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A Descriptive Study of Offenders Sentenced to Special Alternative Incarceration from 1988-1990 in Kalamazoo County

Sherri DeBoef Chandler

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A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF OFFENDERS SENTENCED TO
SPECIAL ALTERNATIVE INCARCERATION FROM
1988 - 1990 IN KALAMAZOO COUNTY

by

Sherri DeBoef Chandler

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Department of Sociology

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
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I dedicate this thesis to my family, Brian, Whitman, Mariel, and Anne who forfeited many hours with me, time that can never be recaptured, so that I could complete this thesis.

Sherri DeBoef Chandler

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF OFFENDERS SENTENCED TO
SPECIAL ALTERNATIVE INCARCERATION FROM
1988 - 1990 IN KALAMAZOO COUNTY

Sherri DeBoef Chandler, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1994

This is a descriptive study of the first two-year cohort of offenders sentenced in Kalamazoo County to Special Alternative Incarceration (SAI). Data were compiled from the Kalamazoo County Probation Department records which indicated 84 young men were sentenced to SAI from its inception in 1988 to 1990. Data were gathered on these offenders spanning 1988 to 1992. Successful graduation from SAI, completion of the probationary period, and recidivism were compared to offense, race, SES, education, employment, and other variables. The data of this group were also compared to national data of those sentenced to Special Alternative Incarceration programs. This group was also compared to the population of Kalamazoo County.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Special Alternative Incarceration (SAI), as currently operated, is one of corrections' latest attempts at rehabilitation. At this time, there are no completed studies which report the long range effects of the program upon those sentenced to SAI. Such research is necessary to learn if SAI is effective in its goal of rehabilitation, and to learn if there are identifying characteristics that could be utilized to target with which offenders, if any, this program is most and least effective. The analysis of rehabilitation and recidivism rates is crucial to identify and track high risk offenders, to assist in corrections' program planning, and to inform decisions regarding the allocation of resources.

Research Selection

This research project was selected because of its timeliness. Special Alternative to Incarceration (SAI) is a correctional sanction that is increasingly being implemented across the United States. Therefore, it is imperative that research be completed: (a) to determine whether SAI is an alternative to incarceration as intended; (b) to discover the recidivism of SAI program graduates; (c) to identify factors which correlate with success or failure in terms of

completion of the SAI program and community supervision; and (d) to ensure that scarce tax dollars will be allocated to the most efficient and effective correctional programs.

Research Intent

This is a descriptive analysis of a population consisting of the first two-year cohort of individuals sentenced to SAI in Kalamazoo County. Variables include the socialization history, demographics, prior convictions, and the correctional status of the members of this group over a three year period. The intent of this research is to profile the offenders sentenced to SAI in Kalamazoo County between 1988 and 1990, to determine chronicity, net widening, successful graduation from SAI and successful completion of probation or recidivism after graduation of SAI.

Design and Intent of Michigan's Special Alternative to Incarceration (SAI)

The Michigan Department of Corrections, with the state legislature, developed SAI to relieve overcrowding in the state's prisons and to offer an intermediate sanction, that is a sanction between prison and probation. SAI, modeled after military basic training, consists of strict discipline, hard labor, and marching, with mandatory education, counseling, and substance abuse programs. SAI is also modeled after prison work camps operated in Florida, Oklahoma, New York, and 20 other states which have claimed success in reducing recidivism (American Correctional Association, 1990; Osler, 1991).

Michigan's SAI began in March 1988 as a 90 day shock incarceration alternative to a prison sentence, and was expanded to a 120 day program in 1989. Camp Sauble, Michigan's first SAI program is located in northwestern lower Michigan, just east of Freesoil Township.

According to Maynard (1991), "there has been much debate on the value of using such programs in corrections, where young, non-violent offenders--often seen as impressionable and salvageable--have become a target population" (p. 6). The debate notwithstanding, the philosophy of SAI is to help the individual develop self-esteem, responsibility, and a positive work ethic. It is based upon the theory that imposing discipline from the outside has the potential to eventually lead individuals to impose discipline on themselves (Caldas, 1990).

Those sentenced to SAI are up at 5:00 a.m., and ready for inspection. After breakfast, inmates begin logging work in the woods. Wood is Camp Sauble's main source of energy, and also provides wood for other Michigan prison facilities. After the day's work detail, there is an hour of physical training and drill, an hour for the evening meal, and an hour of television between 6:00 p.m. and 7:00 p.m. (limited to public broadcasting and news). The three hours prior to lights out, consist of GED preparation, training in job seeking/job keeping skills, problem solving, substance abuse awareness and general counseling (Coyle, 1990).

SAI is intended for those offenders who would have gone to prison if this sentencing option were not available. Thus, participation in SAI is a special condition of probation. According to Parent (1988),

the six criteria for SAI are:

1. Male felony offender age 18 and above, who has not reached his 25th birthday when sentenced.
2. The offender must be physically and mentally able to participate in hard labor and physical training.
3. He must not have served a prior prison sentence.
4. The current offense may not be a sex offense or arson, nor may the offender have a record of sex offenses or arson.
5. No pending felony charges.
6. The minimum Michigan felony sentencing guideline score must be 12 months or greater. (p. 3)

Prison sentencing guidelines are set by each state legislature (Garroppolo, 1991). For example, a sentencing guideline score could be 0 to 12 months, 3 to 6 months, or 24 to 36 months depending upon the crime of conviction and prior record. These numbers are called guidelines because any number of months between the lowest number (minimum) and highest number (maximum) could be served. The minimum guideline refers to the least amount of time an offender can be incarcerated on each sentence.

When an offender is identified as eligible for SAI the probation officer notifies a central intake officer in the department of corrections. Program participants are randomly selected on a weekly basis, based upon program vacancies. Those offenders not selected will be sentenced according to existing options. This procedure was devised as the most fair way to determine admissions. Other states have experimented with a waiting list and have found it to be very cumbersome and excessively lengthy (Parent, 1988). In the event that

an offender meets the guidelines for SAI and no beds are available, the offender will be sentenced to prison, electronic monitoring, or another custody arrangement (Dierna, 1989).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Criminal Development

The following review of literature describes human development as determined by social experience. The literature which relates theory and research across several social science disciplines examines the development of criminal behavior. Knowledge of this literature is necessary to understand the basis of correctional sanctions such as Special Alternative Incarceration.

Criminal behavior is developmental in nature and follows a predictable pattern. This can be likened to any other aspect of human development which is continuous and subtly changes over time. Nevertheless, human behavior, or more specifically criminal behavior, is not simply a matter of discrete ages and stages with growth in one and only one direction. However this development can be categorized in stages for the sake of simplification and understanding (Schaie, 1982).

Etiologically, the basic precepts of the interaction of nature and nurture theories revolve around the multi-dimensionality of criminal behavior identifying offenders as differing from nonoffenders. The differences (Ammerman, 1990) are a complex weave of nature, which is shaped genetically, and nurture, which consists of prenatal experience, infancy and childhood. Nature and nurture will be discussed

as the interacting factors of criminal development. These elements may be exacerbated or enhanced by cultural/structural experience such as economic and demographic features (Kagen, 1984). These dimensions will be briefly reviewed in relationship to biosocial and psychosocial dimensions. Within this theoretical framework, neurology is a basis of emotional and cognitive development which the following research will relate as the major difference between criminal and noncriminal behavior. Criminal behavior, like all human behavior, appears to result from a complex interaction of genetic and environmental factors (Bandura, 1973; LeBlanc & Frechette, 1989; Mark, 1970).

Biosocial Theories

In part, biosocial refers to the linkages between neurology, socialization and cognition. Human babies don't just passively absorb the social environment; they come ready and able to tackle their most important task: Interaction in a social world. Infants are social, and what attracts them to the inanimate environment mimics the social environment. From birth, infants communicate their needs and respond to people around them; influence and are influenced by others (Becker, 1964).

Evidence of inborn constitutional differences comes from twin concordance studies as well as observational research of infants from birth through early adulthood. Babies can be classified as "easy children" (adaptable, cheerful, regular in body functions and sleep habits), "difficult children" (withdrawn, intense, irregular in habits

and given to crying), and "slow to warm up children" relatively inactive, slow to adapt, but not especially prone to tantrums (Thomas & Chess, 1987, p. 32). These qualities appear to be independent of parent handling and tend to persist. Easy children adapt to almost any child-rearing style while difficult children require exceptional patience and skill. About 70% of difficult babies and 18% of easy babies within these studies (Thomas & Chess, 1987) "develop behavioral problems requiring interventions" (p. 108). Newborns are a combination of development and potential development. They emerge from the womb with senses sufficiently developed to take in information from their new world. But, unlike many other species with behaviors preset by instinct, we are born cognitively flexible. Babies adapt to the environment with which they are confronted (Lewis, 1988).

According to Walsh (1991),

Our brain is able to override genetic instructions when necessary, because of the sheer number of bits of information contained in the brain exceeds the information contained in the genes. It is estimated that we have approximately 100,000 genes governing the basic functions of our bodies. Yet, a human requires more bits than are genetically endowed. These bits emerge with tactile stimulation of an infant until they number approximately 1000 trillion bits of information. We call these bits neurons and they must be flexible, capable of interaction with many other bits, as well as numerous. Neurons are designed for information gathering, processing, and responding, and they grow and intertwine in infancy. (p. 87)

At birth, neurons are unorganized and undifferentiated. However, the structure of the brain will follow the genetic blueprint, and like everything that grows organically, the environment influences the final form (Kandel, 1989). If there has been trauma such as congenital retardation, fetal alcohol syndrome, deficient

maternal nutrition, exposure to teratogens such as radiation, inadequate medical treatment, social deprivation, abandonment, serious illness or injury, social development can be delayed or not happen at all (Elliott, 1989; Merrill, 1947). With inadequate human contact, infants fail to thrive, fail to develop, and may die (Spitz, 1965).

Walsh (1991), says that "humans develop with human touch and care and love because neurons will only connect in creation of a human capable of loving, giving, and regeneration under these conditions" (p. 41). Our social fabric needs to allow and promote the conditions that permit this growth. The intimacy of biological/social interaction is a central feature of all human development (Ayers, 1991).

A study conducted with 600 children from low-income families in Hawaii for over two decades, revealed that many of the children experienced stressful events such as birth defects, parental discord, absent or unemployed fathers. The majority of children who by age of two had experienced four or more of these stressors developed learning and behavior problems including delinquency by the age of 18 (Werner & Smith, 1982).

Individuals progress through identifiable stages from conception to death; and genetic programming plays a role in individual development and behavior. Each coupling of sperm and ovum can form over 64 trillion genetically different offspring. This is one reason for differences between siblings (Klug & Cummings, 1983). However, the existence of biological predispositions means that circumstances that

cause one person to develop criminal behavior patterns may not do so in another person; that social forces cannot deter criminal behavior in 100% of a population, and that the distributions of crime within and across societies may, to some extent, reflect underlying distributions of constitutional factors (Berger & Gulevich, 1981).

The larger society also affects individuals through social policies impacting upon childrearing practices which shape neurological development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). This in turn impacts upon the greater social structure as these individuals attain their age of majority. For example, (Yeudall, 1979) applying neurology research with criminology research, "the findings of research over a six year period, involving over 500 criminals referred for assessment, consistently indicated a high incidence of abnormal neuropsychological profiles in the persistent criminal offender" (p. 20).

Neurology is the messenger network of the brain within three systems, each having several parts and functions. The brain stem is sometimes described as the survival system: feeding, fighting, fleeing, and reproduction. Surrounding this area is the midbrain or limbic system. The limbic system, concerned with emotions, is the mediator between the brainstem and the neocortex which surrounds the midbrain. If an infant gets little nurturing then the septum pellucidum, the area within the limbic system which specializes in loving, protective, nurturing emotions, fails to develop in connection with the other systems. In such cases the amygdala (also within the limbic system, and the seat of aggression) dominates (Maclean, 1984).

The neuronal integration within the neocortex is also stimulated with consistently gentle handling of the infant. The neocortex, which is sometimes described as robot-like, is the surrounding area responsible for abstract reasoning, internalized moral prescriptions and social learning. It informs the limbic system and brain stem (Freedman, 1979). There is an intimate connection between tactile sensory perceptions and brain development (Krantz, 1993), "due in part to the shared development of the skin and the central nervous system from the third layer of the zygote during prenatal development" (p. 71). (See Figure 1.)

Bio-social Cognition

Deficits in left hemispheric development (as evidenced by performance ability greater than verbal ability on the Weschler Adult Intelligence tests) correlate very highly with having a criminal record (Manne, Kandel, & Rosenthal, 1962). There is also a fair amount of evidence that early experiences of being gently handled and stroked influences hemispheric integration, at least in animals (Harlow, 1970). Parental rejection means less interaction and communication between parents and child, leading to deficits in left-hemisphere development, which are reflected in the child's low verbal abilities (Biller, 1968). Conversely, efforts to avoid punishment may favor the development of the visual-spatial skills of the right hemisphere.

Research in child development indicates that gentle verbal and tactile stimulation of infants increases verbal skills while social

A) Thinking System Brain

B) Feeling System Brain

C) Survival System Brain

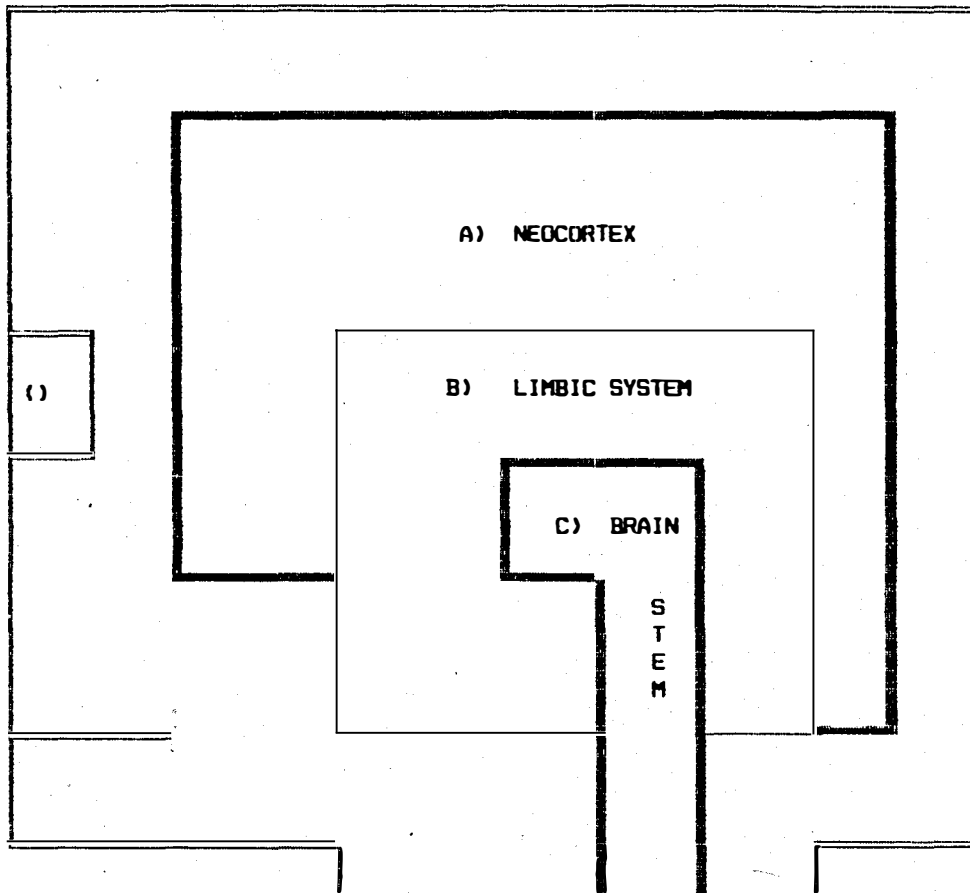


Figure 1. The Triune Brain.

Source: Maclean, 1967, p. 337.

deprivation and harshness decreases verbal skills (Kaufman, 1976). An implication of this is that individuals deficient in their ability to talk themselves out of getting into trouble, but who have exaggerated visual-spatial skills, are likely to act out frustration aggressively and impulsively (Flor-Henry, 1978).

Research conducted with juvenile delinquents lends support to the notion that poor verbal ability is related to a tendency to react aggressively to frustration. The lower the delinquents' verbal IQ, the more frequently and seriously they were involved in violent crimes, e.g., murder, rape, assault, (Lessing, Nelson, & Zagorin, 1970). Conversely, the higher the verbal IQ of juveniles already involved with crimes, the greater the frequency and seriousness of property crimes--crimes that take a certain amount of preplanning (Wilson, 1985). Wilson states that

if verbal deficit were just an artifact of low IQ or SES among offenders, then it should show up disproportionately in low IQ or SES offenders. However, the relative verbal deficit disproportionately characterizes inmates with higher IQ's and SES. (p. 162)

More important than IQ level is the discrepancy between verbal and performance IQ. Over 30 years ago, David Wechsler, the originator of the Wechsler IQ scales, noted that a significant discrepancy (12 points or more), between the two IQ subscales is the most outstanding feature of the psychopath's test profile, as well as being overrepresented among criminals and delinquents (Wechsler, 1958). Psychopath or sociopath is the label given to the individual who thinks only of his/her own welfare to the detriment of others.

Individuals with the opposite profile, i.e., verbal IQ significantly greater than performance IQ, are under-represented in criminal populations (Wechsler, 1958). Most of those who commit crimes are psychopaths to some degree. However, all psychopaths do not commit crimes. Some psychopaths cause significant levels of stress to their families, neighbors, co-workers or anyone they are in contact with for any length of time. They do this by not following through on commitments, responsibilities, and without reasonable explanations. A psychopath may make convincing promises, and only a short time later have no 'recollection' or commitment to following through (Shulman, 1951; Robbins, 1990).

Psychopaths with low verbal IQs can be extremely dangerous. Poor impulse control is mostly a function of low verbal IQ (Broman, Nichols, & Kennedy, 1975). This lack of impulse control in low-IQ psychopaths constitutes a mental deficit that compromises their ability to achieve goals without resorting to violence. Moreover, according to criminologist Anthony Walsh, no variable in the majority of studies to date predicts criminality, psychopathy, or low verbal IQ more strongly than social deprivation. Research points to the notion that the more deprived of nurturance a juvenile is found to be, the lower is his verbal IQ, and the more likely he is to be psychopathic, and to have a record that includes arrests for serious offenses (Walsh, 1991).

When children first begin to play with other children they are rarely deliberately aggressive. As children grow older, however, the

frequency of deliberate physical aggression increases, normally reaching a peak sometime during the preschool years, and then declines (Finklehor & Baron, 1990; Parke & Slaby, 1966). Although a certain amount of aggression is normal, adults must help children modify their aggressive impulses, in part because a continued pattern of aggressive behavior can lead to negative social experiences, school failure, and delinquency. The term delinquent will be used to denote a person under age 18 who engages in criminal behavior. Some delinquents will continue to perform criminal acts, while the majority will not. Those who do not break the law after age 18 are said to have matured out. (Mature out refers to the evidence that many individuals will cease to break the law as they grow older.)

An estimated 5% to 10% of all school-age children are unpopular and friendless (Finklehor & Baron, 1990). These children fall into one of two categories: Aggressive (starts fights) or withdrawn (too shy). They tend to be lonely and low in self-esteem. In addition, their problems may become increasingly serious as they grow older. Studies have shown that children who are rejected or isolated by their peers tend to be immature in their social cognition (Gottlieb, 1975).

Delinquents do worse in school than nondelinquents by any measure-academic, attitudinal, or motivational. Non-delinquents may dislike school due to feelings of inadequacy as students while delinquents claim boredom and resentment with school routines (Glueck & Glueck, 1968).

In Hirschi's study of junior and senior high school students, self-report surveys were analyzed along with police and school records, intelligence test scores, and data on family status. Hirschi reported that the tendency to break the law was associated with a set of attitudes that could be characterized as unconventional, anti-social, irresponsible, and present-oriented. These findings support the notion that "present-orientation is more a matter of intelligence than of social class" (Hirschi, 1981, p. 111). Low intelligence is also related to family and cultural settings that fail to teach internal prohibitions against criminal behavior. Hirschi also states that, "the academic penalties of low intelligence provide an emotional impetus to asocial behavior" (p. 111).

Age, sex, physique, a history of academic or socioeconomic failure, impulsiveness, and cruelty are all among the factors that distinguish offenders from nonoffenders. The early onset of misconduct is one of the best predictors of a child's becoming a chronic and persistent delinquent (Worland, Weeks, & Janes, 1987). Personality, intelligence, and psychopathologies appear to involve genetic influence (Cattell, 1982; Eaves & Young, 1981; Eysenck, 1989; Satterfield, 1978).

According to Cleckly (1964),

the psychopath continues to be treated as a petty criminal at one moment, as a mentally ill person the next, and again as a well and normal human being--all without the slightest change in his condition having occurred. I do not have any dogmatic advice as to a final or even a satisfactory way of successfully rehabilitating these sociopaths, but believe that it is important for some consistent attitude to be reached. The psychopathologic process is a process affecting basic personal

reactions; but here it has not altogether dominated. The outer layers of socially acceptable functioning extend little deeper into affect than any other exercise empty of all but formality. (p. 195)

Psychopaths tend to be poorly organized, undirected toward any mature goal, and socially regressive or self-destructive (Cleckley, 1964). The deviation or arrest of normal emotional functioning and development does not always affect the cognitive processes. It appears to be a matter of degrees of difference from normalcy, so that the smart psychopath takes pride in getting over on others or getting away with something.

Psychosocial Theories

Psychosocial refers to emotional, cognitive, and moral development as dependent upon social systems (Geismar & Wood, 1986). Psychosocial theories focus on the individual's relationship to the social and cultural environment, and the impact of the environment on human development (Howing, 1990). According to Erikson, babies learn either to trust or to mistrust that others will care for their basic needs, including nourishment, sucking, warmth, cleanliness, and physical contact. The significance of the bond between infant and mother was studied by John Bolby, who for over three decades presented evidence that maternal deprivation, i.e., the absence of a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship between infant and mother, causes later physiological and behavioral problems, including depression and delinquency. Attachment is defined as an enduring affectional bond that an infant forms with a caregiver. This bond evolves from the

undifferentiated responsiveness of the newborn through specific attachment to an identifiable person, and on to the development in the child of a sympathetic understanding of the caregiver's point of view. Evidence suggests that the critical period of attachment to an identifiable person is fostered by responding promptly to the baby's cries, initiating interaction with the infant, soothing, holding, and talking to the child (Bowlby, 1969; Goldfarb, 1955; Yarrow, 1965).

Ainsworth, Blehar, Walters and Wall (1978), state that

children who fail to form an affectional bond or whose bond is disrupted by discord or separation may lead to affectionless psychopathy characterized by lack of guilt, an inability to keep rules and an inability to form lasting relationships. (p. 302)

By age three, children learn either to be self-sufficient in many activities, or to doubt their own abilities. By age five, emotionally healthy children want to undertake many activities, sometimes overstepping the limits set by parents, and feel a sense of remorse if they are sufficiently attached. School-age children learn to be competent and productive or feel inferior and unable to do anything well (Anthony, Koupernik, & Chiland, 1978). Adolescents try to establish sexual, ethnic, and career identities or are confused about what future roles to play. Young adults seek companionship and love or become isolated from others. Although Erikson describes two extreme resolutions to each crisis, he recognizes that there is a wide range of solutions between these extremes, and that most people probably arrive at some middle course (Erikson, 1968). Developmental advances may occur in some areas prior to others, or an advance in a

given area may be evident on one occasion and not on another. However, development is generally sequential in nature, which implies that an interruption or a delay in development impacts upon all future development (Berger & Gulevich, 1991; Cohen, Klegel, & Land, 1981; Elkind, 1981). (See Figure 2.)

Athens (1989) has posited a theory that emphasizes and integrates social, environmental, biological and physical variables which describes developmental stages of criminals. Athens obtained data from in-depth interviews with offenders on their distinctive experiences and claims to describe the stages of increasingly serious criminal behavior caused by neglect, abuse and the social learning of anti-social thinking and behavior. The completion of each stage is contingent upon undergoing all of the experiences that comprise that stage. The completion of the process as a whole is contingent on undergoing all of the stages. Thus, if there is to be any intervention, it is preferable for it to occur at the earliest stage (Athens, 1989). (See Figure 3.)

Psychosocial Cognition

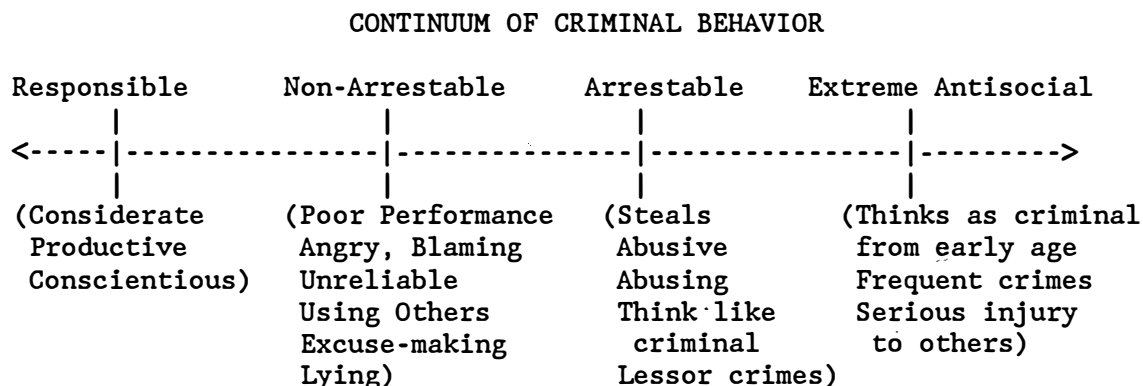
According to the cognitive theorist, Piaget (1972), infants think exclusively through their senses and motor abilities. Preschool children begin to think symbolically as reflected in their ability to use language and to pretend. However, they cannot think logically in a consistent way. This cognitive immaturity makes young children naturally self-centered. Piaget concludes that this egocentrism prevents children from taking another's point of view before the age of

DEVELOPMENTAL THEORIES

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES	PSYCHOSOCIAL (ERIKSON)	COGNITIVE (PIAGET)	MORAL (KOHLBERG)
INFANCY (Birth - 1)	Trust v. Mistrust	Sensori-Motor	Preconventional
TODDLER (1 - 3)	Autonomy v. Shame & Doubt	Preoperational (Symbolic & Egocentric Thinking)	Stage 1: Might makes right
PRESCHOOL (3 - 6)	Initiative v. Guilt	Preoperational continues...	Stage 1: continues...
SCHOOL AGE (6 - 12)	Industry v. Inferiority	Concrete Operational (Logical Principles)	Stage 2: Look out for number one
ADOLESCENCE (13 - 19)	Identity v. Role Confusion	Formal Operational (Abstract & Hypothetical Concepts)	Conventional Stage 3: Good girl Nice boy
YOUNG ADULthood (20 - 35)	Intimacy v. Isolation	Formal Operational continues...	Stage 4: Law & Order
MID. ADULthood (35 - 65)	Generativity v. Stagnation	Post-Formal Operational (Dialectical Thought)	Stage 5: Social Contracts
LATE ADULthood (65 +)	Integrity v. Dispair	If reached, Post-Formal Operational continues...	Stage 6: Universal Ethical Principles

Figure 2. Developmental Theories.

Source: Krantz, 1993, pp. 22, 32, 404.



SOCIAL CAUSES OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR

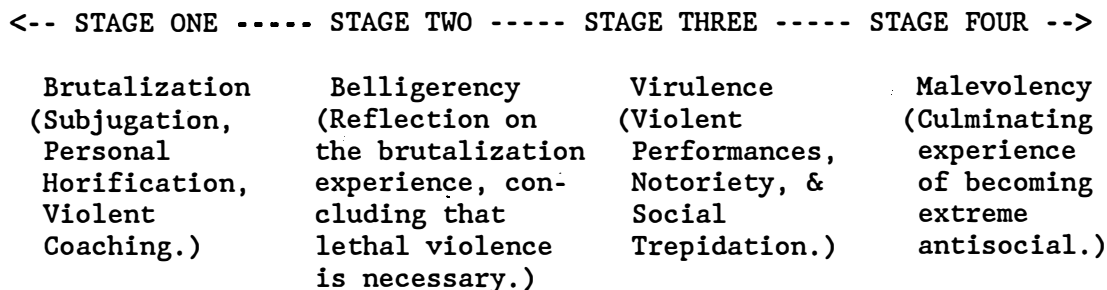


Figure 3. Continuum and Causes of Criminal Behavior.

Source: Athens, 1989, p. 102.

seven. School-age children become accomplished at thinking, communicating, and remembering because their cognitive processes become less egocentric and more logical. Piaget calls this the attainment of concrete operational thought which is carried out by thinking action through instead of performing the action. School age children can usually understand logical principles, as long as the principles can be applied to concrete, or specific, examples. True concrete operational thinking is evidenced by the increasing ability to decenter, or to move away from a simple focus on one aspect of a problem. By

age 15, adolescents have neither quite abandoned concrete operational thought nor fully attained formal operational thought. Formal operational thought is signalled by the capacity for abstract thinking. By the end of adolescence, many young people can understand and create general principles or formal rules to explain many aspects of human experience. Piaget (1972) states that

with the attainment of formal operational thought, the developing person becomes able to think in an adult way; to be logical, to think in terms of possibilities, to reason scientifically and abstractly. He or she may also become capable of understanding and applying general laws and principles, including moral reasoning. (p. 5)

While many offenders may be chronologically 15 and above, few of them have the emotional, cognitive, or moral maturity of a developmentally healthy adolescent. In terms of cognitive, emotional, and moral development, delinquents/criminals are stunted or stuck (Yochelson, 1976).

Compared with adolescent thinking, adult thinking is broader, less self-centered, and more practical. Many researchers feel that the cognitive patterns that emerge during adulthood are propelled by the commitments and responsibilities the individual assumes as part of adult life. According to Cooke and Goldstein (1989),

these commitments involving career, family, and community channel cognitive development in specific directions, giving it sharper focus. They also deepen one's ties to others, requiring the individual to more seriously take into account other's points of view and to find and negotiate solutions to complex human problems. (p. 290)

The highest incidence of criminal convictions occurs among youths in their late teens, with the frequency of convictions tapering off

fairly sharply in the early twenties. Self-report and victimization studies of unrecorded crime show a similar trend: Males between 18 and 20 have the highest rates of offending, and those 12 to 17 have the second highest (Hindelang & McDermott, 1981). These studies also indicate that those individuals whose delinquent behaviors have escaped the notice of the police tend to give up delinquent patterns of conduct as they reach adulthood. Because criminal behavior is inconsistent with commitments to employment and family goals, most youth will mature out, with most of their delinquencies having been minor and transient in nature. The exception to this general rule is that of chronic offenders with their disposition to dishonesty or violence which has roots in developmental deficits and will persist unless modified or restrained by treatment or incapacitation (Gil, 1979).

Following Piaget, Kohlberg studied moral reasoning (a form of cognition) by posing ethical dilemmas to children, adolescents, and adults. From their responses, Kohlberg linked egocentrism to deficient moral reasoning. Generally, egocentrism peaks at about age 13, and often takes several years to decline. However, delinquent boys tend to remain more egocentric than do nondelinquents of either sex. This egocentrism increases from early to late adolescence in delinquents, rather than decreases (Anolik, 1983).

Delinquents are assertive, unafraid, aggressive, unconventional, extroverted, and poorly socialized, while nondelinquents are self-controlled, concerned about relations with others, willing to be

guided by social standards and rich in internal feelings like insecurity, helplessness, love (or its lack), and anxiety (Glueck & Glueck, 1968).

Egocentrism is also involved with the concept of invincibility. Adolescent thought processes combine the ability to imagine many logical possibilities and to deny reality when it interferes with hopes and fantasies. A high degree of egocentrism and belief in one's invulnerability are an indication that an adolescent has not yet mastered formal operational thought. As young people become better able to reason logically, they gradually become more realistic (Flavell, 1982). Once people can imagine alternative solutions to various problems in science, logic, and social situations, they can begin to be able to apply the same types of mental processes to thinking about right and wrong. Kohlberg (1981) says that

cognitive development allows adolescents to think more abstractly; psychological maturation makes them question the moral dicta of their parents; social development exposes them to a variety of ethical values; and personal experiences compel them to make decisions on their own. (p. 47)

Behavior can be classified at levels ranging from rampant egotism and hedonism through various stages of abstract and principled rule following, including an increasing capacity to delay gratification (Aronfreed, 1968). Youth, low verbal IQ, and a substantial gap between performance IQ and verbal IQ scores all converge in a tendency to engage in criminal behaviors which are not specialized. "Evidence suggests that high-rate offenders are likely to commit a burglary today and a robbery tomorrow, and sell drugs in between" (Wilson, 1985, p. 39).

In contrast, adolescents may gradually begin to consider beyond their immediate experience and view moral questions more broadly, no longer valuing only narrow personal interests. Kohlberg stated that to be capable of truly ethical reasoning, an individual must have the experience of sustained responsibility for the welfare of others and the experiences of irreversible moral choice that are part of adult life (Kohlberg, 1981, 1985). This is an indicator for maturing out.

Culture and Socialization

Any general theory of criminal behavior needs to include intrapersonal factors, e.g., biological ones, interpersonal factors, e.g., peer-group or family interaction, and larger social structural factors, e.g., poverty and unemployment, (Messner, Krohm, & Liska, 1989). The theories of both Trasler (1978) and Hirschi (1981) theories are based on the premise that children have to learn socially conforming behavior. The existence of biological predispositions means that circumstances that activate criminal behavior in one person will not do so in another, and that social forces cannot either deter or create criminal behavior in 100% of the population. In this sense, criminal behavior cannot be understood without factoring in individual biological dispositions. Studies with identical twins separated at birth showing the same criminal (as well as other) traits, support the claim that genetic/biological components are perhaps as important as the environment (Mednick, Moffett, & Stack, 1987). In the vast majority of cases, criminal behavior is becoming over-determined by our

greater social structure which does not support the child rearing and nurturing functions of family units (Currie, 1985). The family can alter natural predispositions because the interaction between parent and child may make the child less impulsive, more willing to take the feelings of others into account, and the violation of these social prescriptions may cause feelings of anxiety (Aronfreed, 1968, p. 27).

Unfortunately, in the United States many families are becoming social fragments, with the child rearing function of the family getting displaced for economic survival and financial achievement (Brofenbrenner, 1983). An array of public and private institutions are increasingly performing many of the parenting roles that were traditionally fulfilled by families (Weiner & Wolfgang, 1989a).

The child-rearing process in particular is affected by the greater social culture to the degree that a culture is child friendly. Individual human development is decided through these socialization patterns (Mussen, Conger, & Kagen, 1979). Samenow (1982) advances the notion that for all those who are genetically predisposed with the cluster of traits associated with psychopathology or who fail to mature due to insufficient tactile, emotional, and social childrearing practices, we must be prepared to invest in them later through rehabilitation techniques.

Based upon rehabilitative work on Harry Harlow's love deprived monkeys, some scientists are hopeful that the insidious effects of early social deprivation can be overcome. According to Konner (1982),

despite the ability to form caring relationships throughout the lifespan depending to a great extent on early affectional

experience, there are powerful, built-in neuroendocrinal forces that make us crave closeness and love. This insures that most of us, whatever our early experience, will develop some form of affectional behavior. (p. 11)

Habilitation is the development of a socially productive life-style for the first time. It is better for cultures to be structured so that habilitation can occur through natural family and community socialization processes rather than to systematically retard or interfere with the human development process (Brown, p. 193). If the latter, it becomes necessary to allocate resources to rehabilitation.

Applying resources to rehabilitation sometimes destabilizes pro-social programs such as education. Many rehabilitation efforts are preordained failures because the underlying conditions of criminal pathology remain entrenched. For example, job skill training programs may be destined to fail because sustaining work is not available for the graduates of the job training.

The evidence on individual and family pathology can be further examined through comparative cultural research. This research reveals that every industrial society except our own has much less crime, including significantly lower rates of violence. These societies also devote proportionately more of their resources to the public sector, especially those programs which support the family. Families that struggle to provide for their children/elders despite poor income, lack of responsive social networks, government, workplace, and marital or parental violence become unable to socialize children to become productive, nonviolent members of the community. Criminal justice and corrections systems are then created to react to the

violence spawned by the lack of supportive social policies (Currie, 1985).

Cultures that have a low incidence of child abuse, for instance, exhibit three characteristics: children are highly valued; child care is shared by many people; and young children are not thought to be responsible for their actions. In the United States, children are often considered to be a financial and personal burden; social support and help for young mothers are often unavailable; and an emphasis on the young child's ability to learn fosters the misleading notion that children can change or control immature behaviors if they really want to do so (Rutter, 1979; Satterfield, 1978).

In the United States, about one child in five lives in a household headed by a single parent; that is, a divorced, separated, widowed, or never-married parent. Ninety percent of these households are headed by mothers (Zill, 1983). A parent who holds a job and is the sole support of the family may experience role overload the result of taking on too many roles and responsibilities (Zill, 1983). Consequently, the parent may be less responsive to the children and their problems. In general, children of single parents are more likely to have academic difficulties as evidenced by studies that find that children raised in father absent families tend to have lower verbal and full-scale intelligence scores, even holding race and socioeconomic status constant (Broman, Nichols, & Kennedy, 1975; Biller, 1968). Children without fathers at home also experience difficulties with sex-role development, with boys becoming

stereotypically masculine at a young age (Bouchard, McGue, 1981; Farrell, 1979; Harrison, 1984).

Single-parent households are also more likely than two-parent households to experience financial difficulties, which brings stress to both parents and children. At every stage of life, people of low socio-economic status are at a higher risk of experiencing developmental problems (Belknap, 1986; Cohen, Klegel, & Land, 1981). As an infant, a child of low SES is likely to have been exposed to more environmental hazards than someone of higher SES, resulting in greater likelihood of low birth weight, premature birth, or illness. In adolescence, he or she is more likely to use illicit drugs or drop out of school. Low socioeconomic status is especially difficult for children during the school years, when they tend to think in concrete terms and base their self-concept on how their possessions, skills, and achievements compare with those of their peers and other children. In general, children of low SES have fewer opportunities to develop their abilities or their self-esteem and are likely to achieve less than their peers and to perform less well each year. In addition, they are less likely than other children to feel that they have control over their future (Luckenbill, 1990).

A study that compared five hundred nondelinquents with delinquents matched for age, ethnic background and IQ from neighborhoods with equivalent delinquency rates found the two groups still differed significantly. The delinquents' homes were more crowded, less clean, and provided fewer sanitary facilities. The delinquents families

had lower average earnings, both in per capita income and in number of breadwinners. The educational level of the delinquents' parents and grandparents were also lower, and these families had histories of more serious physical illness, mental retardation, emotional disturbance, alcoholism, marital discord between parents, and crime (Widom, 1989). These differences suggest that even within a relatively narrow and under-privileged sector of society, still finer gradations at the level of the individual home predispose certain individuals to criminal behavior.

It is difficult to form a mature identity in adolescence (Marcia, 1966). Whether a particular young person will wait until he or she is ready to make mature decisions, or whether identity will be premature or confused, depends a great deal on family and friends. For example, (Glueck & Glueck, 1968), the results from numerous studies of juvenile delinquency indicate that the best predictors are "lax, erratic, or harsh discipline by father, unsuitable supervision by mother, indifferent or hostile father/mother, and lack of family cohesiveness" (p. 129).

Delinquent boys are about twice as likely as nondelinquent ones to come from homes where parental disciplinary practices have been rated as erratic or lax. Delinquents are also much more likely to come from homes with a quarrelsome rather than affectionate or cohesive atmosphere. All those with the combined effect of absence of warmth and inconsistent discipline were convicted of a crime (McCord & McCord, 1959).

However, blaming parents for family discord is rarely helpful. Family discord may be due to parents who are overwhelmed with the task of raising a difficult child, or to disagreements about child rearing strategies, or to other factors. Difficult children can be a source of discordant families as much as deficient family patterns (Anolik, 1981). Some data even suggest that intact families that are discordant or neglectful produce twice as many delinquents as broken families (McCord & McCord, 1959).

A complex interaction of factors such as genetics, injuries, social deprivation, and inadequate family support systems underlie most identifiable forms of criminal behavior. Never-the-less, increasing crime rates appear to be one result of the current socialization pattern (Berger & Gulevich, 1981).

This review of developmental literature attempts to demonstrate the active mutuality between the genetic blueprint and socialization patterns in clusters of personality traits such as impulsivity and empathy. Empathy depends upon the emotional bonds and the ensuing desire to view the world outside of one's own interests. Caregivers must allow natural and logical consequences so that the child is motivated to learn to be accountable. Caregivers must consistently and adequately nurture children to have positive outcomes. Indulgence fosters egocentrism, so the difficulty lies in nurturing without indulging a child.

Our culture also encourages neglect of children through insufficient support of caregivers and inadequate assistance with parental

stressors. This lack of cultural support for childrearing plays a role when parents over-indulge their children, pressured by their own guilty feelings, especially with material goods. To have the cognitive ability to consider possible alternatives, future events, and the needs of others, one must first be emotionally secure and cognitively mature. At present, our culture overall does not stress prosocialization (a positive impact upon physical, emotional, cognitive, and moral development), which would enhance development by encouraging altruism. Rather, our culture stresses self-aggrandizement through any means.

The developmental theories and research cited here are important to this research on Special Alternative Incarceration because the success of any correctional sanction will depend to some extent not only on how well it is carried out, but also on the strategies that are chosen to impact upon human development (Schneider, 1990). If the sanction is grounded in the developmental research which details the correlates of maturation or moral development, then the sanction has increased chances to positively impact on the individual sentenced. Special Alternative Incarceration is no exception to this general correctional principle (Palmer & Wedge, 1989).

Correctional Development: Theory and Practice

The following is a summary of correctional ideology to place SAI in a historical correctional context. In this view, correctional ideology is a useful framework because it reveals changes in the

common perceptions of the cause/s of crime over time. Corrections did not become a goal until the 1930s. Prior to that time, punishment i.e., retribution, deterrence, and incapacitation was the goal of the criminal justice system. Correctional programs and practices are created as solutions related to the prevailing perceptions of crime causality and crime control (Meier, 1985).

Punishment Model

American criminological thought was influenced by English practices, which, in turn, developed from the personal retribution of the victim or the victim's family. Punishment evolved from an individual or institutional level to a structural level of the state's responsibility for administration of physical punishments such as public lashing, the loss of a limb, or loss of life. The specific focus of the punishment ideology is Just Deserts, a model of the criminal sanction emphasizing the deserved punishment of criminals because "they have infringed the rights of others; the severity of the sanction should fit the seriousness of the crime" (Clear & Cole, 1990, p. 88).

Prior to the mid 1800s, incapacitation meant corporal disablement (loss of limb/life), rather than confinement (loss of liberty). In the mid 1800s, a more humane process of imprisonment of criminals began in an effort to temporarily protect the criminal from cruel and harsh sanctions, while still protecting communities from predators (Tucker, 1978).

The Just Desert's Model was based upon the then accepted Classical theory of criminology. This was a utilitarian view that people have free will and weigh the benefits and costs of future action before they decide to act. The Classical theory is one which has the criminal offense or act itself as a major focus. The offense is its self cause and solution--simply incapacitate the individual to prevent future criminal acts. The Classical theory focuses upon criminal codes and the fairness and process of the law which defines criminal behavior (Lilly, Cullen, & Ball, 1989).

Rehabilitation Model

In the 1920s, as Sociology and Psychology gained recognition and momentum, the social rubric of rehabilitation as the primary purpose of incarceration became national policy. Correctional ideology became that of the Medical Model "A model of corrections based on the assumption that criminal behavior is caused by biological or psychological conditions that require treatment" (Clear & Cole, 1990, p. 86). The rehabilitation perspective moves from punishment for specific acts to treatment of the individual. This objective is to cure the offender while supervised or incarcerated in order to protect the individual from future harm to himself or others, especially upon the offender's eventual release back into the free community.

A key aspect of the rehabilitation ideology is that of indeterminate sentencing (i.e., a minimum and maximum range of custody, rather than a fixed, or determinate sentence of confinement). Within

this model, psychiatrists and psychologists decided when the offender should be released into the community, rather than the legislature setting the sentence per offense. A difficulty of appropriate release is determining how performance within the parameters of custody will translate into noncriminal behavior when a felon is released from confinement (Shover & Einstadter, 1988).

With the rehabilitation model came the practices of assessment and classification of felons. Classification is often-times based upon security assessments and available placements, rather than on the identification of the needs of the individual. However, the intent of classification is to assess, diagnose, and prescribe for a prognosis.

Positivistic theory is evident in rehabilitation policy due to its basic assumption that criminal behavior is not solely the result of free will but stems from factors such as biological characteristics, psychological maladjustments, and sociological conditions over which the individual has no control (O'Neill, 1990). The belief that some criminals can be treated so that they can lead crime-free lives, and that treatment must be focused on the individual and the individual's problem are also presuppositions of Positivistic theory (Lilly, Cullen, & Ball, 1989).

In the 1980s, the overburdened and overextended Criminal Justice System (primarily brought about by the cohort of baby boomers born between 1946 and 1964), spurred a punitive backlash consisting of mandatory and determinate sentencing laws passed by state

legislatures (Camp & Camp, 1990; Stubenrauch, 1991).

Reintegration Model

Many state legislatures (including Michigan, in 1989) have passed Community Corrections Acts in response to the upwardly spiraling costs for the construction and operation of prisons. Prisons are filled to capacity upon completion, and are currently believed to be ineffective in terms of community protection, because most offenders eventually return to communities (Tashie, 1991).

The reintegration model is based on the concept of securing an individual in his or her community and maintaining these offenders on supervision. Community residential and release programs allow the offenders' family contacts and employment opportunities with the potential to bond felons with the greater community. This ideal seeks to withhold long-term confinement in institutions as a last resort measure in an effort to diminish penetration into the Criminal Justice System and save the state some of the cost of confinement (Moriarity, 1987; Spector, 1982).

Reintegration offers crime control programs as solutions within communities because the causes of crime are viewed in this model as originating from within communities themselves, though institutions such as market economics, family, schools, and the courts (Quay & Love, 1980). These programs are based on theories as diverse as Social Strain, Social Control, Differential Association, and Labeling (Lemert, 1981; Merton, 1968; Sutherland, 1978).

According to Social Strain theories, legitimate goals cannot be met by legitimate means. This causes strain which forces a person into criminal behavior to attain the legitimate goals because of blocked opportunities. This theory draws attention to the lack of employment opportunities and imposed racial inequities (Regoli & Hewitt, 1991). According to Social Control theories, when a person's ties to others are weak or have been broken, he or she is free to violate others' rights. An aspect of this approach is the need to maintain social attachments within communities (Regoli & Hewitt, 1991). Differential Association focuses on learning, asserting that criminals have learned their values from deviant rather than law abiding persons (Regoli & Hewitt, 1991). This includes the theory regarding lower class values of toughness, excitement, autonomy, and street smarts with fatalistic attitudes toward the future (Regoli & Hewitt, 1991). Differential Association theories also include a popular notion of subcultural violence, that those born to the lower classes are reared to accept violence as a necessary and acceptable form of behavior (Wolfgang & Ferricutti, 1967).

Labeling theory includes intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social structural factors, and argues that changes in self-concept occur as a result of the interaction with agents of social control and labeling by society (Regoli & Hewitt, 1991). Labeling theory states that social control (i.e., experience within the criminal justice system) leads to delinquency rather than the reverse. The idea of prisons as schools of crime, for example, stems from

corrections authorities' description of the process of inmates looking to one another for support and values as the law becomes their enemy.

If the incarceration of criminals were swift, certain, and fit the crime, it is argued that this punishment would be a success. However, incarceration has been a failure in terms of recidivism rates, destabilized state budgets, and community protection, when set up as a uniform and inflexible response to negative behavior (Parent, 1989). The same can be said of the therapeutic model. If treatment could be engaged with skilled professionals, managed by supportive administrators and assigned the necessary funds, then the medical model would be effective in reducing recidivism. More of it, do it better, and apply it irrespective of individual differences is the idea, rather than utilizing incarceration/therapy discriminately and perhaps intensively for the individuals who show some promise for a higher proportionate success rate (Allen & Simonson, 1992).

The community corrections approach embraces a wide spectrum of intermediate sanctions as an alternative to incarceration. Some examples include intensive probation, jail furlough, electronic monitoring, half-way houses, educational and vocational training, and work release. The policies and procedures of this ideology are based on the assumption that penetration into the criminal justice system is more harmful than beneficial. At a minimum, some greater social good must result from the imposition of a more severe punishment before it is to be preferred over a less severe one. This philosophy

is known as the principle of least restrictiveness--that government should use only the force or restrictive measures that are necessary to provide safety, rehabilitation, and punishment to the offender, and safety and cost effectiveness for the community (Chi, 1984).

More prisons have been built to absorb the overflow, as well as to house the increasing commitments. Yet, they too, in the first weeks after opening their electronic gates are often under court order to release prisoners due to the unconstitutionality of prison overcrowding. The rallying cry at present is that we cannot build our way out of this crisis because we can not afford prisons economically or socially, as incarceration is a temporary solution to a long range problem (Parent, 1989).

Due to the social detriment of recidivism, the escalating financial burden of building, maintaining, and operating prisons, and the increases in both the numbers being sentenced to prison and the length of those sentences, prison sentencing alternatives are being explored (Vito, 1985). However, practices such as earlier (pre) parole dates, temporary leave, and work furloughs are controversial because of the high profile nature of crimes committed by some felons while participating in these early release programs (Chi, 1984).

Prevention Ideology and SAI

Punishment, rehabilitation, and reintegration are geared to deal with offenders after they have been convicted of a crime. The more recent trend of correctional ideology is to anticipate offenders

before they begin a criminal lifestyle, to prevent future anti-social/criminal behavior. SAI intends to intercept felony offenders prior to their forming a criminal lifestyle' (Collingwood & Douds, 1990). SAI is a correctional sanction which bridges punishment, rehabilitation and reintegration, and approaches the prevention ideology. SAI has elements of the prevention model in that it is targeted for the youthful criminal population, to assist them in maturing out in order to prevent future criminal behavior (Udell, Morton, & Green, 1989). One way that SAI assists youths in maturing out is to focus much attention on teaching responsibility, achievement, and interdependence (Bowen, 1991).

SAI is a sanction which attempts to minimize penetration into the corrections system. A tenet of boot camp programs is that these inmates are separated from the regular correctional population in an attempt to avoid social and personal identification as a prison inmate or parolee (MacKenzie & Souryal, 1991). SAI also exemplifies the reintegration ideology because it is a sanction which contains elements of punishment: The 60 to 90 days of incapacitation or removal from the free world (Thompson, Dabbs, & Frady, 1990). Yet, SAI uses this punishment as rehabilitation: In the form of mandatory physical labor to instill a work ethic, learn the value of cooperation, and to become physically fit. SAI also consists of intense counseling and education to assist the offenders in becoming emotionally and academically fit (Vito, 1981). It also limits the amount of incapacitation in an effort to diminish the rage and

resentment response levels of inmates upon their release (Raspberry, 1987). SAI has a further goal of returning offenders to the community with personal pride in their accomplishments (at SAI) and with the desire to become productive members of their communities (Haddaway, 1987; Klausner, 1984). (See Figure 4.)

SAI as a Foundation

In the U. S. Boot Camp survey, rehabilitation and recidivism reduction outranked punishment as main goals. Other goals include reducing prison crowding, developing inmate work skills, and providing drug education and a safe prison environment (Mackenzie & Souryal, 1991, p. 44). The practices of SAI are structured to maximize inmates experiencing personal responsibility and team work.

According to Hengesh (1991),

SAI inmates must learn attention to detail and time management. They must also learn to work together, because the program is designed so that individuals cannot do it by themselves. All of this also helps teach self-discipline. (p. 108)

Prior to the 1980s, the purpose of work camps was the physical punishment of hard labor and the removal of the offenders from their families and communities. Today, hard labor is used as rehabilitation by teaching the value of work by experience (Salerno, 1991; Sechrest, 1989; Mackenzie & Shaw, 1990). In this way, SAI consists of intense preparation of the offender for reintegration into the community and is intended to be a foundation upon which to build a productive lifestyle (Bowen, 1991).

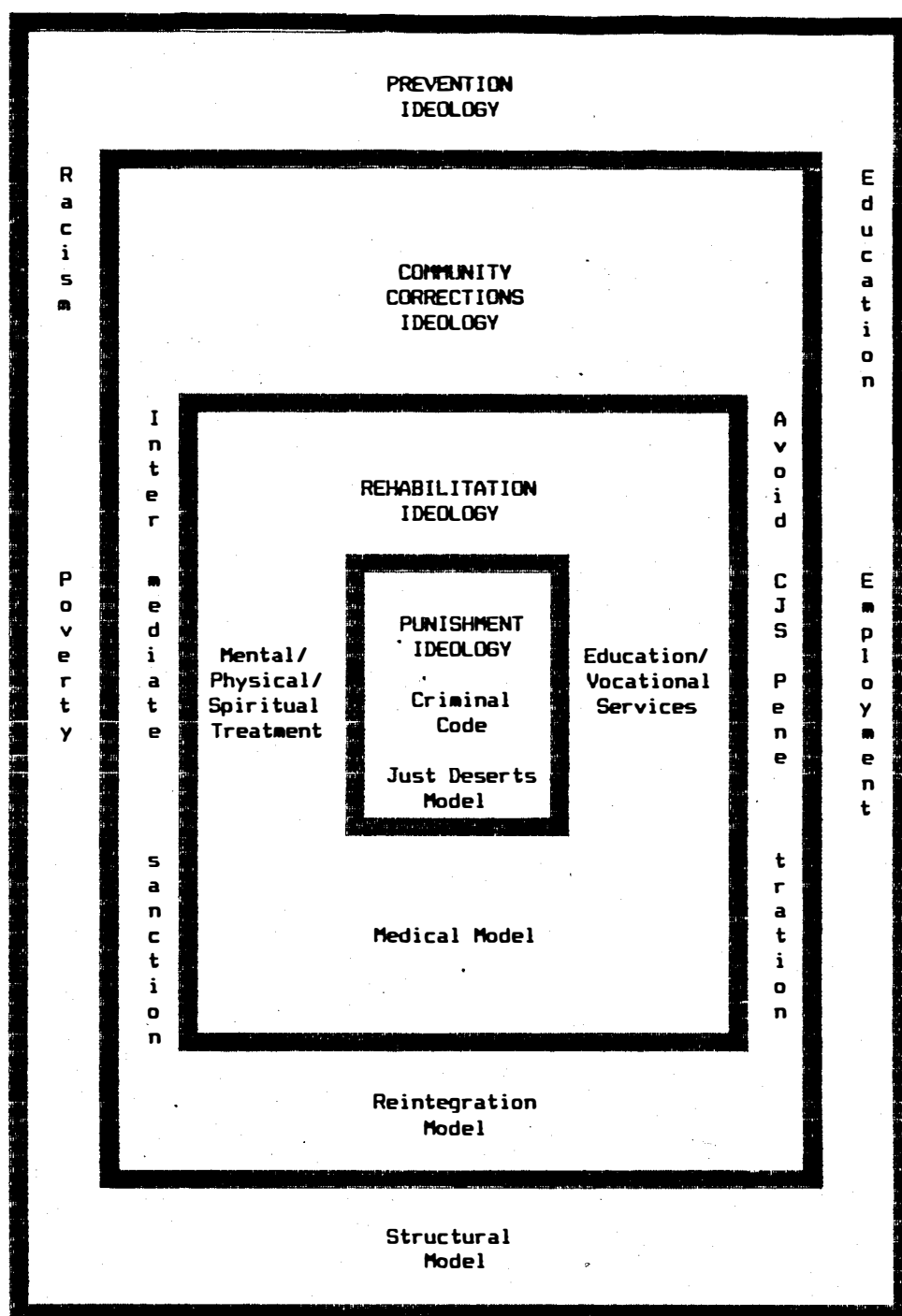


Figure 4. Correctional Ideologies.

Source: Brofenbrenner, 1986, p. 724.

Hengesh (1991) says that

most offenders entering boot camps lack basic life skills. They have dropped out of school and have had considerable exposure to the criminal justice system. They lack self-esteem and have established track records of being quitters or losers whenever they are faced with obstacles or problems. They also have remained unaffected by traditional methods of juvenile and adult probation and short terms of incarceration in local jails. The current system has had no impact on these young offenders; it surely has not been a deterrent. Boot camps were never intended to correct all of these problems; they are designed to provide a foundation of discipline, responsibility, and self-esteem that can be built upon. The lessons learned in boot camp must be continued in the community until they become part of a lifestyle that is supported by the offender's desire to live that way, not by a correctional employee telling them to do it. (p. 106)

An element of SAI seems to be that of modeling correct behavior. Staff are closely monitored and officers are evaluated monthly to insure consistent use of regimented discipline and to prevent the misuse or abuse of power (Maynard, 1991).

According to Acorn and Clay (1991),

officers at Bootcamp lead by example, which makes their training and work with the inmates demanding because the staff must display both physical and mental fortitude. (Out of 39 officers who started the training program in 1991, only 14 graduated, a few failed, and most quit.) The reason inmates use military terminology is that it teaches them to think before they talk. When using the same street jargon they used when they enter, they just run their mouths, which gets them in trouble. The officers have to take care of these kids. When everything is just hard, hard, hard, there's no balance. The ideal balance resembles a good instructor/student relationship which allows the staff to give inmates guidance, discipline and care without sacrificing authority. (p. 113)

In this way, SAI may be a step (through intense verbal and physical stimulation) toward maturing the neurology of juveniles who are developmentally delayed due to early and continuing social deprivation.

The Mississippi Boot Camp program has components of intense and highly structured drills, work assignments, educational classes, and counseling "designed to get offenders to the point where they can meet the challenge of daily life in the community" (Frank, 1991, p. 104). Discipline is designed to discourage offenders from avoiding responsibility for their actions and decisions. Rules are consistently enforced and all inmates are held responsible for their behavior (Frank, 1991).

Analysis drawn from over 600 public schools with 30,000 students reveals that those schools with low levels of crime were described by students as having teachers who enforced the rules without displaying hostile attitudes (Weiner, Zahn, & Sagi, 1990). From this research and a wealth of similar responses, the effectiveness of SAI hinges upon the development of mentoring relationships between staff and inmates (Morash, 1990). This is an aim in the operation of the Michigan Special Alternative Incarceration program.

Military Comparisons

It has been the military, not the corrections system, which has the longest history of boot camps. Indeed, corrections boot camps are based on physical and educational training guidelines borrowed from the United States Army Field Manual which stresses regimentation, and physical and disciplinary demands along with values such as courage, inner direction, certain forms of aggression, autonomy, mastery, technological skill, group solidarity, adventure, and a

considerable amount of toughness in mind and body (Faris, 1975; Smith, 1988). Military bootcamps seek to expand these values. According to the United States Army Field Manual, effectiveness of training systems depends upon clear goals, high expectations, and fair but firm discipline (Vanness & Colson, 1989).

Military training is facilitated by the condition of having the undivided attention of students, night and day. Moreover, the military has far greater disciplinary power than civilian schools. Training is also driven by necessity. It is a matter of survival that military inductees learn their lessons (Faris, 1975). The instruction must take or the lives of other men are imperiled (Vanness & Colson, 1989). Because everyone who enters must be trained regardless of experience or background, the military often finds itself with a serious educational problem.

The military, however, has had some success with low-achieving males and those who previously failed in school. The Army's Project 100,000, for example, took in those men who had formerly been rejected because of low literacy levels. Slightly less than half of these men were high school graduates, and their scores were ranked below the thirtieth percentile on the Armed Forces Qualification Tests. This group comprised about one third of the draft eligible population. These men went through training with others and were not identified in their classes, but were allotted remedial instruction and extra time (Harris, 1983). The training of these men was reported as successful, with a drop out rate of 4% compared with the

2% drop out rate of the general population (Harris, 1983).

Economics

Michigan is the fifth highest of all the states in commitment rate for length of sentence and the number annually sentenced to prison. There are currently 33,000 people in prison, with 17,000 over-capacity. It requires 60,000 dollars to build one cell and 20,000 dollars to supervise each inmate (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1989). At one-quarter the cost of prisons, bootcamps are clearly more economical. Probation sentences plus boot camp do not approximate to any degree, even with jail stays, the expense of prison sentences (Gregory, 1989). Bootcamps and other alternatives to prison sentences are thus more economical if they are being utilized as a prison alternative, rather than another tool of probation services such as electronic monitoring systems and work release programs, for those who would otherwise not be sentenced to a prison term (Brown, 1987; Flowers, Carr & Ruback, 1991).

A 1989 evaluation of a Florida Department of Corrections bootcamp reveals that bootcamp graduates spent an average of 245 days under supervision, compared to 319 for matching inmates, yielding a savings of 1.14 million dollars in prison costs. Reincarceration rates of graduates were slightly more than 2% lower compared to controls. However, it appears to be premature to draw definitive conclusions regarding recidivism and ultimate expenditure related to further criminal behavior and criminal justice system expenses

(Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1989).

A report of the Convicted Offender Re-entry Effort, a program similar to SAI in Travis County Texas, states that "Although the program is too new to evaluate, impact on recidivism/prison overcrowding, the community saves 127,000 dollars in work performed by cadets, and correctional staff were able to provide more direction for participant's development and training and inmates exhibit a sense of pride and self-esteem" (Littleton, 1989, p. 70).

An important feature of the success of any correctional sanction is that of identifying offenders, maintaining a continuum and variety of programs and sentencing accordingly. Not only should the punishment fit the crime, but the program should also fit the criminal. Despite the plethora of information regarding criminology and the abundance of records maintained on each offender, much of this cannot be utilized in determining sentencing for legal reasons or time constraints involved with documenting/attaining the information. Correctional programs are oftentimes tailored to the needs of general populations with the focus upon cost, security, and availability of each sanction rather than on the appropriateness of each participant for the sanction (Gannett News Service, 1984). However, it is not economical in the long run to use a program simply because it is available. It is unfortunate that much of the information known about individual offenders cannot be used for sentencing purposes. If a sanction has some success, then there is a tendency to utilize the sanction, whether it is appropriate or not. This compromises the

rates of successful outcomes and costs more in terms of recidivism and additional criminal sanctions (Petersilia, 1987).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

Correctional Research Methods

A major obstacle to correctional research is the fact that randomization techniques are rarely possible because researchers are not able to control extraneous variables. Because of ethical concerns, judges, probation and parole officers, and prison authorities often cannot relinquish their discretion concerning which offenders will and will not take part in a program (Farrington, 1986). Thus, when offenders are assigned to groups by other than random means, the groups will not be equivalent in the absence of treatment effects (Hagan, 1989). Moreover, it becomes difficult to separate the effects of treatment between and within groups due to a myriad of uncontrolled and extraneous variables in corrections research (Fitzgerald, 1987).

A popular method of trying to achieve a measure of control involves matching comparison groups on social or demographic variables such as age, race, and sex, that are thought to contribute to non-equivalence (Baunach, 1980). The limitation to this method is that there is no way to determine whether the groups have been matched on the relevant variables. For example, despite volumes of data routinely collected, probation officers and judges frequently deviate from established classifications when making recommendations and

sentencing, going beyond the data to consider unmeasured factors, such as the offender's attitude.

Age at the time of offense is also highly correlated with future recidivism (Glaser, 1964; Greenwood, 1977). Bootcamp, as an alternative to lengthy prison commitments, releases offenders into the community in 90 or 120 days. However, when matched on age and offense, those who are sentenced to prison are several years older than those who are sentenced to SAI at the time of release. This means that upon release the average parolee is three to six years older than the bootcamp graduate. This age difference alters any conclusions regarding the effects of prison due to the possibility of maturing out which occurs even among chronic or habitual offenders.

SAI Guidelines and Net Widening

The purpose of sentencing guidelines is to determine the length of sentence. It is based upon the seriousness of the offense, the number and seriousness of prior offenses, the age at the time of offense, substance abuse history, and prior probation record. These guidelines are based on extensive research in criminal behavior (Clear & Cole, 1990). The age of the felon, substance abuse history, severity, persistency, and nature of offenses are the most notable variables utilized in determining future criminal activity. These procedures are designed for consistency of sentencing and for projections used for allocation of resources. The guidelines are used to determine sentencing parameters, setting release dates, and decisions concerning the intensity of supervision of parolees and

probationers (Walsh, 1988).

As previously indicated, this research will address the concept of net widening to determine if all of the individuals sentenced to bootcamp are offenders who would otherwise have gone to prison, as the guidelines for SAI indicate--or if SAI is being utilized as an alternative to the county jail. Jail is not an alternative to prison because jails are designed for shorter lengths of stay than prison. The maximum length of stay for jail is not to exceed one year. Net widening, therefore, may refer to the individuals who have a sentencing guidelines of less than one year who are sentenced to SAI. Net widening is also operationalized to include a comparison of the data within the probation files (such as age at the time of conviction and prior offenses) with the SAI program guidelines. These specify that this program is limited to those between the ages of 18 and 24 and that those with violent or sex offenses are not admissible. This research will investigate those sentenced to SAI in the first two year cohort who were not within the SAI guidelines.

SAI Data Collection Instrument

The methodology of this research consisted of data collection using secondary data, including the review of probation files, many of which were no longer 'active'. Gathering such data from files is seen as a form of content analysis or collecting the available 'cold clues' for exploratory, descriptive, and non-explanatory quantitative research (Durkheim, 1964). For this purpose, the SAI Data

Collection Instrument was designed. (See Appendix A.) The SAI Data Collection Instrument was developed by the author after reviewing the contents of Kalamazoo probation records for many of those sentenced to SAI in 1988-1990. These probation files are rich in information regarding the offenders, and much care was taken in developing the instrument to collect as much of the information as possible, within the limitations of maintaining the subjects' confidentiality.

Data Collection

This research was begun in July of 1990. Permission was granted by the Probation and Parole Chief of the Southwest region of Michigan and the Kalamazoo County Probation Supervisor, for this researcher to have access to the Kalamazoo probation files for those sentenced to SAI from its inception in March, 1988 to March, 1990. (See Appendix B.)

While these probation files are robust in information beyond demographic data, there is some inconsistency from one file to another. Also, some of the information utilized was not corroborated, which means that the information came from only one source. Corroborated information is documented from a minimum of two sources. Most, but not all of the information in probation files is corroborated by more than one source, such as by juvenile case files, high school records, or family members. The SAI data collection instrument was designed to lose as little of the information as possible, in order that the comparisons could be relatively complete. Specific

dates of sentencing, court and corrections identification numbers, and names were not included to preserve the confidentiality of the individual offenders as per the direction of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. (See Appendix C.)

Population and Variables

The research population consisted of all of those individuals sentenced to SAI in Kalamazoo County between March 1988 and March 1990, a total of 84 cases. The variables were chosen from the information available: Demographic data such as age, race, education, employment; information on the family of origin such as childhood neglect, abuse, abandonment, frequent moves, family structure/discord, occupation of parent; and specific correctional data such as the numbers of prior convictions and probations, the number and length of incarcerations, the instant offense (type of crime that resulted in the current sentence of SAI), and the sentencing guideline score.

Chronicity

An important feature of this research is to identify characteristics of the treatment population. One of the most important factors of outcome of treatment is the pre-selection of the population. In correctional research, age and the number of prior convictions are two valuable indices of the population. The variables of age and prior offenses will be combined to determine the variable of chronicity.

The individuals at the hard end of the offender population are termed chronic offenders. Chronic repeat offenders (those with five or more arrests by age 18) make up a relatively small proportion of all offenders, yet commit a large proportion of all crimes. The evidence includes data for juveniles and adults, males, and females, and for urban and rural areas. Chronic recidivists begin offending at an early age which implicates biological and early childrearing factors in explaining the most serious offenders (Proefrock, 1983).

A study by Petersilia, (1978) made an important distinction between intensive offenders; continually engaged in crime, committed to a criminal lifestyle, and careful about avoiding arrest and intermittent offender types; those who commit crimes irregularly, with less care or planning (Petersilia, 1978). He goes on to say that

the average intensive offender committed about ten times as many crimes as the intermittent offender, yet was five times less likely to be arrested for any one crime. Once arrested, the intensive offender was also less likely to be convicted and incarcerated. (p. 118)

This means that a minority of individuals perpetrate a majority of the crimes. If we could identify and incarcerate the intensive offender, we could reduce our prison population and our crime rate simultaneously. This is now termed selective incapacitation (Parent, 1989).

In Wolfgang's first Philadelphia study, chronic offenders accounted for less than a third of all male offenders in the study, but they committed two-thirds of all homicides, rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults. Six percent of youths accounted for 52% of all

arrests (Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1972). Data from Wolfgang's second cohort study indicate that seven-and-a-half percent of the juvenile population committed 68% of the cohort's offenses and was responsible for 61% of the homicides, 75% of the rapes, 73% of the robberies, and 65% of the assaults. Moreover, (Greenwood, 1977; Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1972) the second cohort (born in 1958) was more criminally active and violent than the first cohort he studied (born in 1945).

Recidivism

One dependent variable of interest is recidivism, operationalized as the extent of criminal record after completion of SAI. The independent variables consist of items which relate to family of origin, stressors, prior criminal record, substance abuse, age, socioeconomic status, education, graduation from SAI, and length of time on probation. Although so many are directly measured, some of the independent variables in this research are indirect, (e.g., childhood neglect, mitigating factors, prior criminal history not resulting in convictions), which can create difficulty in firmly establishing content validity.

Much criminal recidivism is measured by the percentage of participants of a program who are rearrested or reconvicted after leaving the program. However, this proportion is not a true recidivism rate, it is the percentage who get into trouble and are officially caught again. A true rate of recidivism examines the frequency of misconduct, not that it simply occurs. A recidivism rate thus can be

calculated by the number of times an individual is arrested before and after being in a program. From this view, however, recidivism may be seen when the frequency of arrest falls despite the occurrence of rearrests. (A corrections client may be arrested several times for different offenses while out on bail awaiting a court date, for example.)

One study (Murray & Cox, 1979) examined the police records of delinquents eligible to be sentenced to the state reformatory, and those who were sentenced instead to one of several less custodial, more community-based programs such as foster homes, halfway houses, and wilderness camps. The reduction in monthly arrest rates was less than it had been for the boys sent to reformatories. The more restrictive the supervision in these more benign programs, the greater the reduction in recidivism (Wilson, 1985, p. 395). SAI is considered a less restrictive type of corrections program.

Comparable results have been obtained in an experimental project that involved randomly assigning delinquent boys in Provo, Utah, either to a community-based program involving close supervision or to a conventional institution. Participation in the community-based program was not voluntary because the alternative to the community program was reformatory. Data covering four years suggest that there was a reduction in the frequency of arrests that could not be explained by maturation for both the boys incarcerated and those in the intensive community program, (Empey & Erikson, 1972).

Research also reveals adolescents to be least predictable and

that their probation violation rates in general, are higher. The older offender, with a shorter and less serious record, is the better probation risk (Walsh, 1988). A view of characteristics of the probable recidivist have been identified: emotional deprivation in childhood, pessimism and resentment, loser self concept, faulty integration of self-esteem, extroverted orientation, antisocial values, externalization of sources of conflict and externalization of control of their behavior (Rutter, 1979; Magid & McKelvey, 1987).

Perhaps, the best way to sort out all of these complex interactions is through comprehensive, prospective, longitudinal study of persons from birth into adolescence. Michael Rutter has identified six variables that are associated with childhood disorders: "severe marital discord; low social status; overcrowding or large family size; parental criminality; maternal psychiatric disorder; admission of the child into the care of the local authority" (Rutter, 1984, p. 106). Children who are able to overcome several of the above-mentioned problems are referred to as invulnerable or stress-resistant. Competence in one or more areas and a web of social support are the two most important factors in helping children cope (Rutter, 1984). Also, using a longitudinal cohort study, another researcher found that being abused or neglected as a child increased risks for delinquency, adult criminal conduct and violent criminal behavior based on public records of abused/neglected children and a control group of children (Widon, 1989). However, the majority of abused and neglected children did not become delinquent, criminal, or

violent (Moore, 1984).

Statistics

Descriptive statistics are generally used to describe the distributions of variables and to describe relationships among variables (Healey, 1990). The majority of the variables within the data are nominal, primarily limited to counting the occurrences of the variables (e.g., race, employment, mental health treatment, type of offense, graduation from SAI, recidivism). Percentages and proportions are utilized to standardize the results. Ratios and rates are used to summarize distributions of the variables.

Variables measured at the ordinal level have, for the most part, to be reduced to nominal level data because of the small size of the sample. For example, in questions relating substance use as none, moderate or problematic, the moderate and problematic results are collapsed together. This is done because in the few cases of moderate responses, the files indicated substance abuse by prior drug offenses. It is viewed as likely that the offender is 'sugarcoating' the response versus exaggerating use or abuse.

Like the ordinal data, the interval level variables such as sentencing guideline score and prior days of incarceration are collapsed to compact the frequencies to manageable distributions (e.g., Below 100 days, 101-200, 201-300, 301-400, 401 and above).

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

As stated in Chapter III, Research Design, this research does not include a hypotheses or research question because this is an exploratory study of the first two year cohort of offenders sentenced in Kalamazoo County to Special Alternative Incarceration (SAI). Therefore, the analysis of the data collected will be entirely descriptive.

SAI Guidelines and Net Widening

Program characteristics, characteristics of offenders, and correlates of recidivism will be related through program guidelines as well as social and demographic characteristics such as SES (as measured by the occupation of the subject's parent reported as the head of the household), race, age, offense, and penetration into the corrections system.

SAI is intended for those offenders who would have gone to prison if this sentencing option were not available. Therefore, participation in SAI is a special condition of probation. One of the criteria for SAI was: A male felony offender between 18 and 25 years of age at the time of sentencing. All in the study are male, however, 18 (21.4%) were age 17, and two (2.4%) were age 25. It is possible that birthdates may have superseded delayed sentencing dates. However, this information is not available. A second criterion is:

the offender must be physically and mentally able to participate in hard labor and physical training. Prior to sentencing to SAI, candidates must pass physical and mental criteria, and all of the offenders reported that they were physically and mentally fit, with no documentation that they were not. Three (3.6%) of the group did not complete SAI due to medical reasons. Another 26 (31.0%) were classified as quitters or failures, and as such proved mentally unable to participate in SAI. The third criterion is that the offender must not have served a prior prison sentence. Among the 84 in this group, one individual (1.2%) had in fact served a prior prison sentence. Indeed, he was only recently released from a federal prison prior to the current offense. (This individual was one of those who failed to graduate SAI.) Fourth, the current offense may not be a sex offense or arson, nor should the offender have a record of sex offenses or arson. Among the members of the cohort, one (1.2%) individual had a prior record of arson, completed SAI, and was subsequently sentenced to prison for conviction on a new crime. Another five (5.95%) had at least one prior sex offense on their criminal record. Two of these failed to graduate SAI, one was sentenced to prison for a technical violation of his probation, and two offenders remain actively serving their probation sentence. Fifth, there must not be any pending felony charges. Among the members of the cohort, one (1.2%) individual had a pending felony charge in another county. Finally, the last criterion is that the minimum Michigan felony sentencing guideline score must be at least 12 months or greater. A total of nine people, (10.7%) of this cohort had minimum

sentencing guideline scores that were less than 12 months. Another two (2.4%) did not have sentencing guideline scores available in the files.

The number of offenders who were not within the SAI guidelines, yet were sentenced to SAI is found in Table 1. (The guideline regarding being physically and mentally able to participate in hard labor and physical training is not included, as these individuals did pass the initial screening on this guideline.)

Table 1
Exceptions to SAI Guidelines

	Prior Prison	Pending Felony	Sex Offense	Arson	Less 1 Yr.Min.	Other- wise	Total
17		1	1	1	7	8	18
25	1				1		2
Other- wise			4		1		5
Total	1	1	5	1	9	8	25

The total number of exceptions to the SAI guidelines is 37. There are 12 exceptions which overlap, however. Therefore, the total number of individuals sentenced to SAI despite incongruence to the guidelines is 25 or 33.6%. In other words, SAI received 25 offenders for which it was not designed and 25 offenders were sentenced to a correctional program for which they were not intended. This is called net widening.

Net widening usually refers to offenders with lesser correctional qualifications (such the number of prior convictions, etc.), being sentenced to a program for offenders on the harder end of the criminal spectrum. However, the net widening which occurs in this sample, in sentencing to SAI, is a kind of reverse net widening. For the most part, those who were sentenced represent the hard end of the continuum, rather than the soft end. The rationale for this apparently was the youth of the offenders, and the desire to expend all possible correctional avenues prior to sentencing them to the Michigan prison system. See Table 2.

Table 2
Net Widening and Status

	Outside Guidelines	Percent	Within Guidelines	Percent	Total
Fail SAI	12	48.0%	14	23.7%	26
Fail Prob.	6	24.0%	23	39.0%	29
Active Prob.	7	28.0%	22	37.3%	29
Total	25	100.0%	59	100.0%	84

Adding together all of the individuals who failed to meet one or more of the criteria for inclusion in SAI, the data clearly support the interpretation that net widening did occur among the members of this cohort. However, Table 2 does indicate that those who did not meet the SAI guidelines did do somewhat better than those who met the

guidelines with respect to probation failure, although a higher proportion did fail SAI and a smaller proportion are on active probation.

SAI Population and Variables

The population described by this research consisted of 84 young men who were the first two-year cohort of felony offenders (March 1988 to March 1990) in Kalamazoo County sentenced to Special Alternative to Incarceration (SAI).

Generally the degree of homogeneity among offender populations is more common than the heterogeneity among convicted offenders of any age. Some traits of psychopathy, sociopathy, or antisocial personality, for instance, are routinely included in the primary description of criminals. The following data exemplify this homogeneity.

With each of the following variables, especially age and prior convictions, chronicity will be addressed. Chronicity identifies the subjects as on the soft or tractable end of the criminal spectrum differentiated from those on the hard or intractable end of the criminal spectrum or continuum. The legal criteria used here to denote chronic offender is five or more convictions prior to age 18. Because chronic offenders appear more difficult to habilitate or rehabilitate (Wilson, 1985), it is important to establish chronicity with any segment of the criminal population. See Tables 3 and 4.

Age

At the time of sentencing 85.6% of the offenders were between the ages of 17 and 20, and 14.4% were in the 21 and 25 age category. See Table 3.

Of the 18 offenders in the 17 year old age category, 12 (66.6%) were SAI program failures, 27.7% remain on active probation, and 5%

Table 3

Age			
	Age	Percent	Cum. %
Eighteen (21.4%) age 17,	17	21.4%	21.4%
Twenty-three (27.4%) age 18,	18	27.4%	48.8%
Seventeen (20.2%) age 19,	19	20.2%	70.0%
Fourteen (16.7%) age 20,	20	16.6%	85.6%
Four (4.8%) age 21,	21	4.8%	91.4%
One (1.2%) age 22,	22	1.2%	92.6%
Two (2.4%) age 23,	23	2.4%	95.0%
Three (3.6%) age 24,	24	3.6%	98.6%
Two (2.4%) age 25.	25	2.4%	100.0%

were sentenced to prison for either a new crime or a technical probation violation. This is the highest number of program failures for any age group. Of those who were age 18, 34.7% were program failures, 43.4% remain on probation, and 21.7% were resentenced to prison. Of those age 19, 17.6% were program failures, 41.1% remain on probation

and 41.1% were resentenced to prison. Of the 14 individuals age 20 at the time of sentencing to SAI, 35.7% were program failures, 57.1% remain on probation, and 7% were resentenced to prison. Finally, of those age 21 through 25, 41.6% were program failures, 41.6% remain on probation and 16.6% were resentenced to prison within a two year timeframe from their graduation from SAI.

Table 4
Age by Outcome

	17	18	19	20	21-25	Total
Fail SAI	11	5	2	5	3	26
Fail Probation	3	8	9	5	4	29
Active Probation	4	10	6	4	5	29
Total	18	23	17	14	12	84

The data in Table 4 appear to show a pattern of decreasing likelihood of SAI graduation with increasing age. Those age 18 and 19 have the highest rates of SAI graduation, those age 20 are next, followed by those age 21 and above. Only those age 17 (and who, as such, do not meet program criteria) produced the smallest group of SAI program graduates.

Prior Convictions

According to Table 5, the prior misdemeanor convictions of this cohort consist of 40 (48.0%) having no prior misdemeanor convictions,

and 35 (41.6%) having one to three prior misdemeanor convictions. Nine (10.7%) have four or more misdemeanor convictions.

Table 6 reveals that the prior felony convictions of this cohort consist of 51 (60.7%) having no felony convictions and 28 (33.5%) having one to three felony convictions. Five (5.9%) have four or more felony convictions.

Table 5
Prior Misdemeanors

	Number	Percent
No misdemeanor convictions	40	48.0%
1-3 misdemeanor convictions	35	41.6%
4+ misdemeanor convictions	9	10.7%

Table 6
Prior Felonies

	Number	Percent
No felony convictions	51	60.7%
1-3 felony convictions	28	33.5%
4+ felony convictions	5	5.9%

The prior criminal record of this group tends to support a description of the young men as impulsive and spurred by immediate gratification. Prior studies on criminal populations have reported

that for those with a single police contact, twice as many had that contact prior to age 18 as those who had the contact between 19 and 30. For offenders in general, three out of four have police records by age 18 (Wolfgang, Figlio, & Sellin, 1972). This was also the case within the Kalamazoo cohort, where 63 (75%) had police records by the age of 18. Eight of the 15 without a record of convictions were only age 17. Nearly 41% had four or more prior offenses and 42% had one to three prior offenses.

Research reveals that criminal behavior is disproportionately represented in adolescent and young adulthood and that active offenders are often active early in their lives (Farrington, 1978; Hirschi, Hindelang & Weis, 1981). Those who mature out tend to do less serious crimes, begin at an older age than chronic recidivists, and stop at a younger age. In contrast, the chronic recidivist starts much earlier and commits crimes at a steady and increasing rate beyond the teens. Furthermore, the crimes committed become more serious and more frequent as the chronic offender grows older. "The lifecycle of criminal behavior for these hard-core offenders also declines with age, but the decline is postponed by at least a decade and perhaps by more in many instances" (Wilson, 1985, p. 139). See Table 7.

Instant Offense

This group's instant offenses (the first offense listed in records for which the subject was sentenced to SAI), ranged considerably. A total of 48 (57.1%) showed property crimes, another 28

Table 7
Prior Convictions by Status

	No Priors	1-3 Priors	4+ Priors	Total
Fail SAI	5	11	10	26
Probation Failure	5	8	16	29
Active Probation	5	16	8	29
Total	15	35	34	84

(33.3%) were sentenced for drug offenses, and eight (7.1%) were sentenced for personal crimes.

Table 8
Instant Offense

	Number	Percent
Property Crimes	48	57.1%
Drug Offenses	28	33.3%
Personal Crimes	8	7.1%

Regarding the instant offenses, 48 (57.1%) of the offenders were convicted of property felonies, and 36 of these subsequently were re-sentenced to prison, with 12 (25%) continuing to serve probation. Twenty-eight (33.3%) were convicted of drug related felonies, and of these 15 were resentenced to prison while 13 (46.4%) remain on active probation. The remaining eight young men (7.1%) were

sentenced for personal and other felonies. Four of these individuals were re-sentenced to prison while the other four (50%) remain on active probation. All 20 (23.8%) of those with three or more charges/concurrent convictions on this sentence went to prison within this time period. See Table 9.

Table 9
Offense by Status

	Property	(%)	Drug	(%)	Personal	(%)	Total	(%)
Fail SAI	18	(37.5%)	7	(25.0%)	1	(16.7%)	26	(30.9%)
Probation Failure	18	(37.5%)	8	(28.6%)	3	(33.3%)	29	(34.5%)
Active Probation	12	(25.0%)	13	(46.4%)	4	(50.0%)	29	(34.5%)
Total	48	(100.0%)	28	(100.0%)	8	(100.0%)	84	(100.0%)

Race

The racial makeup of this group is 50% black, 48.8% white, and 1.2% hispanic. See Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10

Race

	Number	Percent
Black	42	50.0%
White	41	48.8%
Hispanic	1	1.2%

In the 1980 census for Kalamazoo County (when this sample were all below age 18), there were 49,142 white children, 6,130 black children, and 1,030 hispanic children. (Black and hispanic will be added together in these data for a total of 7,160 children.) In 1990, there were 45,119 white children, 7,329 black children, and 1,543 hispanic children. (Again, the black and hispanic children are added together for a total of 8,872.) This reveals a higher proportion of blacks and hispanics in the SAI sample than would be expected from the general Kalamazoo population (Michigan League for Human Services, 1992).

A total of 42 (50.0%) of the offenders in the cohort are black and 41 (48.8%) of the sample are white, with one (1.2%) hispanic. To simplify computations, the individual of hispanic origin is contained in the proportion of people of color in this sample. Thus, 41 (48.8%) were white, and 43 (51.2%) were nonwhite.

Race, SES, personality traits, and socialization stressors all stand out in the rates although not in all of the explanations of delinquency. This appears to be because a given trait may magnify or reduce the effect of some social adversity, and the magnification or the reduction may be added or multiplied many times to other stressors. A consequence is that there are more minorities represented in jail populations as well as this population than the general population. It is notable that although 13% of the Kalamazoo population in this age group is nonwhite, 51% of this cohort is nonwhite. This corresponds to the national data on those in the corrections population.

When race is correlated with offense, 20 young black men were convicted on drug charges and 19 were sentenced for property charges.

Table 11
1989 Racial Diversity in Kalamazoo County
Youth Compared to This Cohort

	White	Non-White	Total
Kalamazoo County	87%	13%	100%
SAI Cohort	49%	51%	100%

The remaining four were sentenced for personal or other crimes. Nine young white men were convicted of drug felonies, 28 were sentenced for property felonies, and four were convicted of personal and other crimes. See Table 12.

Table 12
Race Compared to Offense

	Property	Drug	Personal	Total
Black	20	19	4	43
White	28	9	4	41
Total	48	28	8	84

To analyze the variance of SAI and probation success by race, it is necessary to break the sample into two groups determined by their sentencing dates. In the first year of the program, white offenders

were sentenced to SAI in greater numbers, while in the second year black offenders were sentenced to SAI in larger numbers. Since those who have been on probation the longest have more time to recidivate we would expect the first group to have a higher rate of recidivism. In addition to making the comparison of SAI sentencing data as accurate as possible, each group is also compared by race. See Tables 13 and 14.

Table 13

Race Controlled for Dates and Status
Group 1 (10/88 - 12/89)

	Black	(%)	White	(%)	Total	(%)
Fail SAI	6	(35.0%)	11	(40.0%)	17	(38.6%)
Probation Failure	9	(52.0%)	9	(33.1%)	18	(40.9%)
Active Probation	2	(11.7%)	7	(25.9%)	9	(20.4%)
Total	17	(100%)	27	(100%)	44	(100.0%)

When race is correlated with graduation from SAI and continued active probation status, it is notable that in the first group of 44 offenders sentenced to SAI, only 17 were black. Two of these remain on active probation. (Compared to seven of 27 whites remaining on active probation.) Of the second group of 50 offenders sentenced to SAI, 26 were black and only 14 were white. Fourteen of the black offenders and six of the white offenders of this second group, remain

Table 14
Race Controlled for Dates and Status
Group 2 (1/90 - 10/91)

	Black	(%)	White	(%)	Total	(%)
Fail SAI	4	(15.0%)	5	(35.0%)	9	(22.0%)
Probation Failure	8	(30.0%)	3	(21.0%)	11	(27.0%)
Active Probation	14	(53.8%)	6	(42.8%)	20	(50.0%)
Total	26	(100.0%)	14	(100.0%)	40	(100.0%)

on active probation. The black offenders appear to have a higher graduation rate than the white offenders sentenced to bootcamp. However, the white offenders appear to have a higher rate of continued active probation once released back into the community. Whether these correlations are related to race, type of offenses committed (the black offenders in this sample have almost three times the number of drug related offenses than the white offenders), or some other variable is not known. Most likely it is a combination of many variables with the added problem of being black in a dominant white culture (Jenkins, 1989).

Education

Regarding educational levels, at the time of sentencing, Table 15 reveals that nine (11%) of the offenders were listed as high school graduates, and 75 (89%) were not graduates of high school. Of those

without a high school diploma, 28 (33.3%) obtained their diploma by completing their GED (an acronym for Graduate Examination Diploma). To obtain a GED, the student is tutored individually until he or she passes the individual subtests. This usually takes less time than the four years of high school, and certifies that the recipient has basic reading and math skills. In this manner, many who have not succeeded in high school (for whatever reason), have an alternate route to earning a diploma.

Of the group (see Table 15), six (7.1%) completed eighth grade. Of these, one (16.7%) completed the GED, prior to SAI. Eighteen (21.4%) completed ninth grade. Of these, eight (44.5%) completed the GED, prior to SAI). Twenty-six (31.0%) completed tenth grade. Of these, another eight (31%) completed the GED, prior to SAI. Twenty-five (29.6%) completed grade 11, and 11 (42%) of these completed the GED prior to SAI). Finally, nine (10.7%) graduated from high school.

Table 15
Specific Education

	8	9	10	11	12	Total	Percent
Grade	6	18	26	25	9	84	100.0%
Sp. Ed.			6	3	2	11	13.1%
GED	1	8	8	11		28	33.3%
Percent	7.1	21.4	31.0	29.6	10.7	100	

Those sentenced to SAI had an 8% rate of high school graduation

compared to 84% of the Kalamazoo County population which had attained a high school diploma (Michigan League for Human Services, 1992). Of those in the sample who did not graduate from high school, an additional 18 (33%) obtained Graduate Equivalency Diplomas (GED), 15 of which were obtained while the subjects were committed to juvenile institutions, with the remaining 12 earned at SAI. Of this sample, 47 (56%) neither graduated from high school nor obtained a GED. See Table 16.

Table 16
Education Collapsed

	High School Graduate	Otherwise	Total
Kalamazoo County	84%	16%	100%
SAI Cohort	8%	89%*	100%

*This includes 32% who completed GED's.

Chronic offenders tend to have lower IQs than offenders in general (Glueck & Gleuck, 1935; Manne, Kandel & Rosenthal, 1962; Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1972). In addition the nature of the crime committed as well as the rate of offending appears to have some relationship to IQ (Wilson, 1983). Crimes such as forgery, bribery, embezzlement for example, are associated with higher IQs than is the norm for the offender population in general. High-frequency offenders such as burglars, thieves, and those who carry out drug and alcohol offenses are within the center of the IQ distribution; and those whose crimes are limited to assault, homicide, or sex offenses

tend to have the lowest IQs within the offender population (Caplan & Gligor, 1965; Marcus, 1955). Therefore, it appears that the crimes of the less intelligent offenders are often crimes of violence spurred by immediate gratification and impulsivity.

While we do not have information on IQ, we can see that those sentenced to SAI do differ significantly from the majority of young adults in Kalamazoo County in terms of high school completion. In addition 7 (8.3%) were in special education programs while in the public school system (participation in special education/school failure may indicate emotional problems as well as problems with intellectual development). See Table 17.

Table 17
Education by Status

	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Fail SAI	2	7	11	4	2	26
Fail Probation	2	8	8	8	3	29
Active Probation	2	3	7	13	4	29
Total	6	18	26	25	9	84

While the breakdown of the data by grade and outcome does not reveal significant variations (due to the size of the sample), when factoring in those who received GED's prior to SAI, the tendency for failure of SAI/probation is notable. See Table 17. A possible explanation is that this group received their GED's while in a juvenile

institution, thus reflecting a group with a longer, more serious criminal record. See Table 18.

Table 18
Obtained GED by Status

	SAI GED	Other GED	Total
Fail SAI		6	6
Probation Failure	5	6	11
Active Probation	7	3	10
Total	12	13	25

Employment

The employment data (Table 19) can be collapsed as 26.2% reporting legitimate occupations and 73.8% unemployed. However, those who did report employment, noted employment that is marginal in terms of income.

Table 19
Employment

Employment	Number	Percent	Cum. Number	Percent
No Employment	62	73.8%	62	73.8%
General Laborers	12	14.3%	74	88.1%
Service	9	10.7%	83	98.8%
Student	1	1.0%	84	100.0%

Criminals also tend to have poorer employment records than noncriminals. See Table 20. This may reflect the availability of criminal opportunities over legitimate ones, a preference for a more lucrative exciting criminal lifestyle over a less lucrative/boring conventional lifestyle, or that offenders are not chosen by employers even when jobs are available. Reasons why offenders are not chosen may be related to social learning, school experiences, family life, or constitutional factors (Mednick, Moffitt & Stack, 1987). Among the members of this group, 62 (73.8%) were unemployed, 12 (14.3%) were employed as general laborers, 9 (10.7%) were employed in service occupations, and 1 (1.2%) was a student. We can see that these data tend to support the national data that those who have some employment or income are less likely to fail probation. However, the data are insufficient for making clear judgements because they were gleaned primarily from presentencing reports, and offenders have been known to claim employment or to obtain employment prior to attending their court dates, because it looks good to the sentencing judge.

Table 20
Employment by Status

	YES	NO	Total
Fail SAI	6	20	26
Probation Failure	5	24	29
Active Probation	13	16	29
Total	24	60	84

Socioeconomic Status

These offenders report that 35 (41.7%) of their parents were unemployed, in sharp contrast to the 5% unemployment reported in Kalamazoo County during this time period. Of the parents' employed, 13 (15.5%) were reported as general laborers, 15 (17.9%) were reported as working at a skilled trade such as a mechanic, 10 (9.0%) were reported as service workers such as cashier or waitress, and 11 (13.0%) were reported as having white-collar positions, which included clerical workers, managerial positions, and military occupations. Ninety-one percent of those with a parent in a white collar occupation graduated from SAI. However, those individuals with parents in white collar occupations accounted for only 13% of this cohort, and this is too small a group to establish significance.

Other interpretations of these data must include the information that the majority of the incomes of this group reflect the lowest of the income levels (well below the poverty line) in Kalamazoo County. Eighty-eight percent of this population were living in single parent homes and almost 74% had unemployed parent/s. When this is reconciled with the notion of relative poverty, this cohort is well below the index levels of poverty, which may help to explain the rates of criminality in a culture which is materially oriented.

Laborers and service workers may have marginal income or inconsistent/seasonal work. According to Table 21, over 27% of the individuals in this cohort report the primary wage earner in their

Table 21
Employment of Parent

	Number	Percent
General Laborer	13	(15%)
Trade	15	(18%)
Service	15	(18%)
Office	11	(13%)
Not Employed	35	(42%)
Total	84	(100%)

family to be either a general laborer or in a service occupation. In addition, 42% of the parent's are reported to be unemployed or unemployable. Those unemployed and with marginal incomes and total 69% of this population. See Table 22.

Table 22
SES of County by SES of Cohort

	Poverty	Not Employed
Kalamazoo County	13.7%	5.2%
SAI Cohort	96.4%	73.8%
Cohort Parent	69.0%	41.7%

SES: socio-economic status is utilized in this data as a combination of educational level and occupation of parents.

Family of Origin

The roles of parenting and social support are additional possible intervening variables within ethnic groups in which high-risk conditions are common. Nearly half of all American black children live below the poverty level and belong to single-parent households (Parker & Kleiner, 1966). However, many of these children benefit from the fact that their families have an extensive network of support including grandparents, aunts, uncles, older siblings, and neighbors (Farington, 1978; Widom, 1991). Longitudinal research shows that as a child approaches adolescence, the store of strengths such as a supportive family and at least one area of personal competency become determinant factors of the quality of life throughout adulthood (Rutter, 1979). This is one explanation for the fact that despite equally positive or negative environmental factors, children within the same family sometimes have differential criminal outcomes. When childhood conditions are controlled, researchers (Mednick, Moffitt & Stack, 1987) conclude

evidence that a small minority in a population is associated with more than half of the offenses suggests that biological and psychological factors may be relatively more important contributors to recidivist behavior than social factors.
(p. 208)

In this cohort, sociological conditions could not be controlled and there is a correlation among a number of family stressors and recidivism. Ten (11.9%) had five or more family stressors, 32 (33.1%) had four family stressors, and 35 (41.6%) had three family stressors. A total of 48 (57.1%) had only two family stressors

reported, and 14 (16.7%) had only one family stressor. The remaining 12 (14.2%) had no information of this nature in their files. These statistics illustrate that those who suffered serious abuse/neglect represent a proportionately larger segment of those who could be identified as chronic offenders. See Table 23.

Within this study, of the 39 (46.4%) who qualified for chronic offender status and the 25 (29.8%) who recidivated were found among the 30 (35.7%) who were reported victims of child abuse/neglect. However, there was no apparent relation with those who were raised below the poverty standard and recidivism or chronic offender status. Perhaps this is because the majority of this population, 81 (96.4%) reported incomes that are well below the standard of poverty.

The importance of problems experienced within the family of origin (social and constitutional) is underscored by a prospective and longitudinal study of working-class boys, which revealed that when a father had a criminal record, a son's delinquency (independent of family income and parental behavior) increased substantially. Five factors were the best predictors of delinquency: "low intelligence, large family size, parental criminality, low family income and poor child-rearing practices" (Farrington, 1990, p. 98). In this SAI cohort, of the 47 who had information reported in their files, 30 (63.8%) reported that at least one member of their immediate family had a conviction record. The other 17 (20.2%) of the offenders' immediate families did not appear to have conviction records.

Table 23
Family of Origin Stressors by Status

	No Stressors	(%)	1-3 Stressors	(%)	4+ Stressors	(%)	Total
Fail SAI	1	(20%)	6	(27%)	19	(33%)	26
Probation Failure	1	(20%)	7	(32%)	21	(37%)	29
Active Probation	3	(60%)	9	(41%)	17	(30%)	29
Total	5	(100%)	22	(100%)	57	(100%)	84

In general the data in Table 23 appear to support the notion of the cumulative negative effect of stressors on families and individuals, in terms of behavior with negative consequences.

There are incidentally, also some indications that some of the offenders are repeating the parenting styles they experienced, many of whom were abandoned by their fathers at an early age, or who had fathers who were corrections clients. For example, although there are only seven in this study who report they are married, 33 had one or more children.

History of Alcohol/Substance Abuse/Mental Health Problems

Drug abuse impairs cognition and distorts motivation, resulting in any number of interpersonal problems, such as spouse abuse, broken families, job loss, and criminal behavior. Of all the stages of life, however, young adulthood is the time when problem drinking and

drug abuse are not only most likely, they are also most likely to result in long term damage (Johnston, Bachman & O'Mally, 1986).

The likelihood of a person's abusing alcohol or drugs in adulthood is also affected by that person's sex, temperament, experience of family patterns, and the cultural context during childhood and adolescence (Peele, 1989). For example, the easy-going, confident child, in a warm and stable family who grows up in a subculture that teaches moderation or abstinence with regard to drugs, is unlikely to become a drug abuser. In contrast, the hostile child, with low self-esteem, growing up in a neglectful, drug-abusing family, is a prime candidate for becoming a substance abuser (Yost & Mines, 1985).

Young people who become part of arrest statistics have lower self-esteem, poorer relationships with their families, and more difficulty in school than their peers who have not had trouble with the law (Widon, 1989). This is also the population most at risk for alcohol/drug abuse (Chaiken & Chaiken, 1987; Grilly, 1989).

Fifty-four (64.2%) members of the population had either admitted or documented alcohol problems, while 30 (35.7%) did not. Seventy (83.3%) had either admitted or documented substance abuse problems while only 14 (16.7%) claimed none. Fifty-three (63.1%) had an admitted or documented history of mental health problems, while 31 (36.9%) claimed no history of mental health problems. Only six of the total sample of 84 neither admitted nor had documented evidence of any of these problems. See Table 24. These numbers reveal that most of those who have one of these problems is likely to have some combination of alcohol/substance abuse or a history of mental

Table 24
Alcohol, Drug, Mental Health by Status

	Alcohol	Drug	Mental Health	Some Combina- tion	All Three	None
Problems	54	70	53	64	37	6
Otherwise	30	14	31	20	47	78
Total	84	84	84	84	84	84

health problems. From this we can also see that a history of drug, alcohol, and mental health problems is strongly related to the youthful corrections population because 92.8% of this group had one or more of these problems.

It is of interest that although 64 offenders had some combination of problems with alcohol, drugs or mental health, none of the offenders had a history of alcohol problems alone. Moreover, those with drug/alcohol problems are more likely to be represented within the SAI graduates who subsequently had their probation revoked and were sentenced to prison. Also, those with problems in all three areas were less likely to successfully complete SAI or probation.

Routes to SAI

Some of the offenders were serving a probation sentence on a felony and were sentenced to SAI as a violation of probation. Others were sentenced to SAI as the result of a felony conviction. The two

groups are compared to learn if there is any variance in their outcomes. Twenty (23.8%) were sentenced to SAI, graduated SAI, and continue on active probation status. Ten (11.9%) were sentenced to SAI, graduated from SAI, and subsequently received a prison sentence for committing a new crime, or violating another condition of their probation. Twelve (14.2%) were sentenced to SAI, failed to graduate SAI, and received a prison sentence for this violation of the probation condition. Nine (10.7%) were sentenced to SAI as the result of a probation hearing, graduated from SAI, and continue on active probation.

Fourteen (16.7%) were on a felony probation and sentenced to SAI as a result of a probation violation, failed to successfully complete SAI, and consequently received a prison sentence. Nineteen (22.6%) were on probation and then sentenced to SAI for a probation violation, graduated or completed SAI, and then received a prison sentence for committing a new crime or a different violation of their probation conditions. Three (3.6%) of this last group did not complete SAI due to medical reasons, and subsequently committed a new crime and were subsequently sentenced to prison. See Table 25.

Of the 84 in this cohort, the three who did not complete SAI for medical reasons went to prison for the commission of a new crime. Of the 55 individuals who did graduate from SAI, 29 remained on active probation status up to two years after their sentencing date and 26 did not. Sixteen of the group who graduated from SAI received a prison sentence after being found guilty of another crime, and 13

Table 25

Routes to SAI by Status

	Graduated Active Probation	SAI Technical Violation/ New Crime	Failed to Graduate Prison	SAI New Crime
SAI direct	(20) 23.8%	(10) 12%	(12) 14%	(42) 50%
SAI via *p.v.	(9) 10.7%	(19) 22%	(14) 16%	(42) 50%
Total	(29) 34%	(29) 34%	(26) 30%	(84) 100%

*p.v. is probation violation

received prison sentences for technical violations of probation such as abscond, positive drug tests, failure to participate in treatment, or failure to follow other conditions of probation. Fifty-five of the total 84 were sentenced to prison within two years of their SAI sentence. Twenty-six were sentenced to prison for failing SAI and 29 were sentenced to prison for committing a probation violation or a new crime.

It thus appears that those sentenced directly to SAI had a somewhat lower rate of recidivism. This group is likely to be the group with fewer prior convictions also.

Days Incarcerated on SAI Sentence

When an offender is sentenced to prison, he customarily receives credit for the time served awaiting sentencing. In these files, the prison sentences were credited for the time served also on the SAI

sentence. The days these individuals spent incarcerated is reported as an indication of the intensive supervision of those sentenced to SAI. This number includes both those currently active on probation and all of those individuals up to the time they were sentenced to prison for a violation of probation or conviction on a new crime.

Six (7.1%) individuals served 80 to 100 days in jail, SAI, or the first levels of the Kalamazoo Probation Enhancement Program (KPEP), a work-release type of institution. Eighteen individuals (21.4%) served 101 to 200 days, and another 28 individuals (33.4%) served 201 to 300 days of jail custody. Eighteen (21.4%) served 301 to 400 days while the remaining 14 (16.7%) served between 401 and 700 days. The average number of days served is 285 and the range of days served is 80 to 700. See Table 26.

Table 26

Days Incarcerated Including Jail
SAI, KPEP Levels I & II

DAYS	80-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-700	Total
#	6	18	28	18	14	84
%	7.1	21.4	33.4	21.4	16.7	100

As stated in Table 27, of the 84 young men in this cohort, 55 (65.5%) graduated from SAI. Twenty-six (31.0%) failed to complete SAI. The remaining three (3.6%) did not complete SAI due to medical reasons, and all three committed new crimes while serving probation.

Table 27
SAI Graduation Status

	Number	Percent
Graduate of SAI	55	65.5%
Fail SAI	26	31.0%
Medical Failure	3	3.6%

Recidivism

Recent national research shows a graduation rate of 86% among those sentenced to bootcamps (Parent, Chaiken & Logan, 1989). However, over half of those who graduate are convicted of new offenses within one year from their bootcamp graduations (Parent, Chaiken & Logan, 1989). This is in contrast with a national survey which revealed that "in 1979 61% of those sentenced were recidivists and half of the parolees were returned to prison, usually within the first three years of release" (Allen & Simonson, 1992, p. 234).

In an extensive analysis of federal data, it was suggested that the best way to study recidivism is to follow a cohort of offenders for a specified period after their release. According to this analysis, the recidivist figure is anywhere from one third to one half depending on whether the use of probation or parole is high. When only the worst risks are sent to prison, the result is a higher probation recidivist rate. When high risk persons are paroled (due to overcrowding for example), a higher prison recidivism rate is

likely (Glazer, 1989).

Petersilia's study of felony probation, using data from 16,000 felony offenders in 1980, reported that nearly two-thirds of all convicted offenders were placed on probation. Of these, two-thirds were rearrested. Fifty-one percent of these probationers were convicted of a new crime, and 34% were given a jail or prison sentence. The recidivists committed the crimes of burglary, theft, and robbery. The study indicated the following four relations to recidivism: (1) Property offenders had the highest rates of recidivism; (2) The greater the number of prior convictions, the higher the probability of recidivism; (3) Regardless of source or amount, the presence of income was associated with lower recidivism; and (4) If the offender was living with spouse/children, recidivism was lower (Petersilia, 1985).

Table 28

Kalamazoo Cohort Comparisons to National Outcomes (A*)

Fail SAI	SAI Graduate	
	Active	Prison
Kalamazoo	31%	**34.5%
Nationally	14%	43%

(A*) Collapsed

**Includes three who did not graduate for medical reasons.

In 1983, Georgia started the first bootcamp as it is currently

practiced. A study by the Georgia Department of Corrections and Georgia State University has found that 40.6% of their ninety day bootcamp graduates were sentenced to prison, compared with 53.4% for similar offenders who committed similar crimes and spent up to six months in regular prison (Bowen, 1991, p. 98). Program failures were not addressed in this literature.

The research on the cohort from Kalamazoo County had a graduation rate of 65.5% which is smaller than the national rate of 86%. However, 35% were still serving probation successfully in the community within one year of their bootcamp graduation. This result does compare favorably with the national rate.

The first Kalamazoo cohort sentenced to bootcamp included 47% (or 26 of the 55 SAI graduates) who subsequently were sentenced to prison within two years of their sentencing. These statistics suggest that bootcamp was relatively successful for the Kalamazoo cohort, if one considers that upon parole from the penitentiary more than half are convicted of at least one new crime within a year of release. Not only is the parolee more likely to be convicted of a new crime, but the parolee's crime tends to be more severe than either his earlier convictions or the crimes of the bootcamp graduates. In addition, this research suggests that the SAI population is not drawn primarily from the soft or tractable end of the criminal continuum. For example, 44 out of this population of 84 offenders or 52.0% are chronic offenders (i.e., have five or more crimes prior to their eighteenth birthday). Also, this research reveals

that this group has managed to be convicted of crimes despite being incarcerated for an average of 285 days prior to arrest on the instant offense.

Of the SAI graduates, 13 (15%) were later sentenced to prison for a new crime within two years of their bootcamp graduation. Another, 13 (15%) were sentenced to prison for a technical violation of their probation within two years of their bootcamp graduation. Therefore, 52 (60%) members of this cohort of SAI graduates have been sentenced to prison. Twenty-nine (35.5%) remain actively on probation (and half of the active group has not been tested yet with serving a year or more of probation in the community.) See Table 29.

Table 29

Kalamazoo Cohort Comparisons to National Outcomes (B*)

	Graduate SAI			
	Fail SAI	New Crime	Technical Violation	Active
Kalamazoo	31%	15%	15%	35%
Nationally	14%	22%	21%	43%
(B*) Specific				

It must be noted that the clearest predictor of program success is the time difference between date of SAI graduation and the date the file information was recorded for this research. For example, the 10 who were sentenced in 1988 were collapsed into the 1989 group and this group of 44 (52.3%) had only nine (10.%) who continued to

serve probation sentences. The group with the highest active probation are the 40 (47.6%) sentenced in 1990, with 20 (23.8%) still serving probation. Those sentenced in 1990 have served less time on probation and have had less time in the community to commit and be convicted of a new crime or to commit a technical probation violation. (It is also notable that those in the second one-and-a-half year period spent 30 days longer at SAI, the SAI staff of the latter groups had more SAI experience, and the SAI was fully established within this time period.)

The distinguishing factors of those who remained on probation up to two years include the fact that these offenders had fewer prior convictions and concurrent convictions, were either age 18 or 19 years old, had fewer cases of admitted/documentated reported alcohol/drug problems, and did not have aggravating factors such as use of a weapon or violence in the commission of a crime or a prior record of assaultive behavior. See Table 30.

Table 30

Date of Graduation by Status

	1988 & 1989 (%)		1990 (%)		Total (%)	
Prison	35	(41.6%)	20	(23.8%)	55	(65.5%)
Active	9	(10.7%)	20	(23.8%)	29	(34.5%)
Total	44	(52.3%)	40	(47.6%)	84	(100%)

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Research Findings

The profile which emerges of the offender sentenced to SAI in this Kalamazoo cohort is one of minimal education. The economic status of the offenders' families of origin is largely below the poverty line. In addition, it is half white and half nonwhite. It is easy to see that the first cohort of those sentenced to SAI is not representative of the general Kalamazoo population.

Although most of the young men were below age 20 at the time of sentencing, some 52% already had prior misdemeanor convictions and 39% had prior felony convictions with 41% having four or more convictions prior to the offense for which they were sentenced to SAI.

Thirty-one percent of this population failed to graduate the SAI program and were subsequently sentenced to prison. Thirty-four percent graduated from SAI, but were subsequently sentenced to prison for either a violation of their probation conditions or the commission of a new crime. Thirty-four percent of this population graduated SAI and were still serving probation sentences in the community within two years of their SAI sentence. Only one SAI graduate had successfully completed his probationary period at the time these data were collected. These figures, while disappointing, are comparable to national rates of those sentenced to SAI and those released from

prison.

With respect to the issue of net widening, this research revealed that one-third of the population of offenders sentenced to SAI in Kalamazoo was not within the SAI sentencing guidelines. The majority of those sentenced to SAI, in exception to the guidelines, was not yet 18 when convicted of the felony instant offense. As suggested by previous longitudinal research on youthful offenders, this may indicate the less tractable end of the criminal spectrum rather than the youthful, first time felony offender for which SAI was intended. It is also noted that the youngest of those sentenced to SAI have the highest rate of failing to graduate from SAI, as well as a high rate of GED completion. Completion of GED by a minor is one indication of lengthy juvenile commitments.

The findings of this research are similar to previous research on the profile and recidivism of the correctional client. The data revealed are also supportive of the theories concerning early socialization. For example, the data that reveal that the baby-boom birth cohort has not matured out of criminal behavior in the numbers that were anticipated as other birth cohorts have done. Throughout the decade of the eighties, adult arrests have increased by more than 30% with juvenile cases increasing by 2-1/2% (Toufflexis, 1989). Juvenile crime was expected to drop due to the proportion of the U.S. population between the ages of 10 and 17 decreasing by 9% (Nagin, 1991). Those currently incarcerated contain 40% age 18 to 24 as expected, plus 39% of sentenced offenders aged 25 to 34. The latter reveals a

failure of the baby boom cohort to mature out. Nineteen percent of the offender population are age 35 and over (Shover & Einstadter, 1988, p. 5).

In a criminological society, crime is over-determined due to multiple stressors at the community and structural level such as high rates of mobility, unemployment, and racism. These stressors impact upon the ability of parents to nurture their children (Kagen, 1991). In this way, the culture determines to a large extent the forms of nurturing upon which individual maturation or psychosocial development is based. When social workers are faced with those with the lowest socio-economic status, poor socialization, and a high degree of school failure (all of which tend to have cumulative effects), they often designate deviance as over-determined. In this way, a lack of social and familial support is related directly to later criminality (Currie, 1985).

Historical corrections ideology is also implicated in the perceptions of criminal causality and punishment, or treatment. The prevention model goes beyond conceptualizing the criminal act alone as symptomatic of individual ills. It also goes beyond conceptualizing crime as dependant solely upon institutional ills (such as family or community problems) and emphasizes the effects of the social and economic structure upon crime rates (Lejins, 1970). The structural or macrosocietal level addresses other cultural factors such as employment, housing, medical care availability, and modes of parenting in criminality. One example of a structural level parenting factor

is the current vanishing parent syndrome or the economic necessity of both mother and father to work outside the home without viable substitutes for child care/socialization built into the social structure (Patterson, 1982; Russell, 1974; Schaffer, 1977). We appear to be moving into an era of addressing society's ills rather than focusing only on the coping problems of individuals, specific families, and communities (Vygotsky, 1978; Willerman, 1979; Wilson, 1984).

With the ideological shift to the macrosocietal or structural level, we are also shifting our sanctions further from punishment to prevention. Bootcamp is one such sanction in the sense of intervening early in the criminal careers of youthful offenders to prevent future criminal behavior. A means of achieving the rehabilitative goals of SAI is to positively influence hemispheric integration which reduces fragmentary thinking and the dominance of the aggressive functioning. This is accomplished by intense reparenting, i.e., observing and practicing the modeled disciplined behavior with verbal, mental, educational, and counselling exercises (Harlow, 1966; Mair, 1991). This approach appears to be able to rehabilitate at least the soft end of the socially indoctrinated criminals. Some brain injuries, diseases, and teratogens will continue to facilitate criminal behavior despite the nature of the social interactions after birth. The cumulative effects of socialization, however, appear to exacerbate or mitigate what is given, as in-born strengths and weaknesses appear to interact with environmental factors (Diamond, 1990).

Researchers are tracking these younger, perhaps chronic,

offenders throughout their criminal careers to learn if alternatives to prison, such as bootcamps, are rehabilitative (Gendreau & Ross, 1987). If any differences in outcomes are revealed, the question is whether differences reflect a more or less dangerous individual at the time of sentencing or the effects of correctional treatment (Trochim, 1984). Given the high levels of recidivism, though, there is little basis for believing that the criminal justice and corrections systems are effective in treating or restraining criminality. Ceasing to be an offender appears to be a process of maturation or of adaptation to the different circumstances of adult life patterns, which are for the most part, inconsistent with criminal activities (Trasler, 1987). Research indicates that those who become adult recidivists, the hardcore of highly criminal individuals, are those who are not simply failures of the criminal justice system, but are failures of early childhood socialization. Similarly, those who might be identified as successes of the criminal justice system appear to be, for the most part the individuals who mature out of criminal behavior over time, with a higher correlation of those who had positive early social experiences (Anolik, 1981; Glazer, 1989).

According to Weiner, Zahn and Sagi (1991), the

patterns of criminal behavior were established at such young ages persisted for so long, and reached such a degree of seriousness that conventional programs of rehabilitation can probably have little if any significant effect on their lives. Research suggests that the apparent failure (or success) of many rehabilitation programs such as SAI, may be due less to their content than to the nature of offenders in the program. (p. 364)

Research continues to be conducted to identify factors which may

aid in the prediction of who is and who is not a threat to society and deal with them accordingly (Bowers, 1991; Forst, 1984; Gustavson, 1986; Hann, 1991; Loeber & Dishion, 1983). Research both on offenders and on criminal sanctions will help us to judge whether or not sentencing guidelines and incarceration alternatives (such as bootcamps), are working as intended.

Future Research

The data reported in this research do not reflect recidivism rates, merely recidivism, due to the short time the offenders have been in the community. However, it is hoped that this research can be continued in an effort to track this sample over several more years so that a recidivism rate can be computed.

A future direction of this research on those sentenced to SAI from Kalamazoo Count is to match those sentenced to SAI for age, prior prison commitments, and offense with those who were sentenced to prison. In addition, a recidivism rate over a five-year period will need to be computed and compared to learn if SAI is, or is not, rehabilitative as determined by the commission of fewer and/or less serious criminal offenses. Rehabilitation might also be determined by computing the number of those sentenced to SAI who recidivate (either with a probation violation or commission of a new crime) and comparing this number with the number of parole violations/new criminal convictions of the control group of parolees. Those who fail to complete SAI (the medical cases, for example) would not be compared

with the control group of parolees because this group would not have experienced the SAI treatment.

Other possibilities for future research include following a group for a longer period of time to determine the number of those who successfully completed their probationary period and if those who did recidivate had a lower rate of recidivism as compared to their convictions prior to completion of the SAI sanction. This could be compared to other variables such as family of origin stressors, to determine if there are predictive correlations. To draw substantive conclusions from this research on those sentenced to SAI in Kalamazoo, a larger population, over a longer period of time, and a control group would be necessary.

The findings of this research tend to support previous research on delinquency as it relates to the early childhood socialization of chronic offenders. No statements can be made at this point, regarding the general effectiveness of SAI, because this research did not involve a comparison sample of similar offenders who were not sentenced to SAI. However, it is safe to say that within the reintegration and prevention models of corrections, the current support of a broad array of intermediate sanctions regarding economic as well as treatment outcomes, will be at least as effective.

Appendix A
SAI Data Collection Instrument

SAI DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT

- ____ 1. Data Status (0=SAI-active; 1=SAI-fail SAI-prison;
2=SAI-p.v.-prison; 3=prob.-SAI-active;
4=prob.-SAI p.v.-prison; 5=prob-SAI-
prob. p.v.-prison)
- ____ 2. SAI status (0=graduate, 1=failure, 2=medical)
- ____ 3. SAI goals (0=none, 1=sound, 2=unrealistic,
9=not available/apply)
- ____ 4. Judge (0=Lamb, 1=Goodwillie, 2=Shaefer, 3=Shma, 4=Foley
6=other)
- ____ 5. Total months probation sentence (99=Lifetime)
- ____ 6. Sentencing Guideline Score
- ____ 7. Offense conviction crime category (on this docket)
- ____ (0=personal, 1=personal, 2=property, 3=drug, 6=other)
- ____ 8. Offense charge crime category (as above)
- ____
- ____
- ____ 9. Number of charges convicted
- ____ 10. Aggravating factors _____
- ____ 11. Mitigating factors _____
- ____ 12. Number of concurrent sentences
- ____ 13. Age (D.O.B. _____)
- ____ 14. Last grade completed
- ____ 15. G.E.D. (0=no, 1=yes SAI/KPEP, 6=yes other)
- ____ 16. Kalamazoo county resident
- ____ 17. Race (0=white, 1=black, 2=hispanic, 6=other)

- ____ 18. Employed at time of arrest
- ____ 19. Occupation (0=none, 1=gen.laborer, 2=skilled trade,
3=service, 4=clerical, 5=managerial, 6=other, 7=student)
- ____ 20. Occupation of parent/head-of-household
- ____ 21. Alcohol usage _____
(0=none documented, 1=moderate, 2=abuse/problems)
- ____ 22. Drug usage _____
- ____ 23. Psychological history _____
- ____ 24. Physical fitness (0=poor, 1=average/fair, 2=good/excel)
- ____ 25. Sentence marital status (0=never married, 1=married,
2=separated/divorced, 3=widowed, 4=remarried, 9=n/a)
- ____ 26. Number of children
- ____ 27. Family of origin structure (0=never intact, 1=once intact,
2=always intact, 9=n/a)
- ____ 28. Parents/siblings conv. records (0=no, 1=yes, 9=n/a)
- ____ 29. Number of stressors (00=none documented, 01=parent/s
abandoned, 02=neglect/abuse,
03=many caretakers/frequent moves,
04=parent/sibling suicide/other untimely death,
05=poverty/economically unstable, 06=other,
07=youth of parents - under age 19, 08=handicap,
09=no info. available, 10=adopted, 11=illegitimate,
12=birth trauma ex: premature, fetal alcohol
syndrome, multiple, etc., 13=family history of
substance abuse, 14=divorce/marital probs.)

Notes: _____

(0=None Known, 8=8 or more)

- ____ 30. Prior misdemeanor convictions as a juvenile _____
- ____ 31. Prior felony convictions as a juvenile _____
- ____ 32. Prior misdemeanor convictions as an adult _____

- ____ 33. Prior felony convictions as an adult _____

- ____ 34. Total number of prior convictions (31 through 34)
- ____ 35. Total prior probations
- ____ 36. Prior incarcerations as a juvenile _____

- ____ 37. Prior incarcerations as an adult _____

- ____ 38. Total prior incarcerations (37 and 38)
- ____ 39. Total days of prior incarcerations
- ____ 40. Total probation incarceration days served (including
jail, tether, SAI, KPEP level 1-2),
Workspace for sentence dates:

- ____ 41. Number of probation violations on this sentence

- ____ 42. Number of charges post this docket (List crime
categories) _____

- ____ 43. Number of days to first arrest date after this docket
(date: _____)
- ____ 44. Number of days to most recent arrest (date _____)
- ____ 45. Current probation/prison status (date: ____ - ____ - ____)
(0=Completed, no longer under supervision,
1=Still serving probation
2=Revoked jail/prison,
3=Abscond/warrant status,
6=Other,
9=Unknown)

____46. Total months prison sentence on this docket.

NOTES: _____

Appendix B

Permission Letter From Probation/Parole Administrator



COUNTY OF KALAMAZOO KALAMAZOO
· MICHIGAN ·

310 E. Michigan Avenue
Kalamazoo, MI 49007-3833
August 8, 1994
TX (616) 383-8972
FAX (616) 384-8046

Western Michigan University
Criminal Justice Program
Department of Sociology

RE: Sherrie DeBoes Chandler

Beginning July 1990, Sherrie DeBoes Chandler had my permission to collect research data regarding the Michigan Department of Corrections Special Alternative Incarceration Program (SAI) from the files of the Kalamazoo County Adult Probation Office.

Sincerely,

John L. Fink
Probation/Parole Administrator

JLF:tv

Appendix C

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board Approval Letter

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board



Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008-3899

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Date: February 11, 1991

To: Sherri DeBoef Chandler

From: Mary Anne Bunda, Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number 91-01-16

Mary Anne Bunda

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research protocol, "Special Alternative Incarceration Evaluation for Kalamazoo County," has been approved after full review by the HSIRB. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the approval application.

You must seek reapproval for any change in this design. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

xc: Paul Friday, Sociology

Approval Termination: February 11, 1992

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