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Various Clips on 1994 Crime Bill - '93 Spring to '94 Summer [Boot Camps]

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February 7, 1993, Sunday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 1; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 3173 words

HEADLINE: COLUMN ONE; PROBATION'S PUNISHING WAY OF LIFE; AN OVERFLOW FROM THE JUSTICE SYSTEM SWAMPS OVERTAXED OFFICIALS AND UNDERFINANCED AGENCIES WHILE MORE OFFENDERS ARE CUT OFF FROM RESOURCES THAT COULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

SERIES: PROBATION UNDER PRESSURE: America's hidden law enforcement crisis. First of three parts.

BYLINE: By JOHN J. GOLDMAN, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY: It could be the emergency room of any large metropolitan hospital. People slump in hard chairs, dozing. Mothers with restless toddlers in strollers wait. Teen-agers pace, unable to stand still.

One by one, in a relentless stream, they are called to a hole cut in the middle of a thick, bulletproof glass window plastered with signs warning against AIDS, drugs and alcohol. Sometimes complaining, other times pleading to be heard because they are double-parked outside, these criminals announce their presence.

Five days a week, the probation receiving room on the fifth floor of the Bronx Criminal Court is packed with offenders. Rapists sit shoulder-to-shoulder with wife beaters, burglars and muggers with drug dealers. Check-kitters, shoplifters, petty thieves, armed robbers, arsonists, loan sharks, pimps, fences, extortionists, forgers, bribers, credit card scammers, bunco artists, car thieves and violent felons form a wall-to-wall tableau of crime.

On her day to hold office hours, probation officer Annette Garland walked into the waiting room, searching for her next case. It was 9:45 a.m., but already it was her fourth appointment. She had 24 interviews scheduled.

Across the nation, probation is the vast underside of the criminal justice system. Forced to supervise ever growing numbers of felons, starved for resources, often buffeted by low morale and the image of probation as a mere slap on the wrist, probation departments are struggling to cope with a population of offenders that has grown 126% in the last decade — from 1.1 million to more than 2.67 million adults, or about double the number in prisons.

"You talk about overcrowding in prisons, the most overcrowded part of the system is probation," said Alan M. Schuman, a court official who serves as chief probation officer for the District of Columbia. "We are responsible for three-fourths of all offenders."

Probation is often confused with parole. Convicts are paroled from prison before their sentences end, on the promise of future good behavior. Probation is an alternative to a jail or prison. After being convicted of a crime, a person might be sentenced to probation, and a judge sometimes will impose conditions such as a fine, community service or a curfew.

The aim of probation, which began in the United States in the 19th Century, is both to rehabilitate and to control offenders. But today, under the pressure of vast numbers of criminals, these goals often aren't met.

In some cities, the figures are staggering: Approximately 111,000 people are on probation in Los Angeles, where a single officer can at times have 1,000 cases; approximately 63,000 are under supervision in New York, where Mayor David N. Dinkins has announced major changes to try to meet the crisis.

In most big cities, triage reigns. Overworked probation officers are forced to focus on the highest-risk cases — the offenders most likely to commit new crimes — and ignore other criminals who often badly need help.

For some people "there is essentially no supervision going on," said Dale Parent, senior analyst at ABT Associates, a criminal justice consulting and research firm based in Cambridge, Mass.

Because of prison overcrowding, more felons are sentenced to probation. In many large cities, the number of people sentenced to probation after being convicted of burglaries, rapes, weapons offenses and other serious crimes has soared.

In New York, 77% of probationers are felons, and fully a third of active cases are people who have been found guilty of violent crimes. Nationally, 43% of offenders violate the terms of their probation.

Swamped by such huge caseloads, many urban probation departments are forced to make cursory referrals to educational and job training programs. Often, connections can't be made in the crush. And even when there are referrals, some offenders find that they can't get into vocational training because of their criminal history.

Studies in New York City show probationers are twice as likely to be arrested for a new crime if they lack both vocational and educational skills.

One day recently, Garland, 37, and her partner, probation officer Gwendelin Peters, 51, drove through the South Bronx, checking on clients at home. For Garland, who grew up in the South Bronx, these were familiar streets. Peters came to New York from Roxbury, Mass.

Both probation officers try to schedule their visits early in the morning — before drug dealers wake up and congregate in front of buildings.

About a year ago, Peters said, she checked her caseload to determine how many had completed high school. Only five of the 140 were graduates. More than half were illiterate — both in English and in Spanish.

Garland said it is hard advising teen-agers when there are virtually no jobs and when after-school programs have been cut to the bone.

"Sometimes it is very difficult to try to tell your probationers they should be doing something different with their lives when they look around and there is no one doing anything," Garland said. "Most of them will not work for McDonald's, Burger King or any of those fast-food restaurants (where they would make) only \$5.50 an hour. They want to make 10 and 12 dollars.

"They feel as though they won't get the respect from their friends if they work at McDonald's. I tell them to go to another borough. You don't have to work in the Bronx. You can work in Brooklyn. Nobody will know."

Open the files of most big city probation departments and cases emerge showing the serious problems facing officers.

In New York, a woman who was out on probation after pleading guilty to the felony sale of narcotics fatally stabbed an 81-year-old neighbor. Officials say the case drives home the need to better identify — and supervise — probationers who have the potential to be involved in violent crime.

Adelaide Alvarez had been sentenced to five years of probation after her narcotics conviction. Alvarez, who also has a record of several misdemeanor arrests in Florida, began to report to her probation officer twice a month.

But less than two months after the supervision began, she killed her neighbor, a woman well-known as a Good Samaritan in their public housing complex on the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

Alvarez, who later pleaded guilty to manslaughter and was sentenced to 11 1/2 to 23 years in state prison, told detectives she was angry at "some remarks" the older woman had made previously.

The current reorganization of New York City's Probation Department is designed to identify potentially violent criminals such as Alvarez and give them special attention.

"This case illustrates the reason we are building a system to identify early on the people who have the most potential to be violent and work with them intensively . . . so that tragedies like this can be averted," said Michael P. Jacobson, New York City's probation commissioner.

"Obviously, we can't have a 100% success rate, but we are trying to greatly improve the odds to avert cases like this."

In Los Angeles, where 3,300 probation deputies struggle to supervise 90,000 convicted adults and more than 21,000 juveniles, it's easy for young criminals to fall back into old patterns in their neighborhoods.

One such youth was Thomas, 16. A gang member, he had a record of multiple arrests for auto theft, burglary and robbery. He had twice spent time at juvenile camps. Each time, he was a model probationer, persuading staff members that he was willing to turn his life around.

But within a month of his latest release, he was arrested for car theft again. After failing to report to his probation officer, a bench warrant was issued and Thomas faces the strong possibility of being sent to the California Youth Authority, the equivalent of state prison for juveniles.

Overwhelmed by the number of cases they face, probation officers work daily to persuade their clients to improve their behavior.

One of the women Garland saw in her office during her long day of interviews was Veronica, a soft-eyed, overweight 22-year-old. She had been arrested at an airport for trying to carry two pounds of marijuana into the United States from Jamaica.

As Veronica sat beneath a serene-looking picture of the lone cypress tree on the Monterey Peninsula, Garland asked tough questions.

Garland inquired if Veronica had found a job or was studying for her high school equivalency diploma. Garland reported that Veronica's last urine test for drugs was negative, checked whether she lived at the same address and asked if she had been arrested since their previous appointment.

"I just can't find a job," Veronica complained.

"Why aren't we going back to school to get your GED?" Garland lectured after Veronica admitted she flunked her high school equivalency test. "Weren't you studying? Just because you get knocked down doesn't mean you lay there and die."

"You get up and try again. . . . Your life is like passing you by. There are like a million GED programs all over the city. Why don't we say when you come back in two weeks, you will have called and made an appointment to get this ball rolling."

Garland ended the meeting, which lasted about 15 minutes. Veronica looked glad to leave.

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The roots of probation in America reach to 1841, when John Augustus, a kindhearted shoemaker, visited Boston's criminal court. As a judge was about to send a drunk off to jail, Augustus intervened and offered to look after the man. Three weeks later, the shoemaker returned to court with his charge. The man was sober and contrite.

The court soon gave Augustus other cases, and by 1878, Boston had instituted the nation's first full-fledged probation system for adults.

Today, as part of an effort to rehabilitate offenders, probation officers not only interview people on probation but also may visit a criminal's school, workplace or home.

Probation officers also perform pre-sentence investigations for courts. To help judges determine the degree of punishment, probation officers may question criminals in jail and speak to family members, employers, friends and teachers. Crime victims, district attorneys and other law enforcement officers may be interviewed to compile a report.

Last year in New York City, probation officers completed an average of 30 pre-sentence investigations a month in addition to supervising criminals.

Some probation officers testify in court during hearings to determine whether an offender who violates probation should be sent to jail. Others collect restitution -- money to be repaid to victims of crimes. For example, a robber may be ordered as part of probation to pay back the money he stole from a shopkeeper.

Still other armed probation officers hunt down and arrest serious probation violators. But when resources increasingly are devoted to arresting people who ignore rules of probation, the process contributes to prison overcrowding -- which probation is designed to alleviate.

All of these tasks are accompanied by mountains of paperwork.

Some probation agencies attempt to provide drug treatment themselves but lack the time and resources for necessary intensive counseling. Others sign contracts with outside vendors, but in some cities, not enough slots are available in drug treatment programs and probationers often receive low priority.

Indigent probationers are sometimes just put on waiting lists for drug treatment with the caveat that they find enough money to pay for the service.

Probation's huge caseloads are the result of packed prisons. The United States has the highest incarceration rate of the world's industrialized nations, with 426 people per 100,000 behind bars. South Africa is second with 333 per 100,000.

Current estimates are that more than 1 million inmates are housed in state and federal penitentiaries and local jails.

At least 40 states are under court orders to cut prison populations, and many judges view probation as a cheaper alternative to jails. In New York City, it costs \$59,130 a year to keep an inmate in jail. Probation costs far less -- between \$4,000 and \$6,000 -- even under intensive supervision.

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Struggling with the crush, many probation departments complain that they get no respect.

"Among policy-makers, legislative branches and appropriations committees, probation clearly is an orphan," said Frank Hartman, executive director of Harvard University's criminal justice program. "It is a system constructed to screw up in the sense that probation officers by and large don't have the capacity to give adequate supervision."

Despite the fact that it is the fastest growing sanction, probation departments chronically finish last in the arm-wrestling for funding.

Unlike law enforcement agencies, which have highly effective lobbies in state capitals, probation officials have little political clout.

"Probation is generally smaller than police and corrections," said Todd R. Clear, a Rutgers University criminal justice professor and vice president of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. "If the probation agency is housed within the judiciary, judges tend to lobby for court priorities first and probation second. If it is housed within a corrections agency, 90% (of the lobbying) is for prisons."

According to the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, probation departments receive less than 10% of state and local government expenditures for correctional services, which includes prisons and rehabilitation programs behind bars. And their budgets are declining when compared to other criminal justice components.

Probation commissioners are struggling to devise systems to classify criminals. The goal is to develop a spectrum of punishments, ranging from sanctions such as court-imposed fines for relatively minor offenses to intensive supervision of people with the greatest potential for committing new crimes. But risk assessment, though improving, remains an inexact science, designers of the sorting systems say.

In an effort to improve controls, probation commissioners are experimenting with a host of sanctions, including boot camps (short-term incarceration modeled after military basic training), house arrest with electronic monitoring, and special reporting centers where violators on the verge of being sent to prison can spend days under intensive supervision -- even seminars teaching criminals social values.

"Throughout the field, you are seeing renewed interest in rehabilitation," said M. Kay Harris, an associate professor of criminal justice at Temple University. "There is greater receptivity toward saying we need to try new responses. Nobody can supervise 250 people on an effective basis."

With these odds, success is often measured by small victories. As they saw clients, Garland and Peters spoke with pride of the few probationers who had passed the high school equivalency test, and the fewer still who had gone on to college.

"Every so often, your client says: 'Thank you,' and that makes a difference even if you only get one thanks a month," Peters said. "I just tell them that by not getting arrested, that's thanks enough."

Next: Probation overload in Los Angeles.

New York's New Approach

In what planners say is a revolutionary experiment, New York city is abandoning many of the traditional models of probation to concentrate most of its resources on potentially violent offenders. The strategy departs radically from classifying and managing criminals on a sliding scale of supervision based on the likelihood they will commit new crimes.

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The Problem

Projected budget cuts are forcing a new look at probation. If estimates hold, New York's probation department could lose up to 40% of its adult supervision staff by the 1996 fiscal year. The result: Caseloads now averaging 160 could swell to 300 per officer. Faced with such a grim picture, New York's strategy to a large degree has become triage -- a word probation officials refrain from using.

Beginning next July, caseloads will become smaller, but tougher. Probation officers may see the same criminal perhaps three times a week.

- N.Y. probationers who are felons: 77%
- N.Y. Probationers found guilty of violent crimes: 33%
- Annual cost per probationer in intensive supervision: \$4,000 to \$6,000
- Annual cost of incarcerating a N.Y. inmate: \$59,130
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The New Way

1. Testing: Experts are working to create tests to try to predict violent behavior. For purposes of funding, planners estimate 40% of probationers have been involved in violent crimes.

2. Specialized treatment: If a criminal is classified as potentially violent, psychiatric, educational and other assessments will follow. After the process is completed, these probationers will be assigned to either a supervision of specialized treatment, which will stress such subjects as avoiding narcotics, gaining everyday living skills and access to mental health services.

3. Graduated sanctions: Supervision will feature systems of graduated sanctions, including such deterrents as home detention and visits by probation officers. Potentially violent criminals may be placed under curfews or required to spend days at special centers that will offer a variety of rehabilitative strategies.

4. Nonviolent probationers: Under the new system, nonviolent criminals will communicate with probation officers through computers set up in adult supervision offices throughout the city. Probationers will fill out a monthly questionnaire on a screen and request to see a supervisor if they desire. If the probation officer wants to see the client, a message will flash on the screen. If a warrant is outstanding, the computer would be programmed to ask questions in order to stall the criminal until armed probation officers arrive to make an arrest.

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What Officials Say

"If it works, it will fundamentally change the nature of probation in America. If it doesn't work, we will have learned more about the nature of successful probation practice than ever has been learned before."

— Michael P. Jacobson, New York City's probation commissioner

"What we are going to be doing is . . . completely redefining what risk is and redefine what our mission is in terms of public safety. The public is concerned about crimes of violence against other human beings, and we have defined low risk as nonviolent crimes."

— Frank Domurad, the department's deputy commissioner for administration and planning

Who Gets Probation?

Here's a breakdown of types of sentences imposed, by conviction:

	Prison	Pro- or jail bation
Homicide	92%	8%
Rape	66	34
Robbery	69	31
Aggravated Assault	47	52
Burglary	60	39
Drug Trafficking	53	47

Larceny	47	52
Drug possession	45	54
Other felonies	42	56
TOTAL	52	48

Some categories do not add up to 100% because a category of "others" is not listed.

Source: Information provided to the American Probation and Parole Assn.

Figures have been weighted to reflect inner city probation departments.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Probation officer Annette Garland, right, and her partner, Gwendelin Peters, in Bronx Criminal Court. When Garland checked her caseload about a year ago, only five of her 140 probationers had completed high school; more than half were illiterate. Many can't find a job. JOE TABACCA / For The Times; Drawing, New York's New Approach, ROB HERNANDEZ / Los Angeles Times ; Table, Who Gets Probation?

TYPE: Non Dup; Series; Infobox; List

SUBJECT: CRIMINAL JUSTICE; PROBATION; CRIME STATISTICS; CRIMINALS

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City & State

April 26, 1993 / May 9, 1993

SECTION: SPECIAL REPORT; Public Safety; Pg. 10

LENGTH: 523 words

HEADLINE: Boot camps create positive attitudes: study

BYLINE: By GARY ENOS, Staff Writer

BODY: Inmates in boot-camp settings emphasizing military discipline and physical labor tend to exhibit more positive attitudes over time than those housed in traditional prisons, according to a University of Maryland study financed by the National Institute of Justice, Washington.

The study, which compared populations of prison and boot-camp inmates in seven states, dispels the notion that the in-your-face" style of boot-camp operations would leave offenders more prone to antisocial behavior once they were released.

The participating states -- Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Texas -- have found boot camps to be a useful alternative to prison for young, non-violent offenders. Once emphasizing only hard labor and military drills in their approach, many of these programs have grown to include drug treatment and education (C&S, Sept. 7, 1992).

In all seven states studied, participants in so-called shock incarceration" programs developed a more positive attitude toward the program over time, while the attitudes of prison inmates convicted of similar offenses either worsened or stayed the same.

Several state officials said they were not surprised by the results. For those who complete our program, it is probably the first success they have had in their whole life," said Robert Kreigner, research associate for the Florida Department of Corrections.

Even if all you do is scream at one of these kids and tell him to do push-ups, that's probably more than he's ever gotten at home," Mr. Kreigner said.

According to the University of Maryland study, 41 boot-camp programs for young adults exist in 25 states, with a total of 6,000 beds.

The study, authored by the university's Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, does not address whether boot-camp inmates return to prison less frequently than inmates who have served in traditional settings. Researchers doubt the use of boot camps will have much of an effect on overall recidivism rates.

But the study's data on inmate attitudes, collected by using inmate questionnaires before and after a sentence is served, should convince state officials that boot-camp inmates are no more apt to commit crimes again than are traditional inmates.

All factors being equal, policymakers might encourage more offenders to be put in shock incarceration programs. In Louisiana, officials estimate they save \$ 750,000 for every 100 inmates who attend boot camp instead of being incarcerated.

Boot camp is becoming a way of life in our system," said Mariana Leger, deputy warden at the Hunt Correctional Center in St. Gabriel, La., where a 136-bed boot camp for non-violent males is located. There is no intention of discontinuing it."

The study showed surprisingly consistent results among the seven states, despite wide variations in how boot-camp programs are managed.

Programs range from those in Georgia and Louisiana, which only recently have expanded from their focus on work to include counseling and aftercare, to New York's, the country's largest and the most oriented toward alcohol and drug treatment.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, RAHEEM JOHNSON GOT A JOB IN HEATING AND AIR CONDITIONING AFTER FINISHING PROGRAM. TOM HORAN

TYPE: MARYLAND NEWS

SUBJECT: MARYLAND; PAROLES AND PARDONS; REFORM SCHOOLS

ORGANIZATION: JESSUP

NAMED-PERSONS: RAHEEM JOHNSON

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The Boston Globe

December 7, 1992, Monday, City Edition

SECTION: METRO/REGION; Pg. 15

LENGTH: 1194 words

HEADLINE: Kicking bad attitudes; Bay State's first boot camp graduates say they're new men

BYLINE: By Betsy Q.M. Tong, Contributing Reporter

DATELINE: BRIDGEWATER

KEYWORD: NAME-MASSACHUSETTS BOOT CAMP FIRST

BODY: When they graduated Friday from Massachusetts Boot Camp, the first class of inmates had little in common with the motley crew of convicted drug dealers, car thieves and burglars who four months ago made a pilgrimage from lockups across the state to seek salvation here from troubled lives.

Upon their arrival in August, the 23 were shorn of hair and stripped of clothes, jewelry and any other symbols of their pasts and their individuality. In the Department of Correction-run boot camp, many said, they were reborn.

At the camp - their voluntary substitute for a longer, but much easier, prison term - they lived like paramilitary monks, forced to rise at 5:30 a.m. every day but Sunday. During the following 12 hours they were put to physical, mental and emotional labor and seemingly endless drilling on how to march, to turn sharply and to stand at attention. From morning to night they were verbally pummeled by guards who shouted a litany of behavioral and self-help slogans to enforce "right thinking."

"We feel we try to correct their ways before they become a career criminal," said Peter Allen, boot camp administrator.

But for man after man, the ordeal was worthwhile. In the days before graduation, each inmate expressed pride because he had been tested and he had not quit and he had not failed. For many, it was the first success of their lives. The residents even learned to relish the work - studying, housekeeping, digging ditches, clearing brush and cutting trees - because, as one said, "What other prison would give you axes to cut down trees?"

Joseph Viveiros, 28, was one of those who accepted the golden medallion the program awarded each graduate as a token of the change he has made in his life. Last month the Fall River man, who was convicted of cocaine trafficking, spoke of his commitment to a new way of living and to a 5-year-old daughter to whom, he said, he had promised he would no longer be a "bad boy."

The question for Viveiros and 22 others, and for those who follow them in boot camp, is whether the conversion will hold. The program is too new to determine what long-term effect it will have on behavior. Allen said that a similar "shock incarceration" program in upstate New York has reduced recidivism by 6 percent. While not all boot camp graduates stay out of jail for life, those additional 6 percent who do not return to incarceration represent a victory to prison administrators.

The 23 boot-camp programs operating in the United States are also considered economical. In Massachusetts, each prison bed costs the state \$ 17,500 a year, but because the boot camp lasts four months, it handles three inmates in a year for the price of one.

But the pioneer inmates in the boot camp are not numbers. They are men like Michael MacLeod of Brockton, who came to prison with what he called a "bad attitude" and a worse temper. Through symbolic props, such as the foot-high yellow baby bottle that inmates must carry if they cannot control their outbursts, the 20-year-old learned how to hold back his anger.

The boot camp takes the idea of reforming prisoners a step beyond, to what Dr. George Ransom, program director of Right Turn Inc., called "positive brainwashing." Right Turn is a for-profit corporation contracted by the state to administer the boot camp. In keeping with the idea that attitude follows action, the inmates were drilled until they became a fraternity. Through 12-step recovery programs, they repented past criminal activities and drug and alcohol abuse.

"The therapy forces the inmate to look at himself - he and he alone is responsible for his being here," Allen said.

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The inmates learned that each rule has a reason and each action, a consequence. For example, during meals, inmates have one turn through the food line and they may order as much as they want with the proviso that every scrap is eaten.

Recruitment is the biggest problem the camp has faced. At an opening ceremony in late October, officials said they expected to be operating at full capacity by January. However, including the graduating class, the \$ 7.5 million, 256-bed facility has had only 59 residents. Many prisoners choose to remain in the relative ease of county jails even though volunteering for boot camp would reduce their sentence, Allen said.

The weak and the uncommitted do not complete the program, which accepts only nonviolent, first-time offenders under 30. Elvin Stephens, 25, of Lowell, understands wanting to quit. He almost did last month, frustrated at another inmate's lackadaisical attitude.

He said he "blew up one day" and was very close to quitting because "other people were not taking the program as a life and death situation. Then I thought about what I was here for. I am here to change my life."

Backing the inmates at every step were the Zen masters of the boot camp, the drill instructors who urged meditation and marching to develop mind and body. During a recent afternoon, one drill instructor barked at his platoon about spiritualism: "A little prayer, a little meditation, a little thought."

A key to the program has been the bond formed between guard and prisoner, like that between parent and child. Drill instructor Job Wells - the Dale

Carnegie of prison guards - ordered one inmate to cease mopping during an interview. When the man asked whether he could clean another room, Wells grinned and yelled, "Very good. Initiative!"

Wells, who previously worked at the state's medium security prison in Norfolk, said working with the boot camp's inmates gives him "more than just a paycheck."

In the month before graduation, the prisoners expressed angst about life beyond the barbed wire fence that has sheltered them as much as it has locked them in. In a life skills class, the inmates faced the fact that potential employers may label them as they debated how to answer the question: Have you ever been convicted of a felony? Graduates are required to get a job within two weeks of their release, or report to their parole officer for training programs.

Although lying on an application would be easier, said Gregory Hazzard, 22, "This inmate felt that if you can't be honest with yourself, how can you be honest on the job?"

Inmates said they feared the alluring embrace of drugs or a fast lifestyle, away from the structure of the camp. But counselors said that a regular curfew, bimonthly meetings with parole officers, and required attendance at five self-help meetings a week - including at least one with former boot-camp inmates - should provide refuge and support. Although the staff said they could predict those who may return to crime, they pray that none will.

When Douglas Joyner, 22, entered boot camp in August, he was bitter and scared. But the man who greeted family at graduation Friday was soft-spoken, and nothing - including his pants, now loose-fitting from the rigors of exercise - fit him quite the same way as it had before.

With others of his boot camp brethren, Joyner took a vow not to return to his old habits: "I don't want to go through jail again, because I probably won't make it the next time."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, 1. Drill instructor A.N. Killian adjusts the tie of Cory Archer, a member of the first boot camp graduating class. / GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / BARRY CHIN 2. Drill instructors celebrate after the graduation in Bridgewater Friday as boot camp graduate Joseph Viveiros hugs his mother, Gilda. Looking on are his father, William, and daughter, Jessica, 5. / GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / BARRY CHIN

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The Washington Times

November 4, 1992, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; ANALYSIS; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 1057 words

HEADLINE: Economic woes drive mandate for change

BYLINE: Ralph Z. Hallow; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY: Bill Clinton listened to the voters' message, ran to the political right and yesterday won a landslide victory by picking up where Ronald Reagan left off.

Exit polls confirmed that Mr. Clinton's incessant campaign motto, "change," was on target with voters: 37 percent of them named it as one of the candidate qualities that mattered most.

The same polls also confirmed that economic concerns that dominated the campaign in fact animated the voters who turned out yesterday.

Some 43 percent of voters surveyed leaving the polls said jobs and the economy were one of the issues that mattered most in choosing their candidate. Reflecting Ross Perot's influence on the campaign, another 22 percent cited the deficit, while 21 percent said health care.

Mr. Clinton listened to these messages, understood how and why Mr. Perot's populism satisfied the anger and rage of so many voters and understood what they really meant by change.

In interpreting that demand for change, Mr. Clinton didn't make the same mistake as Sen. Tom Harkin, the traditional liberal Iowa Democrat who was trounced in the primaries, or as the liberal intellectuals, ideologues and special interests that dominated the party for so long.

Rather, Mr. Clinton discerned that what the voters said yesterday was the same as what they had been saying throughout the campaign: they wanted to change leaders but not to change back to the tax-and-spend policies of past Democratic administrations and candidates.

"Yesterday's turnout showed that Reagan Democrats came home because they didn't see in Clinton's platform the liberal excesses of the old Democratic program," Democratic campaign consultant William Hamilton said.

So the governor of a small state ran on what was in many ways a conservative platform, without making his positions seem polarizing, ideological or threatening.

He mastered Mr. Reagan's secret of success, putting what political analyst Kevin Phillips called a "non-ideological centrist twist" on conservative policies and a conservative twist on centrist policies.

Mr. Clinton understood the formula as neither George Bush nor most of the previous Democratic presidential nominees were able to understand it.

His campaign ads emphasized his promise to help the middle class through tax cuts for them. He also capitalized on family values by promising tax credits for the children of the middle class.

"One secret of his success is when voters told us they wanted change, Clinton responded in a way most Democratic candidates in recent years have not responded," said Democratic pollster Mark Mellman. "He appealed to the middle class on economics and values."

Mr. Clinton didn't bash welfare recipients but addressed the anger of working people at those who seem not to pull their own weight. He did this by promising limits on welfare.

Crime and urban rioting were not surface issues in the campaign because Mr. Bush did not make use of them, even though law and order was a traditional and winning Republican issue, and because Mr. Clinton had already pushed his party to the limits on his moderate-to-conservative stands on other issues.

Nonetheless, he addressed the fear of crime, shared by all races, by endorsing the death penalty, and by saying he would put 100,000 more police officers on the streets and proposing boot camps to discipline first-time offenders.

"Whether Clinton took the Reagan revolution to its next step will be argued on all sides, but this election was definitely not a rejection of conservatism," said Brad Coker, president of the Mason-Dixon poll. "I don't think Bush represents conservatism in its most successful form."

Despite the size of Mr. Clinton's victory, some analysts saw neither a mandate nor a repudiation of the Reagan years.

"They voted for change, but I don't know if there was a consensus on what they wanted changed and who they wanted to change it," Mr. Coker said.

"Conservatism doesn't stick to George Bush as it did to Ronald Reagan. The bottom line is voters simply decided they have had enough of Bush and want to try something different," he said.

"What is happening is a change of authority," said Mr. Hamilton. "There is legitimacy and a mandate for Clinton only in the sense that voters said they want someone else to do things now.

"But I don't think voters understood enough of the details of Clinton's platform to say he got a policy mandate that picked up the Reagan revolution and extended it," Mr. Hamilton said.

Mr. Coker noted that although "a huge number of voters saw Clinton as their agent for change and another big portion saw Perot as that agent and so voted for a Democratic president, yet we saw some Democrat senators and House members bounced by some of those same voters."

The support by voters in the states where term limits were on the ballot suggested that trust was a big issue but not the way Mr. Bush hoped.

The voters didn't trust Congress but didn't trust Mr. Bush either. Exit polls showed they didn't believe him anymore on a variety of issues, from his promise never to raise taxes again to his role in Iran-Contra, any more than they believed Mr. Clinton on the draft.

"The voters were responding to populist themes. Perot raised them, Clinton was able to project himself as a guy who would act on them while Bush had trouble making himself believable as a populist," Mr. Phillips said.

"It's fair to say the Democratic Party finally found its voice, not just at the presidential level but at all levels," said Mr. Mellman.

In helping the party find that voice, Mr. Clinton made a concerted effort not to appear to be pandering to the interest groups - blacks, gays, labor unions, strident feminists - that seemed to own the Democratic Party in recent years.

That left a number of things unsaid and is one reason Mr. Hamilton believes a policy mandate will have to be made or created by Clinton over the next three months as he further defines what he plans to do.

"Voters understand at the gut level Clinton has attempted not to deal with special interests, that he purposely stayed away from them," he said.

GRAPHIC: Photo (color), Confident: Bill Clinton gives a thumbs-up after voting in Little Rock., By Ruth Fremson/The Washington Times ; Photo, Virginia Kelley, Bill Clinton's mother, waves outside the Old Statehouse in Little Rock, Ark., yesterday., By AP

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Chicago Tribune

July 20, 1993, Tuesday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: TEMPO; Pg. 1; ZONE: C

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HEADLINE: Unlocking dreams Hill Correctional Center counselor Kay Gustine softens hard time for prisoners, inspiring them to let go of past anger and focus on the future

BYLINE: By Wes Smith, Tribune Staff Writer

DATELINE: GALESBURG, Ill.

BODY: Wearing a pink hairbow and a creamy chiffon dress, the petite woman described as a "steel butterfly" summoned a burly prison inmate with dark circles under his eyes to come forward and deliver his speech.

The nervous inmate complied, but paused briefly to gather his composure in front of about 40 of his convicted peers.

"Take your time," urged one in the crowd at the Hill Correctional Center.

The inmate serving a seven-year prison term for sexual assault then spoke haltingly of how he had learned about "re-establishing relationships in positive ways" at the Galesburg prison.

"I've learned how to overcome really bad experiences I had as a child, things that were real painful and hard to cope with," he said.

"I was severely molested from the ages of 6 through 15. I blamed myself. I could never tell anybody," the inmate continued. "This class has helped me to know that it wasn't my fault."

As several other convicts came forward to shake his hand, pat him on the back and embrace him, the inmate concluded his talk. "If this class can help me to finally express myself, not just to one person but to a group of guys like this, I know it can help other people in my situation."

To deal with soaring recidivism rates of nearly 40 percent and a prison population that is 149 percent over recommended capacity, the Illinois Department of Corrections is looking to militaristic boot camps to shock-treat young criminals, and to a \$60 million supermaximum prison to warehouse the hardest core.

The steel butterfly has her own ideas about how to handle the bad guys.

Galesburg prison counselor Kay Gustine, whose ladylike manner masks a steely resolve, wants to soften up hard time for inmates in Illinois and nationwide.

Gustine strives to take prisoners beyond anger and into positive thinking. She consoles them on how to let go of the past, how to deal with difficult people, to set goals and get in touch with their feelings, she said.

"Some probably perceive me as naive," she said, "but you can't be naive and work here."

An advocate of self-help and personal empowerment, Gustine has introduced a bit of that contemplative - skeptics say touchy-feely - doctrine to the men behind the razor wire at the state's medium-security prison in Galesburg.

Gustine has been a state social worker for 27 years, and for the past eight years she has been a counselor at Galesburg, where she developed her unique and controversial self-help program.

She began offering her "Mind Power" and "Pathways of Mastership" classes in 1985 and has taken it from a voluntary offering with a half-dozen students to a paid-education class of 30 and more. The classes are taught over 12 weeks for three hours a day, five days a week to inmates paid \$15 a month to attend, just as they are compensated for high school and college classwork.

In the classes and on their own, inmates listen to instructional and subliminal message tapes. The subliminal tapes offer soothing music and nature sounds with repeated, but barely audible messages, such as: "I forgive everyone and myself. I am free of guilt. My life is filled with harmony."

Nearly 300 inmates have taken Gustine's courses, and though she has no statistics to back up her claims for success, she says there is definitely room for personhood in the penitentiary.

"I see changes in attitudes and behavior. I see these guys go on to school and get better work assignments inside, and I see them get released from prison and do well," she said.

She has lobbied her bosses in Springfield, so far without success, to make her pilot program mandatory in all state prisons. She also dreams of it going nationwide.

"I believe there are not enough positive, self-improvement programs in corrections," she said. "Educational programs are needed desperately, but without self-esteem and the ability to deal with stress and difficult people, I don't know how inmates can make it."

Skepticism over approach

Her humanistic approach has not been easy to sell to either the inmates or their guards, said Gustine, who grew up on a 300-acre Knox County cattle and hog farm.

"I'm a white female in a negative male environment, of course they are skeptical of me. Wouldn't you be if you came from Cabrini-Green? I understand that," she said.

"When I first came into the Department of Corrections as a psychiatric social worker, one of the correctional officers said, 'Oh no, we have a bleeding-heart social worker here.' I probably am still a bleeding heart, but I'm not naive, even though some probably perceive me as being naive."

While cautious about fully endorsing Gustine's program, Galesburg Warden Jerry Gilmore conceded that because class materials are provided free it is inexpensive and it does involve inmates in "something positive."

"I have seen good come out of it. Some people seem to have a fresh attitude, maybe even a better attitude about themselves," he said. "Whether it is the wave of the future or the answer to all of our problems I can't say. I can only say how it has worked for me. There has been more good than bad."

"I'd rather the inmates be associated with something like this than sitting in a corner getting angry because they have nothing to do."

Program controversial

Nic Howell, spokesman for the state Department of Corrections, said Gustine's pilot program is considered controversial and is still "under assessment." Howell said Gustine's "zealousness" in promoting the spread of the unproven program throughout the state and national prison systems has not been looked upon favorably by higher-ups.

"We are wary of any program that purports to be something for everyone, without actually going through the paces of testing it and checking it out and seeing what the results are," he said.

"We are not adverse to allowing controversial programs that may be helpful to inmates," he added. "The boot camp and sexual-offender programs are certainly controversial, and we have embraced both those programs. But this is not a proven commodity so far as we are concerned."

Most of the classes are spent listening to and discussing tapes provided free by the Institute of Human Development in Ojai, Calif., a non-profit foundation dedicated to "mind and body healing and spiritual connection," according to vice president Sylvia Thompson, who attended a recent graduation ceremony for Gustine's class.

While prison chiefs in Springfield are wary, folks at the California institute are ecstatic over Gustine's work. "We see the Galesburg program as a model," Thompson said. "We view these men as not victims, not bad people. They have just made bad choices."

Gustine first contacted Thompson after an inmate at Galesburg told her of a TV infomercial touting tape sets for \$300 from the institute's commercial parent company, then headed by self-help advocate Jonathan Parker.

Self-help tapes free

The non-profit institute distributes thousands of self-help tapes by Parker and others free to inmates across the country as part of its effort to bring personal empowerment to prisoners, Thompson said.

"We're not trying to promote Jonathan Parker or to establish some guru. These are strictly donations," Thompson said. "These men respond to our tapes because so many have had lives devoid of care and love and understanding. The program works because it gets to such a deep level. It is not your average self-improvement program."

Although its free tapes are popular with inmates, the institute, whose employees are either volunteers or part-timers, has been trying for seven years to get its tape programs accepted by prison officials around the country, Thompson said.

Galesburg was the first to officially sanction the self-help program, and just recently officials at two prisons in Arizona have begun similar programs.

"I think the (prison systems) are very, very punitive and restrictive, and I think it is hard to sell them on anything new," Thompson said. "I don't know why they are against it, because it is sure not hurting anybody, and I know it is helping a lot of people."

Thompson, who described Gustine as a "steel butterfly," credits the Galesburg prison counselor with persevering in her efforts to bring self-help programs to the inmates here.

"When you first meet her, you could conclude that she is a very wonderful, sweet, lovely lady, and as you get to know her and see her strength and the challenges she deals with, you realize she has a lot of fiber, a lot of depth and strength."

The right messages

Gustine said that inmates often take her classes for all the wrong reasons, but end up getting the right messages. "Some of the guys I have come close to kicking out of the class have become its strongest supporters," she said.

Warden Gilmore said he has noticed that "four or five" inmates who had been disciplinary problems seemed to have straightened out after the classes.

"Some have attributed (their improved attitudes) to being involved in the program, saying they can deal with situations better," he said. "I can't prove what happened, I just know that some guys seem to be getting less (disciplinary) tickets."

Gilmore and Gustine agreed that some inmates have taken the self-help concept a bit too literally.

The warden said some inmates have tried to use their involvement in the class as an excuse to get out of work or disciplinary assignments. Gustine said others were caught bartering with the instructional tapes, or recording over them with less educational material.

"The institute had to start charging postage on the tapes because they discovered that some inmates were recording rap music over them," she noted.

At the graduation ceremony held this month for Gustine's class, more than 20 inmates gave brief talks about their experiences in the program. Some were eloquent. Some were sincere. Some were obviously trying to pull a con.

One of the more entertaining speeches was a rambling soliloquy by a veteran inmate serving a 20-year sentence for armed robbery. The inmate noted that he is "nearly 60 years old, and I've gotten more out of this program than anything in my life."

But he preceded his remarks by warmly welcoming an assistant warden to the ceremony and coyly noting that while the warden was away, the inmates might be at play. "I'm glad you're here," he said. "Now that hootch can get to cookin'."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO (color): At the Hill Correctional Center in Galesburg, inmate Roy Broadnax gives counselor Kay Gustine a painting. Gustine hopes her self-help pilot program will become mandatory in all state prisons. Photo for the Tribune by Marc Featherly. PHOTO: Fred Adams, a graduate of Gustine's controversial program, speaks to fellow inmates at the Hill Correctional Center in Galesburg. PHOTO: Kay Gustine (left) and Sylvia Thompson during a recent "Mind Power" class. In addition to the classes, inmates listen to instructional and subliminal message tapes. Photos for the Tribune by Marc Featherly.

TERMS: PRISON; EDUCATION; BEHAVIOR; ALTERNATIVE; BIOGRAPHY; INTERVIEW

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COMMENTS TO FRANKLIN E. ZIMRING, DRUG TREATMENT AS A CRIMINAL SANCTION*

* Per the author's request, no footnotes will be used in this commentary.

Norval Morris

TEXT: [*831]

Sharper than a serpent's tooth! Never did I dream that the overly-vocal student, perched like a canary on one leg in my criminal law class in 1965, waving desperately to me to be called on to deliver his stream of marginally relevant sociologese, would one day turn on me and savage me for a minor, collateral overstatement. But so it is. Decades later, Zimring builds a thesis on my peripheral error. It becomes my sad fate to end my days as a footnote to Zimring's scholarship.

Of course, he is right; and that makes it all the more painful. There is no theoretical or practical reason why drug treatment programs should not be coercive. What I was writing about-what Zimring latched onto gleefully twenty years later-were treatment programs in prisons, linked to the parole release decision, which had turned the prisons, in the words of a dear friend of both Zimring and myself, into "Schools of Dramatic Art." Before setting aside these ad hominem assaults of Zimring, I cannot refrain from mentioning that he carefully managed to ignore a book by Michael Tonry and myself in 1990, which contains a lengthy analysis of when and how coercive drug treatment programs should be imposed on convicted offenders in prison and in the community.

Enough of these childish petulancies. I see my present task as follows: to give my perspective on the role of drug treatment programs generally, then to distinguish between such programs in prison and in the community, and to conclude with a powerful peroration which, unfortunately, tends to support the position taken by Professor Zimring in his paper.

First, then, one source of my general perspective: About a year ago I chaired a three-day meeting in Italy of senior government officials from nine countries, including the United States and Canada, to discuss domestic drug policies. A few months before that conference, scholars from each of the countries represented had prepared working papers for the conference, setting out the [*832] history and present situations of their domestic drug policies. I found it an unusually instructive meeting, which brought me to the realization of just how far our drug policies are out of step with those of the other countries represented at that meeting. Let me list in brief statements a few of the lessons I learned at that conference.

Those who administer our drug policies in the United States sing a very different song when they are among experts on these matters than they sing to the public at home. They do not lack knowledge of the wastefulness-indeed the cruelty-of our policies, or of their social inutilities. It is not ignorance that has led us astray; it is deliberate adherence to politically popular but socially injurious policies.

It is not in the shape of the law that our practices vary so greatly from those in Canada and Western European countries; it is in our enforcement of the law and in our punishment practices that we are out of step with them. All countries represented at that conference are signatories to the two international conventions that shape the law: the 1961 Convention on Narcotic Drugs and the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances. Both conventions require signatory countries to prohibit the non-medical use of heroin, opium, cocaine, hashish and other mood-altering drugs. (You will not be surprised that much of the difference in practice is to be found in the different interpretations of the imprecise words "non-medical use.")

No Western European country has legalized drugs, and that certainly includes the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The broad prohibition or legalization debate is an exercise in unreality; it misses the problem. The difference between the United States and all the other countries represented at this conference, and indeed all Western European countries generally, is to be found in our enforcement practices and the philosophy which guides them. All other countries see their guiding philosophy to be one of harm reduction; we see ours as achieving a drug-free America, remaking man, reforming society, achieving prohibition. To quote the report of the conference: "In its heavy reliance on the criminal law to eliminate drug abuse the United States stands alone."

Our law enforcement practices are targeted toward drug abuse by inner-city minorities, and our sentencing practices, led by mindless, legislative, mandatory minimum sentences, and a draconian United States Sentencing Commission, have achieved extraordinary

rates of incarceration for drug users and minor dealers. At present, over fifty-six percent of Federal prisoners are there for drug offenses [*833] and over twenty-five percent of State prisoners. Other countries do not approximate these figures. Until we accept harm minimization as our major purpose in this field, it is unlikely that we will make much headway. And harm minimization will involve a massive increase in our drug treatment programs.

My perspective on drug treatment programs is guided by another set of personal experiences. For some years I have chaired the Advisory Board to the RAND Corporation's Drug Policy Program. I have been involved with the TASC (Treatment Alternatives for Serious Criminals) program in Chicago and elsewhere. And a few years ago Michael Tonry and I were given funds by the National Institute of Corrections and the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation to bring together representatives of drug treatment programs from many regions pursuing a variety of treatment modalities. I recently gave the keynote address and participated in a conference in Austin, Texas, of some 500 people from all over this country involved in running drug treatment programs. From these experiences I have come to the following conclusions, which I offer not as the product of my own research but rather as my synthesis of the opinions of those involved in a wide variety of drug treatment programs.

Drug treatment programs can achieve both the reduction of crime by addicts and the diminution of their drug addiction. They hold real promise for a rational drug policy. The consensus is, whatever the treatment modality, that the duration of retention of the drug abuser in the treatment program is that which is most correlated with success. Volunteering does not seem to be nearly as important here as in other self-developmental programs.

Before trying to draw these random experiences together into some sort of a principled conclusion, let me mention one other personal experience. I recently served for three and a half years as a Special Master for a Federal District Court in a case involving Stateville prison, thirty miles South of Chicago. From that experience, and other prison experiences, I have formed a skeptical view of the efficacy of drug treatment programs in prison-the reason for this I shall not inflict on you now. They turn on the realities of the prison environment. Such programs in prison at best can serve as launching pads for later community-based programs.

Let me struggle toward a series of concluding propositions: We live, and for some time will continue to live, in a world of scarce drug treatment resources. Only the wealthy can volunteer for drug treatment programs. All our drug treatment slots in [*834] Chicago are filled compulsorily by the courts, and there are long waiting lists (for residential drug treatment programs between 6 and 8 months). If you are independently wealthy, or have a stack of money from dealing in drugs, you may be able to "volunteer" for a drug treatment program, but the idea of the average criminal or drug abuser in the community and not in prison or before the courts "volunteering" for such treatment is, regrettably, quite unreal. It becomes necessary, therefore, to draw a sharp distinction between drug treatment programs in prison and those that are community-based.

First, as to community-based programs. Kay Knapp is surely right in her earlier presentation to this conference that there is urgent need for the development of intermediate punishment as part of sentencing guidelines to minimize the imprisonment of drug abusers and those convicted of less serious crimes engendered by drug abuse. Given what we now know about drug treatment, such sentences to community-based treatment programs should be coercive. And since drug addiction is a chronic relapsing condition, in which the path to abstinence is usually accompanied by an occasional relapse, the problem of how to treat the "dirty" urine relapse is a difficult one. Automatic revocation will result in further overcrowding of the prisons and will not expedite the offender's path to drug abstinence and the reduction of his criminality related to drugs; on the other hand, it must be taken seriously.

Thus we need greatly to increase our resources of community-based drug treatment programs, so that rational sentencing to intermediate punishments, involving compulsory drug treatment, can reduce criminality by drug users and assist their path to abstinence.

As to drug treatment programs in prison and jail, the situation is different. Here I am much more doubtful. Indeed, if in a situation of limited resources I could allocate treatment programs between prison and jail programs, on the one hand, and community-based residential or out-patient programs on the other, I don't think I would allocate any to prison and jail programs. The data on the success of community-based programs are compelling; the data concerning

prison-based programs are much less persuasive. But there are political reasons why one may support prison-based programs.

For example, many prison administrators support the boot camp movement, not because they think that the short, sharp [*835] shock of military-style discipline will reform the criminal, but because that idea appeals politically, and to the public, and will allow a shortening of the prison term and a movement to a follow-up period of community-based treatment for drug abusers so sentenced.

My conclusion therefore is this: the philosophy behind the sentencing of drug abusers and of those convicted of less serious crimes related to their drug abuse should be that of harm minimization, and this requires the development of community-based treatment programs as a punishment alternative. And this in turn requires the development of intermediate punishments as an integral part of a rational sentencing policy.

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THE ORLANDO SENTINEL

July 29, 1993 Thursday, 3 STAR

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HEADLINE: MANATEE CAMP IS A MODEL FOR REFORM; SHERIFF BEARY PUSHES A SIMILAR "BOOT CAMP" FOR YOUNG LAWBREAKERS IN CENTRAL FLORIDA.

BYLINE: By Tom Leithauser of The Sentinel Staff

KEYWORD: PRISON REFORM US COMPARISON ALTERNATIVE JUVENILE KEVIN BEARY ORANGE COUNTY SENTENCE MANATEE COUNTY

BODY: Lee Vallier takes the swagger out of tough teen criminals. Sometimes, he even makes them cry.

Orange County Sheriff Kevin Beary says he hopes to do the same.

Vallier, who directs a "boot camp" for juvenile lawbreakers in Manatee County, spoke Wednesday in Orange County to a group assembled by Beary to further plans for a similar military-style camp in Central Florida.

The boot camp has become Beary's obsession. He has spoken about it at public meetings and presented his plan to civic groups. He has lined up support from Orange County commissioners, School Board members, fellow lawmen, circuit judges and ministers.

But the project is still just a dream. Beary's many tasks include finding a site, arranging funding and gaining the approval of the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, which is in charge of the state's juvenile programs.

Beary sees the camp as the best way to divert teen-age boys from a life of crime. "This is their last chance," he said Wednesday. "If they don't make it in boot camp, they're going to be tomorrow's career criminals."

Others are more cautious. Orange County Commissioner Fran Pignone hopes to take a closer look at the record of the Manatee County facility, the only one of its kind in Florida.

"I'm not willing to sign off at this point on any particular program," she said.

Manatee County's boot camp has had some poignant successes. On one occasion, Vallier introduced the campers to a woman whose grandmother's pelvis was broken during a purse-snatching.

As the woman spoke, Vallier noticed one of the inmates staring at the floor, apparently not paying attention.

"I said, 'Son, you find something more important on that floor than this victim up here?' "

When the boy looked up, Vallier realized the teen had been trying to hide his tears; the woman's story had made him cry.

"That was a beautiful experience," Vallier said.

It's too early to declare the Manatee County boot camp a success. It graduated its first class of 15 campers Monday, but it will be months before anyone knows whether any of them return to crime.

"I'll stick my neck out," Vallier said. "I know it will be at least 85 percent successful."

At a state boot camp in Sumter County, the recidivism rate has been around 10 percent, but the Sumter County facility accepts a slightly different class of criminal - first-time male offenders between the ages of 16 and 24.

The Manatee County facility is strictly for juveniles. Eligible inmates must have been found guilty in juvenile court of murder, kidnapping, robbery, assault, burglary or drug offenses.

The campers are selected by the state Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services.

When inmates arrive at the Manatee County boot camp, most of them act as though it's just another program that they can beat, Vallier said. Many have escaped at least once from other juvenile facilities.

In the first hour, their heads are shaved and they begin addressing drill instructors, Manatee County correctional officers, as "sir."

They spend their next 120 days doing what military recruits do at boot camp - marching, physical training, learning to pass inspection. They also attend classes and receive counseling. After they graduate, they enter a less intense, though closely supervised, eight-month program that provides follow-up counseling and schoolwork.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Deputy Sheriff Joel Perez leads recruits through a marching drill Monday at the Manatee County Juvenile Boot Camp. ASSOCIATED PRESS

TYPE: FEATURE

COLUMN: Taking delinquency out of juveniles

How States Are Coping With Prison Crowding

As the chart below shows, most state prison systems are operating at or over capacity. States are dealing with the crowding problems by having some prisoners serve their time in the community in a variety of supervised programs, such as electronic monitoring at home. A few states are sending first-time offenders to boot-camp prisons.

	Prison capacity	Population as percent of capacity	Alternatives to incarceration			
			Intensive supervision probation	Electronic monitoring	Furloughs for prisoners with life sentences	Boot camps
Alabama	11,162	109%				✓
Alaska	2,793	93	✓		✓	
Arizona	12,240	99		✓	✓	
Arkansas	5,530	100	✓		✓	
California	70,706	108		✓	✓	
Colorado	5,058	112	✓	✓	✓	
Connecticut	7,731	104	✓	✓	✓	
Delaware	2,880	110	✓	✓	✓	
District of Columbia	7,417	113	✓		✓	
Florida	38,894	89	✓	✓	✓	✓
Georgia	17,296	109	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hawaii	2,130	111		✓	✓	
Idaho	1,406	110	✓			
Illinois	20,100	105	✓	✓		
Indiana	10,412	110		✓		
Iowa	2,918	104	✓			
Kansas	4,293	138		✓	✓	
Kentucky	6,649	94	✓	✓	✓	
Louisiana	12,330	100	✓		✓	✓
Maine	934	137	✓		✓	
Maryland	14,561	98	✓	✓	✓	
Massachusetts	3,891	173	✓	✓	✓	
Michigan	21,454	129	✓	✓	✓	
Minnesota	2,976	94		✓		
Mississippi	6,651	96	✓		✓	✓
Missouri	12,800	97	✓	✓	✓	
Montana	1,073	119	✓	✓	✓	
Nebraska	1,651	134		✓	✓	
Nevada	4,637	105	✓	✓	✓	
New Hampshire	998	100	✓			
New Jersey	13,324	110	✓	✓	✓	
New Mexico	2,751	103	✓	✓	✓	
New York	45,141	99	✓	✓	✓	✓
North Carolina	18,668	91	✓	✓	✓	
North Dakota	516	90			✓	
Ohio	18,482	141		✓	✓	
Oklahoma	7,378	142	✓		✓	✓
Oregon	4,722	127		✓	✓	
Pennsylvania	12,972	138		✓	✓	
Rhode Island	1,579	121			✓	
South Carolina	11,793	113	✓		✓	✓
South Dakota	1,189	86	✓			
Tennessee	7,754	97	✓	✓	✓	
Texas	41,319	95	✓	✓	✓	✓
Utah	2,464	79	✓	✓	✓	
Vermont	597	130	✓		✓	
Virginia	11,460	115	✓	✓	✓	
Washington	6,523	89	✓	✓		
West Virginia	1,640	85	✓			
Wisconsin	4,683	134	✓	✓	✓	
Wyoming	950	101				

Sources: Corrections Compendium, selected issues, 1988-89; U.S. Department of Justice.

Note: Capacity data are the largest of three measures used in the Justice Department survey, thus producing a conservative estimate of crowding. Data for New Hampshire and West Virginia are for males only.

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The San Francisco Chronicle

JANUARY 19, 1993, TUESDAY, FINAL EDITION

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HEADLINE: 'Boot Camp' at San Quentin Pilot Program Offers Military-Style Rehabilitation

BYLINE: Michelle Quinn, Chronicle Correspondent

BODY: The state's first military-style prison "boot camp" opened at San Quentin yesterday, and officials hope the grueling, no-nonsense program will cut recidivism and become a model for prisons throughout California.

Amid the heckles of other inmates, the 44 first-time offenders who volunteered to participate had their heads shaved, stood at attention and called the guards "sir."

"As the snake sheds its skin, so begins the process with you to shed away your hair, to take away the facades you've lived behind," Lieutenant John Stokes told the new inmates. "The reason why you are here is because you have made bad decisions. Our job is teach you responsibility for yourself and the community in which you live."

X To be eligible, inmates must be sentenced to serve 12 to 36 months for crimes not involving violence, such as burglary, grand theft, vehicle theft, receiving stolen property, forgery or driving under the influence.

X The convicts will train for 90 to 120 days in the boot camp and then work 180 days at the Alameda Naval Air Station, followed by a closely supervised four-month parole.

X Those accepted get what amounts to a reduced sentence, but the cut in prison time does not come without a price.

Housed in a temporary structure in the prison's low-security area, the inmates are forbidden to interact with other inmates and are not allowed to smoke, watch television, read newspapers or have free time. Unlike the denim-clad other convicts, the boot-camp inmates dress in bright orange work clothes.

The seven-day, 16-hour regimen of classes, drilling and labor begins with a 6 a.m. reveille. Inmates exercise for two hours, attend three hours of classes and work for the rest of the day. They also are lectured about substance abuse.

Punishment for such offenses as not making a bed correctly or talking back to an officer is 10 push-ups. Once admitted, convicts cannot drop out and are forced to quit only if they become violent.

The program's big draw is a reduced sentence, inmates said.

"I would like to get out as soon as I can," said Rex Esguerra, a 40-year-old Pacifica man convicted of embezzlement. "I would also like to learn what they have to offer. I'd like to get my self-respect back."

Warden Daniel Vasquez worked with the Wilson administration to bring the program to California after visiting prisons with similar programs in states such as New York, Georgia and Idaho.

Statistics from other states show that inmates are less likely to return to prison after completing boot camp, said Stokes.

X The camps instill inmates with a sense of self-respect and responsibility, which, combined with the grueling training, pushes down the recidivism rate, criminologists say.

But the program is more costly, with three inmates per staff member instead of the usual six and an average daily cost per convict of \$ 35 instead of \$ 30. To launch the pilot program, the director of the Department of Corrections budgeted \$ 1.5 million for the first year.

Stokes said that in 16 months the first report will be made evaluating the program's success before taking it to another prison.

If the program is successful, Stokes said, corrections officials hope to establish others throughout the state prison system.

For the inmates, the program is a chance to use their time in prison to achieve something.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, San Quentin guard Guillermo Rodriguez got in the face of an inmate during the first day of the prison's new program , BY VINCE MAGGIORA, THE CHRONICLE

SUBJECT: PRISONS; PRISONERS; DISCIPLINE; MILITARY; TRAINING; CA; BEHAVIOR; CHANGE

NAME: Alameda Naval Air Station; Daniel Vasquez; CA. Department of Corrections; San Quentin (priso

June 7, 1993

SECTION: U.S. NEWS; Vol. 114., No. 22; Pg. 32

LENGTH: 3011 words

HEADLINE: Attorney General Janet Reno Rough rider

BYLINE: By Ted Gest; Donald Baer; Dorian Friedman

HIGHLIGHT: Bill Clinton's top crime fighter brings a new brand of justice to Washington — and she's the star of the Clinton cabinet

BODY: After Janet Reno's first big run-in with the White House last week over the FBI's role in investigating the White House travel office, one Bill Clinton loyalist sniffed — anonymously — that the attorney general was "no loyal soldier." Told of this, Reno did what she does when the heat is on. She didn't get mad. She didn't get even. She got off an even better shot and, in the process, completely controlled the moment. "The president didn't hire me as a loyal soldier," she fired back during an interview with U.S. News last week. "He hired me as a lawyer for the people."

In just two months on the job, the first woman to hold the nation's top law-enforcement job has proved she is no pushover and, in the process, has become the star of the Clinton cabinet. The 6-foot, 2-inch crime fighter, whose mother wrestled alligators, has reached that rare place where her stature outshines her president's. A new U.S. News poll shows that 67 percent of Americans approve of the way she is doing her job as attorney general, while only 41 percent approve of Clinton's performance. She is, after all, everything some people fear he is not: unglamorous, principled, stoic.

The question now is whether the two will run into conflict. Some tension is inevitable, given the sensitivity of her job, which requires her to oversee a political minefield of policies on race relations, crime, immigration, corruption and other sensitive legal issues that stretch to every nook of American economic and cultural life. What if a dispute between her and Clinton boils over? Her mentor, Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte, a Miami lawyer, predicts she will stand firm against anyone who crosses her line of propriety. "She can be mean as hell," he notes with admiration. Reno herself addresses the question this way: "I'm going to try to give the best advice I can to the president as to what the right thing to do is. If he doesn't like what I think is the right thing to do, then I'll go home to Florida." Most sense that such a departure would be disastrous for Clinton — and that gives Reno powerful leverage with the president.

Not surprisingly, Reno and Clinton are largely in sync about what they want to accomplish. And their anticrime agenda amounts to a 180-degree shift from the policies Republicans promoted in the 1980s. Instead of rampant prison building, she stresses expanding drug treatment and rehabilitation of convicts. And far from her GOP predecessors' disdain for exploring ways to stop crime at its roots, Reno tells audiences almost daily about the need to stop violence by dealing with troubled children and their families. Instead of limiting lawsuits — Dan Quayle's battle cry — Reno calls for opening courthouses to more litigants. Instead of denouncing racial quotas, she promises more aggressive civil-rights enforcement to promote ethnic diversity and economic equity. "We have got to join together and develop a national agenda for children," she says.

Not only would Reno reorient the nation's crime-fighting strategy but she could play a pivotal role in reshaping American politics, helping Democrats overcome their generation-long struggle to establish credibility on the crime issue. Indeed, in the U.S. News poll, a plurality of Americans say they think Clinton and Democrats can do a better job of dealing with crime than can Republicans (although according to pollster Ed Goetas, Clinton's edge has dropped noticeably in the past month as his overall popularity has dropped).

In addition, the public seems prepared to embark on a new era of experimentation on crime prevention that matches most of Reno's priorities. The new mood reflects, in part, the proliferation of new kinds of frightful crimes in recent years — including gun violence in schools, carjackings and gang shootouts (table, Page 36). The U.S. News survey shows that a surprising 88 percent of Americans rate dealing with troubled youths at the earliest possible ages — Reno's top goal — as an effective crime-fighting option. By contrast, only 30 percent think building more prisons, a key Republican strategy in the 1980s, would be effective. "This is a strong opportunity for Democrats and should encourage them to be more aggressive on crime issues," observes pollster Celinda Lake. There is also great hope in Democratic ranks that Reno's plea for a more balanced approach to punishment could "break the ideological gridlock" that for years has stifled crime policy in Washington, says Rep. Charles Schumer of New York, the Democrats' point man on crime issues in the House.

Still, there is reason to wonder whether Reno's essentially liberal agenda can show the kind of progress increasingly fearful Americans will appreciate. A failure of her agenda could set the party back another generation on social issues. And it is not yet clear that her newfound stature has staying power. After all, it is based in part on her role in a debacle: She accepted responsibility for the disastrous outcome in the FBI's April assault on David Koresh's Ranch Apocalypse, which resulted in 78 deaths (related story, Page 42). The public appreciated her departure from the usual Washington finger pointing.

Reno's reputation for probity was enhanced last week, when she faced down the White House. After the seven staffers in the White House travel office were fired or suspended, provoking a public-relations fiasco, Clinton aides did not bother to check with Reno before summoning a senior official of the FBI — an agency in her domain — to thrash out how to publicize word of a criminal probe into the affair. When Reno learned of the snub, she promptly protested to top White House lawyer Bernard Nussbaum and made sure reporters knew about it. That quickly produced a public apology from Nussbaum. It is all the more significant because it was Nussbaum who helped oversee justice policies during the awkward period when Clinton was trying to find an acceptable attorney general after Zo e Baird and Kimba Wood withdrew from consideration amid questions about their nannies.

As the first attorney general in recent times with long experience at the street level of the justice system, Reno will set in motion much more than a shift in the national debate on violence. Also high on her agenda:

Boosting the sagging image of a department accused of manipulating controversial cases like "Iraqgate" to avoid harm to Republicans. Reducing the constant turf wars among the gaggle of competing federal law-enforcement agencies.

Simplifying the complex tangle of law that Reno complains has become so indecipherable that even she has trouble comprehending basic Social Security rules. (Though Reno talks up this idea daily, it is not yet clear exactly what it would entail.)

Reno's value system is rooted in a somewhat unconventional middle-class upbringing in Miami. The daughter of two journalists who wrote about lurid crimes, Reno was exposed as a young girl to life's seedy realities. Given that background, it was hardly a sure thing that Janet would become a leading lawyer.

A chemistry major at Cornell University (admittedly "clumsy with test tubes"), she eventually switched gears to concentrate on law, heedless of her mother's disapproval at a time when law was an almost exclusively male occupation. But she was accepted at Harvard Law School in 1960, one of 16 women in a class of 500. At a recent legal conference, she teased former U.S. Solicitor General Erwin Griswold, who was dean at Harvard when she was there, for encouraging the admission of women. "He didn't know what we were going to do with our legal education," she recalled.

The path was not easy. Reno recounted to a group of women lawyers last week that a prominent Miami law firm turned her down for a summer job in 1962 "because I was a woman." She did practice law for four years before leaving to help then State Senator D'Alemberte draft reforms for Florida's judiciary.

After losing a legislative race herself in 1972, she became a junior prosecutor in Miami with an assignment to the juvenile-justice system. Most young lawyers regard dealing with young violators as a mere training ground. But Reno, who although she never married lived in a close-knit, extended family, was "the rare prosecutor who understood the linkage between a nurturing childhood and the prevention of crime," recalls William Gladstone, then a Miami juvenile-court judge. Juvenile justice eventually emerged as her prime focus of reform.

Gladstone says that after being named Miami's top prosecutor in 1978, Reno backed a risky experiment the judge had proposed: sending some of the city's most violent teenagers to a wilderness rehabilitation program, something of a precursor to the "boot camps" for delinquents now being touted by Clinton. The program had a 50 percent success rate, far higher than most other youth-aid efforts, but it could have backfired on Reno if a participant had later committed a murder. "She's a chance taker," says Gladstone, who calls her a "social worker and prosecutor who is equally dogged about both."

Yet Reno compiled an uneven record as Dade County state attorney. Her conviction rate was somewhat below average, and she was accused of deferring to federal authorities on several high-profile public-corruption cases — actions she attributes largely to Florida evidence rules that favor defendants. Most notably, her office failed to win convictions of police officers who had beaten insurance agent Arthur McDuffie. Their acquittals set off massive riots in 1980.

Reno's response demonstrated the same natural inclination to take the rap for a mistake that she employed after the Waco disaster. She fearlessly walked the streets of inner-city Miami, meeting with neighborhood leaders to convince them she had their interests at heart. Reno's accessibility and sincerity eventually won over most of her opponents.

While trying to cope with Miami's chronic crime and immigration problems, Reno became known nationally as a member of legal organizations that veer to the liberal end of the spectrum. That earned her some criticism from conservative elements of the law-enforcement community. For example, Oklahoma City prosecutor Robert Macy, president of the hard-line National District Attorneys Association, praises her integrity and attention to juvenile crime but disputes her belief that scores of nonviolent convicts should be released from prison. "They may be nonviolent but also may be repeat criminals or major drug dealers," he says. "They need to be locked up, and we need more prisons."

Still, Reno sees her pre-eminent role as reorienting national crime policy. The heart of her program is a measured carrot-and-stick approach that she believes will help young delinquents straighten out their lives, whether the problem is primarily drug abuse, truancy or learning disabilities. In Reno's view — embraced by many experts but never tried on a large scale — criminal careers can be cut short if young offenders are forced through a series of steps. The idea is to offer them less supervision in the penal system as they assume increasing responsibility over their education, work and conduct, until they are ready to leave custody. Those who fail could be imprisoned for long stints; those who succeed would save taxpayers huge sums now spent housing inmates with mandatory sentences.

Beyond coping with street crime, Reno vows a stronger attack against white-collar criminals — especially polluters — than did recent Republican attorneys general. Details have yet to be worked out, but insiders expect the Clinton Justice Department to seek stiffer penalties against major corporations and to be less likely than were the Reagan and Bush administrations to settle cases for modest civil fines. Reno also will preside over more-intensive enforcement of antitrust laws. Experts predict that the department will go more strongly after price fixing between manufacturers, distributors and retailers, and they expect the department to explore how antitrust-law changes might bring down health-care costs.

On the immigration front, Reno will try to speed deportation of the aliens who make up 26 percent of the bulging federal prison population. And she is likely to help Congress plug a loose system of granting asylum that may have permitted easy entry to the United States to a key suspect in the World Trade Center bombing.

Reno may accomplish many of her lofty goals, but only if she can truly seize the reins of a sprawling department that has proved almost impossible to manage efficiently. She says that the most difficult part of her transition has been moving from an office of 900 employees to a department of nearly 100,000 — many of whom are warring over shrinking budgets and over who gets the most important and appealing crime-fighting assignments. Reno works long hours, keeping up a hectic pace of public appearances and meetings with career justice employees as — until last Friday — the lone department official confirmed by the Senate. She usually arrives at her desk by 7 a.m. An hour later, armed with two yellow pads, she convenes a staff meeting, having listed her agenda for the day on one pad and reserving the other for jotting down how they will be handled.

Reno's overwhelming popularity could peak, particularly among Washington insiders, after she starts resolving some of the tough personnel and prosecutorial dilemmas she inherited. She is expected to advise Clinton soon whether to dismiss FBI chief William Sessions for ethical breaches. She also must decide whether prosecution is warranted on long-standing ethics charges by a firm called Inslaw against senior justice aides in the Reagan era, and on disputed financial transactions by House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, a key player in the fate of Clinton's economic programs.

Her most telling handicap may be her dependence on scores of appointees not yet even on the payroll to put her policies into practice. The White House has imposed most of Reno's top lieutenants — most notably Webster Hubbell, a former Arkansas law partner of Hillary Clinton's who has supervision over the bulk of the department's operations — although Reno insists she has been given the opportunity to veto any White House appointees.

In all, she comes across almost as a one-woman cabinet, with concerns ranging from economic development and saving the environment to the ways in which her job can set a moral tone for the country. That plays to public concerns: An astonishing 82 percent of those polled by U.S. News said they think violence on TV increases crime. And 74 percent say improving values would be an effective preventive measure. But the scope of her concerns puts Reno at odds with history. The most successful modern attorneys general, like Edward Levi under President Gerald Ford, had limited agendas rooted in the department's traditions. Reno might end up making herself a big-league political voice — a plausible outcome if she maintains the same kind of toughness and moxie she has shown so far. THE POLITICS OF CRIME Led by Janet Reno, Democrats could regain the public's long-lost confidence in them on the crime issue. Voters of all kinds are fearful — and they are interested in her and her ideas.

DO YOU APPROVE OF THE WAY JANET RENO IS DOING HER JOB AS ATTORNEY GENERAL?
67 pct. APPROVE 12 pct. DISAPPROVE

THOSE WHO SAY THAT IN THE PAST YEAR CRIME IN THE NATION HAS GOTTEN WORSE: 54 pct. STAYED THE SAME: 37 pct. GOTTEN BETTER: 8 pct. Most anxious about their own communities are blacks, Hispanics and city dwellers. Women are more worried than men. WHAT WORRIES AMERICANS Highly-publicized crime problems draw great concern. Moreover, blacks greatly fear guns in schools; senior citizens worry about burglaries; working women fear sexual assault.

	MOST	NEXT MOST	
	WORRISOME	WORRISOME	
STUDENTS BRINGING GUNS INTO SCHOOLS	29 pct.	18 pct.	
HAVING YOUR HOME BURGLARIZED		18 pct.	16 pct.
BEING THE VICTIM OF SEXUAL ASSAULT	12 pct.	12 pct.	

HAVING YOUR CAR HIJACKED

WHILE DRIVING	9 pct.	14 pct.
BEING THE VICTIM OF		
GANG VIOLENCE	9 pct.	10 pct.

BEING ROBBED ON THE STREET	7 pct.	8 pct.
BEING PERSONALLY INJURED		
IN A CRIME	7 pct.	8 pct.

WHAT AMERICANS ADVOCATE Preventive anticrime measures draw strong support. Trust in the justice system is mixed. Some tough measures are still popular, but men, especially, are leary of prison construction and gun control.

NOT

	EFFECTIVE	EFFECTIVE
HELPING TROUBLED KIDS	AT THE EARLIEST	
POSSIBLE AGE	88 pct.	11 pct.
IMPROVING MORAL		
VALUES	74 pct.	22 pct.
TOUGHER		
SENTENCES	72 pct.	26 pct.
BOOT CAMPS FOR YOUNG	FIRST-TIME	
OFFENDERS	63 pct.	33 pct.

MORE DRUG TREATMENT	57 pct.	42 pct.
REDUCING COURT		
APPEALS FOR CRIMINALS	48 pct.	47 pct.

TOUGHER GUN LAWS	46 pct.	52 pct.
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MORE PRISONS	30 pct.	69 pct.
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GRAPHIC: Drawing, Janet Reno; No caption (illustration by Michael White for USN&WR); Picture, New brand of justice. Reno urges audiences (here, high-school students from Florida) to call in suggestions and complaints. (David Burnett – Contact for USN&WR); Picture, As a Miami prosecutor. If necessary, says one mentor, "she can be mean as hell." (John Pineda – The Miami Herald); Picture, With her mother. "We have got to join together and develop a national agenda for children." (The Miami Herald); Picture, Top cop. Reorienting America's crime-fighting strategy (Chick Harrity – USN&WR); Chart, The politics of crime (U.S. News poll); Chart, What worries Americans (U.S. News poll); Chart, What Americans advocate (U.S. News poll)

Boot Camp Prisons: A Money-Saving Alternative...

At first blush they look like soldiers. The young men in shaved heads and uniforms start their days at 5:30 a.m. and end them at 9:30 p.m. In between, they lead a military life, barking out responses like "motivated!" and "fired up!" They learn to address their superiors as "sir" and "ma'am," to keep their mouths shut and to keep their ears open to orders.

But these young men are prisoners. They are experiencing "shock incarceration," popularly known as boot camps, the latest vogue in corrections for first-time lawbreakers. Nine states now have boot camp programs and about 10 more are considering them. (See chart, p. 433.)

Boot camps have been endorsed enthusiastically by politicians of varying stripes as a money-saving alternative to the nation's traditional, overcrowded prisons. Advocates also believe it will leave a memorable impression on novice criminals. National Drug Control Policy Director William J. Bennett, a vocal conservative, says he is considering recommending model state legislation that would send first-time drug offenders to boot camp prisons. According to Bennett's spokesman, the model legislation would be part of Bennett's national anti-drug strategy, scheduled to be unveiled in September. Bennett first endorsed boot camps in May, saying the

recidivism rate is "very, very low because it is so grueling and so unpleasant; people don't want to go back to it." †

Democratic Congressman Charles B. Rangel of New York is also excited about boot camps, but more for their rehabilitative than for their deterrent potential. Rangel, who went into the military as a black high school dropout, looks back fondly on his own boot camp experience. He says it taught him discipline, which he applied to his education and career later in life. He thinks the same lessons can be taught to young, non-violent lawbreakers, particularly those from low-income, single-parent families. "I'm convinced young people who have no fathers need discipline, need to know how to get up in the morning, how to respond to order," Rangel says.

However, a recent study for the Department of Justice finds that recidivism rates for boot camps are higher than for regular inmates in some states, that some boot camps are more expensive than traditional jails and that the harsh atmosphere may encourage physical abuse of the prisoners. ††

The study's author, Dale G. Parent, a senior research analyst at the Cambridge, Mass., consulting firm of Abt Associates Inc., questions whether boot camps can be successful either as deter-

rents or as rehabilitation. He argues that, contrary to popular opinion, the parallels drawn between military life and prison boot camps are not very accurate. Military boot camps generally provide six to eight weeks of intensive training, preparing a new recruit for two years or more of military service. Prison boot camps, on the other hand, are programs typically lasting about 90 days, after which the offender is turned back out on the street.

"Critics have argued that one of the things military training does is get you not to question authority," says Parent. "It prepares you for an extended period of living in an authoritarian command structure: that's not how free society works: You're back on the streets; you have choices to make." After a mere 90 days, says Parent, many of the boot camp graduates still lack some of the essential ingredients for surviving in the real world, such as literacy and job skills.

Boot camps take their deterrent character from the "shock probation" programs started in the 1960s and permitted by law in 16 states. The approach was aimed at first-time, non-violent offenders who are usually sentenced to probation instead of jail. The idea was to give youthful law-breakers a 90-day taste of prison in the hope that they would never want to repeat such an

Carney observes that the kind of serious crime with which Stavarakas was charged during his work-release escape is a risk that rehabilitation programs, as well as conventional work-release and parole programs, take on a routine basis. "The public expects too much, or maybe psychiatry promises too much," says Carney. "We never said that we're going to cure everybody that we treat; I don't think we ever said that everybody we let out would never commit another crime. They might even commit a horrible crime. It would be lovely if we could make 100 percent predictions, but we can't. This is something that the public just doesn't like to understand: that if you let people out of prison, at some point along the line you're going to guess wrong. If it's a professional guess, you're going to be right 80 to 90 percent of the time. But it's still a guess."

Prison overcrowding perpetuates revolving door

The uncertainty about the effectiveness of rehabilitation has helped generate the swing in favor of longer prison sentences for convicted offenders. Since the 1970s, many states have enacted laws mandating fixed sentences, establishing sentencing guidelines and eliminating parole for those who commit certain crimes. The Omnibus Drug Act of 1986, which stiffened penalties for drug sellers, manufacturers and users, is expected to lead to a significant increase in the federal prison population by the year 2000.⁸

The influx of inmates has already put a great strain on the nation's prison system. According to the Justice

...or Cruel and Unusual Punishment?

unpleasant experience. Studies of the programs concluded, however, that prisoners subjected to shock probation tended to return to prison at even higher rates than those receiving regular probation. The experience of prison, rather than administering the hoped-for negative shock, apparently exposed young offenders to seasoned prisoners, whose anti-social attitudes rubbed off on the new inmates.

Advocates of boot camps point to the claims of Mississippi state officials that the state's boot camp has a 15 percent recidivism rate compared with the 40 percent rate for traditional prisoners. But Parent says that comparison is inappropriate, because boot camp candidates are usually drawn from the probation population, as opposed to the prison population, which includes more hard-core, chronic criminals. Contradictory evidence comes from Oklahoma, where 50 percent of boot camp graduates returned to prison after 29 months, compared with 28 percent of inmates held in regular prisons on similar kinds of charges, according to preliminary results from the state Department of Corrections.

Many states are lured by the money-saving potential of boot camps. In New York, where boot camp participants are selected from volunteers sentenced to prison, the state saves \$1.59 million for

every 100 boot camp graduates, according to a report submitted in January to the New York state legislature. However, the savings come primarily from the fact that prisoners spent less time in boot camps, compared with traditional prison sentences. The study found that on average, boot camp prisoners had their sentences cut in half. On a daily basis, the Justice Department study finds that boot camps can be more expensive than prison, because they require a higher ratio of staff to inmates. Moreover, the growing awareness that boot camp participants may need longer-term services, such as education and drug treatment, could reduce the overall savings advantages over traditional prisons. Finally, when boot camps are compared with traditional probation, which only costs a few dollars a day, boot camp is clearly more expensive, says Parent.

The Justice Department report warns that on-the-spot punishments meted out by boot camp staff can lead to physical abuse of the prisoners and become almost addictive. In one case cited by the report, an inmate was forced to stand at attention for two hours in the summer sun shortly after getting the regulation short haircut. He suffered second-degree burns on his scalp and was hospitalized for several days. In other instances, inmates were beaten by

staff members, and in two cases, inmates with undetected medical problems died during initial physical drills, according to Parent.

The mixed reports on boot camps have led Bennett to take a closer look at them, says his spokesman, Lawrence D. Cirignano, who concedes that "the jury is still out on how good" they are from the standpoint of recidivism. Nevertheless, Bennett continues to speak favorably of boot camps in his public addresses. "If nothing else," Cirignano says, "just removing more people from the street and removing their liberty seems to be working."

But Jerome Miller, president of the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives, a prison-reform advocacy group in Alexandria, Va., maintains that "There's no evidence boot camps work. In fact, there's considerable evidence it makes matters worse. Yet I predict we'll have boot camps all over the nation within a year, because it rings so strongly with the public. It sounds so punitive. There's something reassuring about watching some kid with a shaved head yell, 'Yes, sir!' and 'No, sir!' but it has virtually no meaning."

† Quoted by Dana Priest in *The Washington Post*, June 25, 1989.

†† Dale G. Parent, *Shock Incarceration: An Overview of Existing Programs*, Department of Justice, June 1989.

Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics, the number of prisoners in federal and state prisons nearly doubled from 1980 to 1988, rising from 330,000 to 627,000.* The influx has had unexpected results — to accommodate incoming prisoners, corrections officials have been forced to release other prisoners because of severe overcrowding.

The pressure to grant early releases is particularly strong in the 37 states where at least one institution is under court order to reduce prison crowding. One such state is Florida, where a federal court order prohibits the prisons from exceeding 99 percent of the state system's capacity. The order has forced the state to take drastic measures to shorten prisoners' sentences. According to *The New York Times*, every prisoner in Florida, except those serving mandatory

sentences for firearms offenses or those on death row, has one-third of his or her sentence lopped off automatically on the day the sentence begins.¹⁰

A more common way states are dealing with the crowding problem is to have prisoners serve their time in the community under probation, parole or a variety of other supervised programs, such as work release or electronic monitoring at home.* (See p. 438.) As a result, the number of people on probation or parole has actually increased faster than the prison population since 1980. (See chart, p. 438.)

In fact, very few offenders spend their entire sentence behind bars. A 1987 study by the Bureau of

*For more information, see "Prison Crowding," *F.R.R.*, 1987 Vol. II, pp. 393-408.

Dune

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HEADLINE: In Training for a Better Life; Maryland Boot Camp Attempts to Put Parolees on the Right Track

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Jon Jeter, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY: At first, Raheem Johnson hated the daily jogs. Running two laps around the quarter-mile track was the pits, made his "body ache all over," he recalled yesterday. Johnson was no runner. He was a convicted drug dealer who made "crazy" cash before he was caught.

That's what landed Johnson in a military-style boot camp for Maryland parolees, and that's what produced the daily torturous runs under the eye of an unforgiving drill instructor, who barked at him to keep going, keep plugging away.

"And pretty soon, I could do it," Johnson, 21, told more than 50 people gathered yesterday in a storefront church in Capitol Heights.

"I never gave up, and one day I made the run, and I just kept right on running," Johnson told the crowd, which included his 2-year-old daughter, Jasmine, and Gov. William Donald Schaefer. "And now everything I do, I follow through, just like the running."

The two-year-old camp in Jessup is an alternative to prison for first-time offenders younger than 32 who have committed nonviolent crimes. Usually, the offenders serve part of their sentences in state prison and part in the boot camp.

Yesterday marked the first anniversary of the creation of support programs for parolees who have completed -- or survived -- the strenuous six-month camp.

Of the 722 people who have completed the program, 237 -- about 33 percent -- have either had parole revoked or had warrants issued for their arrests, according to the Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services.

State officials say it is still too early to judge the camp's recidivism rate. The recidivism rate for all inmates paroled from Maryland prisons is about 47 percent after three years, said Leonard Sipes, spokesman for the department.

Yesterday, Johnson and more than a dozen other camp parolees told their success stories to an audience consisting largely of their families, counselors, state corrections administrators and elected officials.

The weekly support groups are designed to nurture the seeds of self-esteem, discipline and unity first planted by the camps. One by one, the young parolees rose from their chairs and repeated what has become at once their status report and mantra: "I'm trying to stay positive."

Johnson, flanked by his girlfriend and daughter, said that he loved his job as a furnace and air-conditioning repairman, and that he hoped to own his own repair business within five years.

Two years ago, he earned his high school diploma while enrolled in the boot camp, and he used that as a steppingstone to earning a degree in heating and air-conditioning repair from Lincoln Technical Institute in Landover. His job pays about \$ 8.50 an hour, about one-tenth of what he said he was making when he began peddling drugs as a 16-year-old in the Bronx.

But he said he's much happier now: "I'm earning this."

David Brooks, 25, of Capitol Heights, said that he brings home about \$ 265 a week from his job as a cook at a restaurant in the District, a far cry from the \$ 10,000 he said he took home in a good week when he was selling drugs. But he was arrested three times and "got tired of being in jail," he told the group. "I've got a family now, and sometimes you've got to grow up," Brooks said.

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HEADLINE: Prison Program Works to Stengthen Mother-Daughter Bond

HIGHLIGHT:

A unique Maryland Girl Scout program brings together incarcerated mothers and their daughters. The program has been praised and given awards for its innovative approach to breaking the cycle of crime.

BODY:

BRIAN ANDREWS, Anchor: All Girl Scouts in the U.S. follow the same scout motto. One troop in the state of Maryland is experiencing something a little different. When they meet, they go behind bars. As Kathleen Koch tells us, it's part of a unique program for girls and their inmate mothers.

KATHLEEN KOCH, Correspondent: Twice a month, these Girl Scouts skip, chattering, past guard towers, fences, and razor wire. Their mothers are prisoners here at the Maryland Correctional Institution for Women, jailed for crimes from larceny to murder. For almost a year now, a National Institute of Justice pilot program has given them a chance to have their two-hour meetings here. They do the things mothers and daughters do, then recite the Girl Scout pledge, and sing a song celebrating the friendships these women and girls once had a difficult time making. The program also gives the mothers counseling to make them better parents.

1st INMATE: It's hard, because we're here, and she wants to be there for him.

1st COUNSELOR: Physically, she can't be with him, but I think emotionally she can be a part of the situation.

Judge CAROL SMITH, Baltimore Circuit Court: It's the first time anybody's talked about parenting skills, self-esteem, how do you develop those for yourself, how do develop self-esteem in your child, how do you encourage that?

KOCH: The former warden says such character-building can lessen the high risk that these girls may follow in their mothers' footsteps.

MELANIE PEREIRA, Former Warden: I have seen three generations at one time within this facility and also mothers and daughters and sisters and aunts and nieces so that it is becoming a cycle within families and what we want to do is break that cycle.

KOCH: The mothers and daughters say it's working.

DARLENE LAWSON, Inmate: Girl Scouts, it teaches them that, you know, you don't want to be here. It's not a good place.

DARLENE'S DAUGHTER: I wouldn't want to come in here. You know, I just- you know, do all the right things so that I wouldn't be put in jail or nothin'.

KOCH: Scout officials say the children's' fears their mothers were in chains, were being abused have been eased.

LISA CID, Girl Scout Director: Now they go down the hall, they pass the classrooms, they see people in blue jeans, so a lot of the anxiety that they have has been lessened.

KOCH: At least 15 other states have inquired about duplicating this program and it was just honored as 'the most unique and innovative project' by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges. If it catches on, perhaps more inmate mothers and their daughters will find a new model to pattern their lives after.

SHERRY IMES, Inmates: Teachin' us about ourselves and what to teach our children. I guess if we help one of 'em, that helps the world, right?

KOCH: Kathleen Koch for CNN, Jessup, Maryland.

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Do Boot Camps Work?

CONGRESS IS enthusiastic about the concept of boot camps for first offenders. The idea is to spare these young convicts the penalty of prison terms in exchange for a kind of shock incarceration in a military-style camp. Sentences are usually for a period of three to six months, during which the offender is subjected to the kind of treatment a new Marine recruit might endure at Parris Island. At the end of that time, he is supposed to emerge disciplined, chastened, determined to avoid prison in the future and equipped with the work ethic and self-assurance of a military man. Because it's less expensive to construct and operate a boot camp than a prison, the idea is even more attractive to legislators. Thus, the differing crime bills passed by each house at the end of the session would provide generous funding—the final figure could be as high as \$3 billion over five years—for this kind of correctional institution.

There is one problem, however, and it was detailed in a recent New York Times special report on the subject: Correctional experts who have studied boot camps in the federal system and the 30 states and 10 localities where they have been used during the past 10 years provide little support for this enthusiasm. On average, about half the participants flunk out of the programs and wind up in prison. A disappointing number become recidivists, so many that there is little difference between the percentage of boot campers who commit new offenses after release and the percentage of prison inmates who do the

same. Even that difference diminishes with time. In addition, it often costs more per day to put an inmate through the boot camp experience, followed by intensive probation, than it would to send him to prison. The General Accounting Office, which completed a study on camps last April, concluded that cost saving and prison overcrowding are reduced when this alternative is used simply because inmates are incarcerated for a shorter period of time. The same goals could be achieved by reducing prison sentences overall.

It's reasonable to ask whether anyone in a position of responsibility for crime legislation on Capitol Hill considered these facts before authorizing billions for new camps. The GAO report was sent to Rep. William Hughes (D-N.J.), who had requested the study, and to the Justice Department, the Bureau of Prisons and the Office of Management and Budget. But it seems to have had no impact. Surely, before the crime bill goes to conference, it and other recent studies on this subject should have an airing. We strongly support alternative sentences, especially for nonviolent first offenders, and like others we hope that innovative concepts like boot camps will prove worthwhile. But if experience indicates that, in practice, this idea is not all it's cracked up to be, it would be far better to have the facts and make an informed judgment before spending billions in a risky venture.