camp San Luis Obispo.

  - IMPACT (Innovative Military Projects and Career Training) -- A six-week (180 hour) non-residential program focusing on academic skills, employment preparation training and pre-military skills for 17- to 21-year-old at-risk youths primarily from the inner city. This program does include youthful offenders. Since begun in 1977, it has a 77 percent job placement rate, which includes a 27 percent enlistment in the armed forces.

- Local Conservation Corps -- The California Beverage Container Recycling and Litter Reduction Act (the can and bottle refund and recycling act) has accumulated substantial funds from unclaimed redemptions that the Legislature has earmarked for the local conservation corps (for youths over 18) that not only pick up litter and do recycling, but also work in a range of other community projects. Some youthful offenders have been placed in several of the nine programs funded through this act, although not all of the local corps are receptive.

- VISTA and other community-based programs, as sponsored by AmeriCorps.

- Non-profit skills-and-work-training organizations offering on-the-job training and apprenticeships, as sponsored under the Jobs Training Partnership Act, which was designed to provide training and related assistance leading to permanent private-sector employment for low-income youth and adults. This act is implemented across the state by the joint efforts of Private Industry Councils, each area's employment and training agency, and the Employment Development Department.

- Non-profit community organizations that rely on volunteer service and offer experience and

mentoring, such as Habitat for Humanity, which has expressed an interest in working with boot camp graduates during its weekend programs of home rehabilitation.[156]

Interest exists in melding many community-based public and private programs into a broad network that can include boot camp graduates as equal participants. For example, a survey conducted by the California Association of Local Conservation Corps received a response from the Fresno County Economics Opportunities Commission (EOC), which administers the Fresno Local Conservation Corps (FLCC). The executive director reported they were "keenly interested in participating in a re-integration program for boot camp graduates." The program administrator offered 20 full-time slots in its ranks. The potential of bringing together multiple programs was described:

EOC, the parent corporation of the FLCC, currently operates Fresno Project Pride, an alternative school for youth offenders; the Sanctuary, a residential center for runaway, homeless, out-of-control youth ...; a Parenting Opportunities Program for young adult male fathers, providing parenting training, education, employment, and transitional living skills; and several at-risk youth employment programs. Besides being familiar with this population, we believe the corps concept lends itself to the regimentation of a boot camp, yet, in addition, by offering education, work experience, and counseling stands a greater likelihood of affecting the values, habits, and life skills these individuals would need to become self-sufficient, positively contributing members of society. Furthermore, and equally important, is the benefit we see in the mentoring relationships corpsmembers would have with boot camp graduates....And the structured environment requiring hard work, education, and life skills training would provide substance to the mentoring process.[157]

Emphasis on vocational training has generally been low in California, especially regarding its availability to ex-offenders. Such is not the case elsewhere. The Vera Institute of Justice in New York is frequently cited as a successful precedent for a work-skills-training followup to boot camps. In the late 1970s, the institute began a Neighborhood Work Project (NWP) and a Vocational Development Program (VDP) for parolees. NWP offers immediate transitional work in rehabilitating buildings to give ex-offenders a placement immediately after release while they look for permanent positions and improve their work-place skills through the institute's VDP services. These include: intensive job-preparation workshops; life-skills courses; individualized employment planning and job development; and post-placement followup counseling, including help with food, clothing, medical care, housing and education. In a recent year, more than 2,000 parolees received immediate work through the NWP component, while more than 1,150 -- of

which 95 percent came from New York's boot camp program -- went through the VDP. A 70 percent placement and retention rate is reported,[158] as is a very successful 8 percent recidivism rate for its "shock graduates" after a year of parole.[159]

Such ambitious programs are not available in California, but there is increasing discussion of the need for expansion of vocational education and jobs placement. The closest precedent in the state is the boot camp aftercare program run by the California Department of Corrections that provides two months of residential training after camp graduation dedicated to improving job search skills and securing a job placement. The ASP program recently achieved a 91 percent placement rate, as compared to the 30 percent employment rate for general-population parolees when last surveyed statewide in 1991. The average wage for boot camp graduates was about 21 percent higher than salaries for other inmates.[160] Some criticize these positions as being dead-end or temporary, but the need to upgrade work capabilities of parolees/probationers is recognized nationally.

Job training followed by placement key to success

With job training in a second phase, the new Phase Three could place higher emphasis on job placement. In any scenario, the probation/parole officers need to have access to a broad variety of options and organizations to further move boot camp graduates into a positive social role. One of their tools is what is generally called the "Community Resources Directory," which is either an internally produced compilation of organization names, phone numbers, addresses and contacts, or an outside prepared directory, produced by a community service organization. However, these directories are of highly variable quality and quickly can become outdated. In addition, some of these officers and agents have confessed that they often "hoard" their best contacts, since sharing information could reduce services available for their own use.

At present there is no centralized program or agency responsible for a computerized program to keep track of all the available aftercare, community service and vocational training resources across the state. A county probation officer also has noted that since the probation/parolee population is mobile, a single-county directory is not adequate. The ability to tap into a statewide database on community resources -- with names, phone numbers, addresses and program descriptions, including the agency's history in placing

ex-offenders -- would allow the officer to line up assistance for probationers before they move.

Efforts to increase the priority of boot camp graduates in community services and job training programs may raise concerns that the priority for other important at-risk or disadvantaged groups will be downgraded. But even if that is true, many feel that the major investments being made in correctional boot camps, plus the raising of expectations of both the public and the offenders about the opportunity for rehabilitation, require matching commitments in other programs to ensure the process is successful. In the manual of standards for adult boot camp correctional facilities by the American Correctional Association, there is a recommendation that staff act as "broker for offenders in securing the services and benefits available to them among the wide array of service agencies." It is suggested that the boot camp personnel be involved in "getting an established agency to extend its eligibility to offenders."[161]

Expanded camp concept would make program more successful

The success of the overall boot camp experience is seen by many to require the establishment of a revised Phase Two offering the ongoing availability of established, permanent openings in community organizations, on-the-job training programs and vocational education programs. Individual probation and parole officers, as well as boot camp administrators, will continue to seek access into community service and training programs for their cadets. However, unless such access is formally developed through state policy and federal and/or state legislation, efforts will continue to be piecemeal and fragmented. Without immediate job placement or the development of residential vocational education programs, many boot camp graduates will be placed in jeopardy of returning to their pre-imprisonment lifestyle, and gains made from the boot camp process will be lost.

Recommendation 12: ***The Governor and the Legislature should direct the appropriate agency to include in the state comprehensive boot camp plan a three-phase model structure that emphasizes placement of graduates in community-based services, vocational education programs and job training facilities.***

The need for programs and services that can create a "Phase Two" in the boot camp sequence requires the attention of a joint planning effort that includes key agencies involved in public and private camps and community-based services. Whichever agency is designated by policy makers to form a state plan, as outlined in Recommendation 1, should have the added responsibility of crafting a model for effective boot camps. The long-term success of boot camps is contingent upon developing a dependable, permanent network of supportive services that can follow and build on the success of the intensive basic training experience. Special attention should be given to developing on-the-job and vocational-training opportunities.

Recommendation 13: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation that creates juvenile and adult vocational training facilities available to graduates of public and private boot camp and work/experience-intensive programs.***

State and county boot camp graduates who have or are studying for a high school diploma or a General Equivalency Diploma (GED) but still lack work skills should be placed in a state-sponsored or certified school that will ensure they develop a specialty that will make them competitive in the job market. Subsequent aftercare services, provided by probation/parole officers, should emphasize placement in significant jobs. For reasons of economy, this facility should be available to graduates of both public and private boot camps and other appropriate work-intensive programs. Such a program for juveniles would be eligible for funding through the national crime act.

Recommendation 14: ***The State of California should enhance access to resources by funding a computerized consolidation of listings and descriptions of private-sector community services across the state.***

A computerized community services listing would allow probation and parole officers to identify programs that can assist their clients achieve a positive return to society. The database could be initiated as a limited pilot project for those counties with boot camp programs. However, to meet its potential, it should be expanded as soon as possible to include the entire state and thereafter be funded as an ongoing updated service.

Recommendation 15: ***The Governor and the Legislature should adopt a resolution urging Congress and the Department of Defense to allow outstanding boot camp graduates to be considered for recruitment into military service.***

A national policy of placing uniformed military recruiters at every state and county boot camp graduation ceremony would invest additional prestige in the program and provide a tangible incentive for many cadets to strive for achievement. To ensure that the military recognizes the value of the newly developed discipline and motivation of top boot camp graduates may require an executive order by the president to modify existing regulations and to direct the attendance of recruiters at camp graduations to interview top cadets. The Department of Defense or the Department of Justice should establish a monitoring process to evaluate the career progress of boot camp recruits.

Recommendation 16: ***The California State Council on Vocational Education should develop job training opportunities specifically for graduates of boot camps and work-intensive programs.***

As required by federal law, the State has established a council, appointed by the Governor, to implement a state plan on vocational training. One of its mandates is to analyze and review vocational education programs in correctional institutions. The council should work with appropriate public and private organizations to

develop a program that will fulfill the training needs of boot camp graduates.

Private Sector Role

- *The private sector has not developed camps in California although organizations have a good track record in other states.*

- *State regulations precluding such development were fashioned for other purposes.*

Recommendations:

- *Promulgate regulations that provide clear oversight while encouraging private-sector involvement in boot camps.*

Private Sector Role

Finding 4: The role of the private sector in creating alternative sentencing and aftercare programs has been restricted in California by inadequate and inappropriate regulations.

The ability of non-profit organizations to operate private experiential programs for the education and rehabilitation of juvenile offenders has been foreclosed in California by the absence of a category of regulations specifically designed for such programs. Inappropriate regulations, originally designed for group homes, are not applicable to these programs. As a result, some county probation departments have had to place numerous juvenile offenders out of state, resulting in reduced oversight and family participation. Creation of new standards to regulate non-profit programs that include both correctional and social service considerations can lead to cost savings and increased local options for management of juvenile offenders.

Presently a large number of wards are being placed by county probation departments in out-of-state, private

non-profit correctional programs. For example, 80 percent of the wards at the Arizona Boys Ranch are from California. The Department of Social Services estimates that 705 probation-supervised wards from California were in out-of-state programs as of April 1994. Also significant is the total of 4,553 probation-supervised wards placed in group homes in-state,[162] largely because of the lack of better options available to probation departments.

Rite of Passage offers a three-phase camp program

One of the private non-profit organizations receiving California juvenile court placements is Rite of Passage (ROP), based in Nevada, which began in 1984 with twelve emotionally disturbed teenagers. ROP's stated philosophy is: "We cannot force boys to succeed, but we will not allow them to fail." The program has grown into a 300-bed operation, taking wards aged 13 to 17 from 30 placement agencies in California, Nevada, Washington, Oregon and Indiana. Its program can take up to a year, although the average length of time for a student to complete requirements is 11 months. This includes three phases that are achievement-based, requiring students to complete work in academics, athletics, community service and self-development. If high school requirements have been met, the student can take 12 units of courses from Sierra Nevada College.

The first phase of the program, Level One, is approximately three months in duration and is conducted at the Remote Training Camp, a cluster of structures in the middle of a Nevada saltflat, miles from any form of civilization. The generator-served facility offers extensive physical conditioning, school classes and counseling. Level Two, the Athletic Training Camp, is a residential high school outside of a small town in Nevada. Education, team sports and interscholastic competition are emphasized, while counseling continues. Level Three is placement in half-way homes, called the Qualifying and Varsity Houses, in the Lake Tahoe area, where students attend local high schools and participate in intensive athletic activities, including mountain climbing, and do community service projects. They must write a graduation thesis and complete a life-skills course. An aftercare component involves six months of regular contact, followed by indefinite contact as needed.

ROP's group-home facilities in California are licensed by the State Department of Social Services. The Nevada facilities operate on federal land and are licensed by three different Indian tribal governments. Local law enforcement agencies and the Nevada Division of Youth and Family Services also monitor the program. The ROP

year-around high school, which students attend 25 to 30 hours a week, is administered by the El Dorado County Office of Education with a teacher-to-student ratio of 1:15. A vocational training program is being developed, as well. ROP has one direct-care staff for every three students, plus classroom teachers and administrative staff.

The monthly per-student rate in Nevada is $3,309 ($110 a day) and in California, for the group homes, $3,931 ($130 a day). Rite of Passage reports a recidivism rate, though described as "inexact," of about 30 percent. Last year a student died after being restrained improperly by a staff member, resulting in public awareness and concern for ROP's use of "passive restraint techniques," which are intended to control a violent individual without injury to him or others. With a population of 300 youthful offenders, ROP staff averages two restraints a week. Such physical methods are not authorized at facilities within California due to state regulations, but are believed to be essential by ROP to restrain violent wards.

Arizona Boys Ranch has a camp-type youth program

A second program taking placements of California wards, characterizing itself as a "child care organization" for children aged 8 to 18, is the Arizona Boys Ranch which began operation in 1951 on 188 acres. A boot-camp component, called the Civic Conservation Corps, was begun in 1985 for boys aged 16 to 18 and is designed to divert pre-delinquent and delinquent youth from correctional institutions. It uses a paramilitary format during its 14- to 16-month duration.

The Corps program has four phases. The first is assessment and orientation, which introduces the wards to a regimented structure. The second involves development of a positive work ethic while performing community service on public lands. Phase three is education, including life-skills training and GED preparation (more than 90 percent of the wards pass these exams). The final phase prepares the young men for return to the community, which includes work with the families. Aftercare is stressed and may continue for up to two years, in some cases resulting in helping wards to relocate away from their families. The daily cost of the program per ward is $122, with the monthly cost about $3,700.

In mid-1994 the ranch received public attention when several wards from Alameda County alleged they had been abused. The county probation department responded by removing all its young men from the ranch.

In addition, the State of Arizona put the program on probation until investigations were completed. The program has been praised by many but also has been the subject of reports about physical contact that borders on abuse (such as handholds on clothing and shaking of the ward), which is not permissible in California programs.

These and other programs, no matter how effective, are far removed from the immediate oversight of California officials and the wards' families. As the secretary for the Health and Welfare Agency recently stated, "It concerns me that children are shipped out-of-state where we cannot have easy access to review the day-to-day operations of their services provider and cannot assess whether or not children are living in a safe and beneficial environment."[163] The director of the Department of Social Services has also expressed support for having these types of programs operate in California as part of the child welfare services. By bringing these children home, she foresees a savings of public funds, provision of more options to the counties and a better outcome for the juveniles.[164]

State rules were developed for different type of need

At present, such private, non-profit organizations are unable to establish their form of correctional/educational facilities in California because the only state regulations now available are for group homes. Many of the regulations for these typical six-person facilities, which are residential programs usually designed to handle abused or neglected children rather than juvenile offenders, run counter to the operation of juvenile experiential or work-intensive programs. For example, regulations in the Department's Manual of Polices and Procedures, Group Homes, Division 6, presently allow the ward to:

- Wear his/her own clothes (Section 84072(6)). Camps, on the other hand, seek to break down gang-clothing identification by requiring uniforms (in some cases coats and ties) to create a positive identity.

- Send and receive unopened correspondence (Section 84072 (12)). This allows delivery of drugs and continuing communication with neighborhood gang members.

- Leave the facility at any time (Section 80072 (96)).

Section 84087 requires that no more than two children sleep in a bedroom. The president of Rite of Passage believes that this restriction against dormitory living, as well as a prohibition of multiple-person bathrooms, works against better economies of scale and limits night supervision by a centrally placed shift manager.[165]

In addition, Section 84072.1 establishes policies and procedures for applying discipline in group homes, which, among other modest actions, allows little more than prohibition of the use of "entertainment devices," such as television. However, correctional work-intensive programs rely on a graduated schedule of punishments that range from on-the-spot corrections, often with pushups, to carrying a bucket of stones for an extended period. Any such physical punishment or restraint is not allowed by the current regulations.

At the Commission's hearing, the president of Rite of Passage described the need for passive restraints:

California must acknowledge the need for, and require the training of staff for the use of passive restraint techniques. Currently, the State of California does not recognize the need for passive restraints when a student becomes violent, assaultive, and a danger to himself or to others. The underlying fear is that licensing or endorsing a passive restraint technique would result in frequent use and potential abuse of the procedure. Ironically, the restraint procedure is designed to protect the juvenile from harming himself or others and should only be used when a student is out of control. Establishing criteria, training, and a formal investigative process would safeguard this procedure. Ignoring that today's youth are violent and failing to acknowledge the use of restraints in the current system is irresponsible. Rite of Passage currently houses close to 300 student and averages two restraints per week. Staff are trained in the latest state of the art techniques and recertified quarterly.[166]

Regulations regarding these issues are of particular importance, both for the private-sector programs and the public boot camps. This illustrates how these private camps are a unique blend of correctional, social services and mental health components. A brochure by the Council on Accreditation of Services For Families and Children Inc. addresses the "experiential outdoor education movement," which includes many of the activities offered by ROP and Arizona Boys Ranch. It is noted that this "fast-growing area of services delivery" is lacking "standards which bridge the gap between the mental health orientation of the programs and the challenge and adventure-based approach."

Unless such standards are specifically established in a new category of regulations, the private sector will not be able to develop experiential or work-intensive

correctional programs for juveniles in California. The combined expertise of the Department of Social Services, the California Youth Authority and the Board of Corrections is necessary to ensure that these standards do, in fact, bridge the gaps between their traditional missions. In addition, local advisory boards to monitor performance and provide input for program modifications would ensure a higher level of oversight and increase the potential for success. With such programs designed to meet California requirements, county probation departments will have a new in-state option for the placement of juveniles and may also be able to reduce inappropriate reliance on group homes. Both probation officers and the Department of Social Services will be able to more closely monitor the progress and treatment of each ward, thereby diminishing the risk of abuse.

Recommendation 17: ***The Governor and the Legislature should enact legislation that directs the Department of Social Services to promulgate a new category of regulations for private youth correctional/educational/experiential camps in California.***

The Department of Social Services, in consultation with the California Youth Authority, Board of Corrections and appropriate private organizations should craft regulations appropriate for juvenile correctional and educational programs similar to Rite of Passage and the Arizona Boys Ranch. These regulations should include, among other things, the requirement for a local advisory body of private and public representatives to provide oversight and input for program modifications.

Conclusion

Conclusion

At present, substantial investment and effort is being made to give boot camp participants another chance. For many, expectations and hopes are being dramatically raised -- the expectations of society are also being elevated on the premise that these graduates are returning to society with a positive attitude and a desire to abandon criminal behavior.

But unless that return to society is matched with job placement or work-skills training, the boot camp experience can too soon become a wasted exercise. It will take the best efforts of the public and private sectors, working together, to create the programs needed to implement a multi-phase boot camp process that can protect the public safety while returning offenders to a productive role in society.

With federal money available from the national crime bill, the use of boot camps can be expected to increase across the state. The challenge becomes one of ensuring that all jurisdictions can deliver an effective program that meets minimum standards while avoiding the risk of abuse and other negative consequences.

The refined boot camp concept already appears to have become a permanent feature in the California correctional system. Even if recidivism statistics now being developed are not as positive as could be desired, the multiple benefits of these intensive work, discipline

and study programs, as well as pending availability of startup funds, appear to be enough to ensure their continuation and proliferation.

The concept is sure to evolve. There may be an increased focus on programs that emphasize hard physical work and/or athletics as an alterative or a supplement to the military drill-and-command concept. Hybrid approaches are already in operation, such as the Riverside County pilot program. Increasing attention also should be given to the post-boot camp period of aftercare or followup. The result could be a melding of public and private efforts to create a new intermediate phase between boot camp graduation and intensive probation. One goal could be to maximize the "continuum of options" available by placing appropriate wards and inmates in further programs that supply discipline and structure.

Public and political interest will continue to call for the development of new approaches to criminal justice problems. Boot camps will surely be high on the list.

Appendix

APPENDIX A

Witnesses Appearing at
Little Hoover Commission
Boot Camps Public Hearing

June 23, 1994, Sacramento

Panel of State Agencies

Francisco J. Alarcon, Chief Deputy Director, Department of the Youth Authority
Art Calderon, Warden, San Quentin State Prison
James G. Dykes, Deputy Director, Fire Prevention, Dept of Forestry and Fire Protection

Panel of Local Government Agencies

Barry J. Nidorf, Chief Probation Officer, Los Angeles County Probation Department
Thomas Callanan, Chief Probation Officer, Riverside County Probation Department
Larry Price, Chief Probation Officer, Tulare County Probation Department

Panel of Graduates of "Boot Camp" and Related Work-Intensive Programs

California Youth Authority, Department of Corrections, Los Angeles County Probation Department, Rite of Passage

Susan B. Cohen, Executive Director, California Probation, Parole and Correctional Association/The Foundation for Continuing Education in Corrections

Panel of Private Sector Programs Administrators

S. James Broman, President, Rite of Passage
Robert B. Thomas, President and CEO, Arizona Boys Ranch

Endnotes

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115. Sandra L. Tunis, Ph.D., "The State of the Art in Jail Drug Treatment Programs," *NCCD FOCUS*, The National Council on Crime and Delinquency, February 1994.

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117. Testimony by Department of Forestry and Fire Protection at Little Hoover Commission hearing, June 23, 1994.

118. Pine Grove Conservation Camp brochure and Ward Orientation Package, California Youth Authority, May 17, 1994.

119. Little Hoover Commission, *Putting Violence Behind Bars: Redefining The Role of California's Prisons*, January 1994, pages 71, 72 and 83.

120. The California Task Force to Promote Self-Esteem and Personal and Social Responsibility, *Toward A State of Esteem*, final report of the task force, January 1990, pages 105-106.

121. Orange County Probation Department, *The 8 Percent Problem: Chronic Juvenile Offender Recidivism*, March 1994.

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123. Subtitle B, Section 20201 of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, amending Title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3711 et. seq.).

124. Assembly Bill 948 Task Force Report to the Legislature, *Recommendations on State and Local Juvenile Justice Programs*, January 1992, p. 9.

125. Mike Anderson, San Diego County Probation Department, phone call, July 7, 1994.

126. Legislative Analyst's Office, testimony to the Little Hoover Commission, hearing on juvenile justice system, May 26, 1994.

127. Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, *A Survey of Intermediate Sanctions*, 1990, p. 6.

128. Written testimony of Robert P. Blankenship, Chief of Police, Redding Police Department, presented by a department representative at the Little Hoover Commission hearing on juvenile justice system, May 26, 1994.

129. Dr. Edward Rudin, Chair, Violence Study Group of Sacramento Area Physicians, February 1994.

130. Elizabeth Piper Deschenes, Peter W. Greenwood and John Adams, "An Evaluation of the Nokomis Challenge Program in Michigan," RAND/RP-250, reprinted from *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, May 1993.

131. Criminal Justice Associates, *Correctional Boot Camps and Reintegration Programs: A Report on Issues and Options*, March 9, 1994, reporting on a Bureau of Justice Assistance conference on February 24, 1994, of criminal justice decision makers.

132. Criminal Justice Associates, op. cit, p. 26.

133. Larry R. Price, Chief Probation Officer, County of Tulare, letter to Commission, May 10, 1994.

134. Bob Thomas, President, Arizona Boys Ranch, phone call, August 2, 1994.

135. Legislative Analysts Office, "The State of California's Probation System," reprint from *The Analysis of the 1994-95 Budget Bill*, March 1994.

136. Frank Mijares, Parole Agent I, California Youth Authority, letter to Commission, July 8, 1994.

137. California Youth Authority, LEAD: A Boot Camp and Intensive Parole Program. May 1994, p. 39.

138. Susan B. Cohen, op. cit.

139. Conference sponsored by Bureau of Justice Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, held in Berkeley in June 1994, regarding the progress of federally funded alternative sentencing programs around the country.

140. Doris Layton MacKenzie, "'Boot Camp Programs Grow in Number and Scope," *NIJ Reports*, November-December 1990, pages 6-8.

141. Professor Thomas Blomberg, Florida State University, quoted in *Corrections Digest*, December 1, 1993.

142. California Youth Authority, LEAD Process Evaluation, op. cit., p. 61.

143. Larry R. Price, op. cit.

144. California Youth Authority, LEAD Process Evaluation, op. cit., p. 68.

145. Frank Alarcon, Chief Deputy Director, California Department of Corrections, testimony to the Little Hoover Commission, June 23, 1994.

146. S. James Broman, op. cit.

147. Peter delaRambelje, Civic Conservation Corps Director, Arizona Boys Ranch, testimony to the Little Hoover Commission, June 23, 1994.

148. Some programs do assign probation/parole officers at the front of the program. The Tulare County program will assign probation officers to incoming camp participants and involve them throughout the process. At the Arizona Boys Ranch, the community services coordinator is assigned to a ward at the outset of the program. The California Youth Authority presently has two parole officers permanently assigned to each of its boot camps to act as liaison between the LEAD basic training program and the future assigned parole officer.

149. John P. Rhodes, Chief Deputy, Sacramento County Juvenile Hall, letter to Commission staff, July 11, 1994.

150. EDD Fact Sheet, "Targeted Jobs Tax Credit," dated March 1994.

151. W.S. Sellman, Director, Accession Policy, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense, the Department of Defense, The Pentagon, in a letter to the Commission, June 9, 1994.

152. Robert Lawson, Criminal Justice Associates, *Beyond the Boot Camp: A National Service Corps for Offenders*, prepared for the Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice, October 1993.

153. AB 3669 (Ferguson) Chapter 1255, Statutes of 1994. The act shall become operative only if California receives federal funds for juvenile crime prevention programs or activities to fund schools that target juvenile offenders.

154. Captain Bob Bradley, California National Guard advisor to the California Youth Authority LEAD program, personal communication, July 19, 1994.

155. S. James Broman, op. cit.

156. Patricia St. Onge, Regional Director, Habitat for Humanity, letter to Commission staff, September 9, 1994.

157. Paul McLain-Lugowski, Project Coordinator, Fresno Local Conservation Corps, memo to Martha Diepenborck, Executive Director, Los Angeles Conservation Corps, July 18, 1994.

158. Undated background and brochure materials prepared by Vera Institute of Justice, supplied by the California Department of Corrections, July 1994.

159. Vera Institute of Justice, Semi-Annual Report, June 1944, p. 5.

160. Richard A. McKone, Operations Unit, Parole and Community Services Division, Department of Corrections, memo to Christine Thorntona, Programs Support Unit, Department of Corrections, July 15, 1994.

161. American Correctional Association, op. cit., p. 234.

162. "Foster Care Information System," fact sheet, Department of Social Services, June 27, 1994.

163. Sandra R. Smoley, Secretary, Health and Welfare Agency, State of California, in a letter to Eloise Anderson, Director, Department of Social Services, April 4, 1994.

164. Eloise Anderson, Director, Department of Social Services, phone call, July 11, 1994.

165. S. James Broman, President, Rite of Passage, letter to Commission, June 1994.

166. S. James Broman, testimony to Little Hoover Commission, op. cit.

LITTLE HOOVER COMMISSION FACT SHEET

The Little Hoover Commission, formally known as the Milton Marks Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy, is an independent state oversight agency that was created in 1962. The Commission's mission is to investigate state government operations and -- through reports, and recommendations and legislative proposals -- promote efficiency, economy and improved service.

By statute, the Commission is a balanced bipartisan board composed of five citizen members appointed by the Governor, four citizen members appointed by the Legislature, two Senators and two Assembly members.

The Commission holds hearings on topics that come to its attention from citizens, legislators and other sources. But the hearings are only a small part of a long and thorough process:

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* Two to six months of intensive fieldwork is undertaken before a report -- including findings and recommendations -- is written, adopted and released.

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