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**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ESCAPES FROM PUBLIC
AND PRIVATE CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES**

By

Richard F. Culp

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Criminal Justice in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

2001

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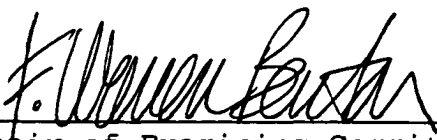
Richard F. Culp

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Chair of Examining Committee


Executive Officer

Professor Mary Gibson

Professor Barry Spunt
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ESCAPES FROM PUBLIC
AND PRIVATE CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES

by

Richard F. Culp

Advisor: Professor Warren Benton

This study explores a number of matters related to prison escapes in the United States, focusing on the two-year period 1997-1998. The study considers four questions: 1) whether or not private prisons are more escape prone than public prisons; 2) if there is a relationship between the strength of market forces and the intensity of management reaction to prison escapes; 3) if market forces impinge more keenly on private sector prisons than public sector prisons; and (4) whether there is a difference in how public and private prison management reacts to escapes once they occur. In the course of research, the project yielded a number of related findings concerning the reliability of national prison escape data, the extent of news media coverage of prison escapes, the characteristics

of prison escapees, and the means employed by inmates who escape from prison.

Chapter 1 considers how ideological issues rather than substantive arguments underpin the debate over prison privatization in the United States. Chapter 2 summarizes the body of research on prison privatization, explores what other studies have to say about the phenomenon of prison escapes, and examines prior research on media coverage of the field of corrections.

Chapter 3 examines theories of correctional management and considers how market forces may influence the way correctional managers respond when serious incidents (such as escapes) spill into the community at large. Chapter 4 discusses the descriptive case study methodology used in the project and suggests a model for explaining the relationship between market forces and prison management reaction to escapes.

Chapter 5 presents quantitative findings from a study of eighty-eight of the most serious escapes during the study period. Chapter 6 details twenty-four individual prison escape case studies. The study concludes with a summary of overall findings and suggestions for future research.

Acknowledgements

In conducting criminal justice research, it is important to not lose sight of a human perspective on the situations and subjects that we study. Sadly, prison escapes can and sometimes do result in tragic consequences.

In recognition of the dangerous nature of correctional work, I dedicate this study to the correctional officers, law enforcement personnel, private citizens, and prisoners who died in the course of prison escapes during 1997 and 1998. This work is dedicated to the following individuals:

Sheriff Deputies J. P. Rutland and Tommy Bourne
of the Jefferson Davis County (Mississippi)
Sheriff's Department

Officer Keith Turner of the Moody, Alabama
Police Department

Corporal Wayne Martinez, Wyoming State Penitentiary

Mr. Dennis Palmer, Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Inmate Larry Blanchfield, Delaware Correctional Center

Inmate Steven Schaaf, Nevada

It is my hope that the following research helps us to understand and manage our prisons in a more humane and effective manner and that the living conditions of prisoners and the working conditions of correctional officers may be enhanced in the process.

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CHAPTER 1

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

For the past decade and a half, the incarceration of prisoners has been a growth industry in the United States. Between 1990 and 1995 alone, the number of persons imprisoned under state and federal authority increased by 45%, from nearly 750,000 to over one million. The same five year period marked a 17% increase in the number of state and federal correctional facilities, from 1,287 to 1,500 prisons, as new prison construction sought to keep pace with the flow of new prisoners (BJS, 1998). When jail inmates are counted in the mix, the total incarcerated population in the U.S. swelled to nearly 1.8 million by the end of 1997 (BJS, 1998). To help fathom just how many people are now incarcerated in the U.S., Currie (1998) points out that the current total equals the entire population of Houston, Texas, the fourth largest city in the country.

Private prison operators have shared in the burgeoning incarceration trend, with the number of private prisons tripling in the past five years. By year-end 1997, the private prison industry controlled over 64,000 prison beds in the United States (McDonald et. al., 1998). Although the number of prisoners serving time in private facilities remains a fraction of the total incarcerated population [estimates of "market share" controlled by private prisons

range from under 3% (McDonald, et. al., 1998) to as high as 6% (RPPI, 1998); the Bureau of Justice Statistics put the figure at 5.5% (BJS, 2000)], the growth rate of private prisons in the United States has averaged about 30% per year over the past decade (Private Corrections Project, 1998).

The privatization of all governmental services has increased dramatically in the past two decades as local, state, and federal agencies have searched for ways to cut costs while still meeting their mandated responsibility to provide various services. Privatization advocates have drawn intellectual support from a number of economists, notably James Buchanan (1962; 1971), who argue for greater public choice in the purchase of essential services in order to improve quality and lower costs (for his contributions to economic science, Buchanan received the Nobel Prize in 1986). The "public choice" school suggests that when the government monopolizes the provision of any services, the net effect is lower quality and higher cost (Pratt & Maahs, 1999).

As a product of this ideological influence, the practice of privatization has increasingly been extended to basic public works and infrastructure such as garbage collection, water and sewer, electric power, and building and highway construction (Samson, 1994). Privatization has also moved into the arena of human services and social

policy, with a growing privatization of the health care industry, pension plan management, and, most recently, the public welfare system (Carroll, Conant, & Easton, 1987; De Hoog, 1994).

The public policy of prison privatization has continued within the midst of considerable controversy and debate over the propriety and legality of contracting out correctional services to the private sector. The debate is being waged among academicians, corrections practitioners, labor unionists, elected officials, and civil libertarians along at least four fronts, including economics (is it cheaper?), law (is it legal?), ethics (is it right?), and public policy (does it constitute sound correctional practice?).

The body of privatization research to date has essentially answered the question of cost in the affirmative—yes, private prisons tend to be cheaper than their public counterparts (Levinson, 1985; Logan and McGriff, 1989; Sellers, 1989; Logan, 1992, 1996; Texas Sunset Advisory Commission, 1991; Archambeault and Deis, 1996). These studies have shown private prisons to operate, on average, some 10-15% more cost effectively than comparable public facilities. Two meta-analyses of the body of comparative cost research, however, have challenged the veracity of these findings on methodological grounds (USGAO, 1996; McDonald, et. al, 1998). A third meta-analysis of

privatization research has suggested that the when cost advantages have been found, the difference is more closely related to facility size, age, and security level than to public or private management (Pratt & Maahs, 1999).

Notwithstanding the concerns raised in these studies, there is evidence that even if the private sector is enjoying a modest cost advantage over the public sector, the "good deal" may be ephemeral, with relative cost efficiencies eroding away as state facilities streamline their operations in an effort to remain competitive with the private sector (Harding, 1997; Camp and Gaes, 1998). It seems the task of conducting a definitive cost comparison of public and private prisons involves shooting at a moving target.

Challenges to the legality of prison privatization on constitutional delegation grounds, i.e., that the state has no authority to delegate its punishment function to private contractors, have not survived legal scrutiny (McDonald, et. al., 1998). In a word, "[prison privatization] is legal unless specifically prohibited by state law" (Bowman et al., 1994, p.9). Even though prisoners may be housed in privately owned facilities, the state retains custody over them and prisoners possess, at minimum, all rights extended to them in a public facility. The Supreme Court has recently held that the state's shield of qualified immunity-which limits the extent of civil damages to which the state may be held

liable if one of its workers violates a prisoner's rights—does not extend to private contractors. Hence prisoners in private facilities may actually have more extensive civil remedies to address grievances than do public inmates.¹

The ethical issue remains controversial. The dramatic increase in the number of U.S. prisoners over the past fifteen years has spawned not only private prisons but a related increase in sales and marketing of the entire panoply of products and services related to prison construction and operation. This "prison-industrial complex" (Christie, 1994; Lilly, 1996; Brown, 1996), a play on Eisenhower's coinage of the term "military-industrial complex," has become a focus of increasing concern in the academic and popular literature (Culp, 1997). Critics of prison privatization predict that the profit motive of corporations will lead to a diminished quality in conditions of confinement for prisoners as companies cut corners to maximize stockholder dividends (Robbins, 1988; Christie, 1994; Shichor, 1995; Lilly, 1996). Still others contend that prison privatization is fundamentally inconsistent with liberal democratic theory (Resig and Pratt, 2000). Yet despite the dire prognostications of private prison critics, a growing body of research indicates that the quality of care for prisoners in private facilities is no worse (and in some cases may actually be better) than that found in the

public arena (Sellers, 1989; Hatry, 1989; Logan, 1992, 1996; Archambeault and Deis, 1996; Bottomley, 1996; Culp, 1998; Biles and Dalton, 1999). These studies bolster the "stakeholder" perspective in organizational behavior theory, which suggests that the fiduciary responsibilities of corporate directors include attention to ethical practices as well as profit seeking (Freeman, 1984; Mitroff, 1983).

Public choice theory suggests that all managers, regardless of whether they work in the public or private sector, are motivated principally by their own, individual self-interest. The theory presumes that managers of public prisons are neither more nor less inspired by the "public good" than their private sector counterparts. The stakeholder perspective of business management suggests that the fiduciary responsibilities of private sector directors encourages ethical practices in addition to their responsibility to maximize profits. Together, these theories stand in opposition to the view of prison privatization critics who argue that the profit motive of private managers will lead to deteriorating conditions of confinement and security lapses in private prisons. Instead, these theories would suggest that serious incidents, such as escapes, would tend to threaten the stability and viability of a private organization more profoundly than a public organization. Accordingly, the perspective would anticipate a more

intensive management reaction to an escape from a private prison than from a similar public facility.

Much of the ethical debate over prison privatization is embedded in the larger "left-right" ideological dichotomy separating "pro-business" and "anti-business" viewpoints. As is the case with many controversial public policy issues (e.g., mandatory sentencing and gun control), respective positions in support of or in opposition to privatization tend to be staked on the basis of general political views rather than derived from empirical research (on the discrepancy between popular beliefs and empirical findings in criminal justice research, see for example Kleck, 1991; Walker, 1994; Culp, 1997). Respective camps have "dug in their heels" on either side of the prison privatization issue and it is doubtful that ongoing empirical research will nudge diehard proponents or opponents to change their positions significantly. Harding (1997) is probably correct when he suggests that outcome data showing either positive or negative results from privatization is unlikely to alter the ideologically entrenched stance of ardent foes or allies on either side of the debate.

Thankfully, the smoke screen of ideological rhetoric advanced by zealous supporters and critics of privatization (see Culp, 1997; 2000) may begin to dissipate as private prisons simply become more commonplace, permitting us to

more freely assess the public policy implications of correctional privatization. A recent study of state-level privatization (e.g. the fifty states plus the District of Columbia) by the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) found that private prisons are now operating in twelve jurisdictions and are under consideration in sixteen others. According to the NIC, four state-level departments of correction (California,² Delaware, Kansas, and New York) have officially rejected prison privatization as a policy option while the remaining seventeen jurisdictions have not yet formally considered it (N.I.C., 1996). Despite the ongoing public policy controversy, some 140 private prisons had materialized in the United States by year-end 1997 (McDonald, et. al., 1998). By default, private prisons have gradually become a permanent component in a public-private correctional system partnership. A milestone in the institutionalization of private prisons as status quo was reached in February 1999 when the Criminal Justice Institute issued the 1998 edition of Corrections Yearbook. For the first time in its eighteen-year history as "the bible" of corrections information in the US, the editors have devoted a new section to "Privately Operated Facilities" (Camp & Camp, 1999).

The privatization debate is moving beyond the naïve question of "which is better"—as if the public and private

sectors were arm wrestling for exclusive control over the entire correctional system—and on to examining how competition between the two sectors may be improving corrections in general. It has been suggested, for example, that the competition for more contracts among private prison operators may be a catalyst for improvements in public sector prisons (Bottomley, 1996; Harding, 1997; Camp and Gaes, 1998). As Osborne and Plastrik observe, "it is competition and customer choice that force improvement, not simply private ownership. Shifting from a public monopoly to a private monopoly seldom leads to a happy ending" (1997, p. 11). It may be that the "market pressures" of competition for contracts, turning a profit, contractor-imposed performance measures, and the accountability and visibility that accompany the contracting process provide the keys to understanding why many private prisons are out-performing their public counterparts. Privatization research is now "maturing," as questions regarding the adequacy of accountability mechanisms, the role of the corrections lobby, the robustness of cost and effectiveness methodology, and the limits of correctional privatization are beginning to be asked (Harding, 1999).

The purpose of this research is to further the process of identifying specific market pressures which may be influencing the quality of prison performance. The study

compares the intensity of official reaction to escapes from public and private prisons in the United States during a two-year period (1997-1998). Using individual prisons as the unit of analysis, the study incorporates a heuristic model to classify the severity of the escape incidents and the intensity of official reaction to them. Individual prisons are distinguished according to whether they are publicly or privately managed and according to facility size, age, and security level. The study examines substantive information derived from news accounts, investigative documents, and interviews with selected officials involved in individual escape incidents. A total of eighty-eight (88) of the most serious prison escapes are examined in the study.

The research examines whether or not there are any observable differences between private and public modes of prison ownership in the way in which they respond to serious incidents such as inmate escapes. Do escapes from private facilities reveal a pattern of lax security spawned by profit-motivated cost cutting? Do market pressures such as profitability and contract compliance prompt private prison managers to deal more proactively and decisively with serious incidents than might be the case in public prisons? If so, are private prisons more accountable for correctional outcomes than is the public sector?

A "first generation" of privatization studies has taught us, at minimum, that the private sector can operate individual prisons at least as efficiently as can the public sector and that, despite the ominous predictions of some critics, conditions of confinement have not worsened in the process. With so many private facilities presently up and running in so many jurisdictions, it is now possible to initiate a "second generation" of studies that examine the impact of prison privatization policy on the correctional system as a whole. In looking for possible differences in the degree to which public and private prisons respond to serious incidents, it is hoped that the present study will contribute to this second generation of privatization research.

Chapter 2 provides a review of this "first generation" of privatization research and brings the reader up to date with what we have learned so far in comparing public and private correctional facilities. Since the study focuses specifically on how escapes are handled by correctional managers, the literature review also examines what we know about the phenomenon of prison escapes. In addition, since the study draws heavily from news media sources for substantive accounts of escape incidents, the literature review assesses what we know about the relationship of the media to the field of corrections.

Chapter 3 traces the evolution of theories of correctional management and places the issue of prison privatization within an historical context. Furthermore, the theories that inform privatization policy are elaborated and discussed. The chapter provides a discussion of market forces and how these forces may affect the accountability of correctional facility managers.

The research design and methodology of the study are described in Chapter 4. Four research hypotheses are posited. The study uses a descriptive case study methodology in examining eighty-eight (88) of the most serious prison escapes during 1997 and 1998. The research design incorporates a heuristic model of intensity of reaction to prison escapes (dependent variable) and suggests a model to help explain the relationship and interaction of market forces on official reaction to prison escapes.

Chapter 5 presents quantitative research findings from a study of serious prison escapes during 1997 and 1998. A model instrument for measuring the strength of market forces is proposed and tested on a small sample of prisons that experienced escapes during the study period.

Chapter 6 provides an in-depth, qualitative look at twenty-four (24) of the most serious prison escapes that occurred during 1997—1998. Twenty-one public prisons and

three private prisons are described along with details of how corrections officials reacted to the incidents.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 7) revisits the four research hypotheses posited in Chapter 4 in light of the quantitative and qualitative findings of the study. The project concludes by discussing the implications of the overall study and suggestions for future research.

¹ Richardson v. McKnight, 117 S.Ct. 2100, 138 L.Ed 2d 540 (1997)

² The NIC appears to be mistaken on this point. The California Department of Corrections contracts with Cornell Corrections Corporation to operate the minimum-security Leo Chesney Center in Live Oak, CA.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Three areas of prior research are relevant to the present study: prison privatization research, research on prison escapes, and research into the relationship between the news media and corrections.

Prison Privatization Research

Most comparative studies of private and public prisons have been designed primarily to determine their respective costs of operation (Logan, 1989; Sellers, 1989; Texas Sunset Advisory Commission, 1991; Legislative Budget Committee, 1996; Tennessee Select Oversight Committee, 1995). An upsurge in prison population and overcrowding coupled with a general movement to downsize government over the past fifteen years opened a window of opportunity for correctional privatization (Culp, 1997). The bulk of early research was sponsored by state-level budget oversight committees that were interested in finding out simply if states could save money by privatizing some of their prisons. While the studies generally indicate private prisons to be cheaper, the true cost of operating either type of facility is very difficult to ascertain due to substantially different procedures in private and public accounting. Critics of privatization argue that the reported expenses of private facilities do not take into account the

indirect costs incurred by the state in providing such services as contract monitoring and prisoner case management (Shichor, 1995). Privatization proponents, on the other hand, point out that some public prison costs (e.g., utilities, personnel management) may be covered by other state agencies while the private facilities must shoulder these costs alone (Harding, 1997). The contracting authority in some states (e.g. Florida and Texas) specifically requires that private prisons operate at a lower cost than state run facilities, virtually assuring that their costs will come in lower in subsequent evaluations. A U.S. Government Accounting Office report criticized the methodological validity of the body of existing privatization cost comparison research and suggested that political pressure on state legislators to deal with prison overcrowding in their home states may have influenced the objectivity of several of these evaluations (USGAO, 1996).

Indeed, recent studies by separate state auditing agencies in Florida reached diametrically opposed conclusions on whether or not prison privatization policy is saving the state money (Culp, 1997). McDonald et al. (1998) reprised the GAO criticism, updated the methodological critique of existing comparative studies, and concluded that the jury is still out on whether private facilities are more cost effective than public ones. Major differences between

the states in methods of contracting and mechanics of monitoring make cross-state comparisons difficult (Nink and Kilgus, 2000). A new comparative study by the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) is in the works, with the BOP's Office of Research and Evaluation (1998) optimistically detailing how their comparative study will bypass the methodological problems encountered in prior work. Despite their laudable efforts and regardless of what findings they uncover, we can already anticipate an emerging criticism of the final report: due to political and administrative differences between state governments, the study will lack generalizability to state-level corrections departments.

Notwithstanding the widely held view that cost comparison findings are suspect, a fair amount of work has looked beyond the simple matter of cost. Studies by Hatry et al. (1989) and Sellers (1989) examined both costs and conditions of confinement. Sellers (1989) conducted a comparative analysis of the costs and level of services provided by three private and three public correctional facilities located in Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. In the first of three matched pair comparisons, Sellers found that a private facility (Weaversville) operated at a significantly lower per diem cost (\$91 vs. \$136) than its public counterpart (Danville) but that the level of services were about the same. In a second

comparison, Sellers matched a private prison with a publicly operated facility and found the private prison to be slightly more expensive (\$28.52 vs. \$25.11), but better maintained, less crowded, and with more inmate programs than the public prison. The facilities were comparable in guard/inmate ratio. In the third comparison, the private Silverdale jail in Tennessee was matched with the public Warren County facility in New Jersey. Both were maximum-security facilities. Dramatic cost differences were found between the two facilities—a per diem of \$19 at the private jail and \$43 at the public facility. The public facility had a much higher guard/inmate ratio (1:2 vs. 1:6.25), yet the private one provided more inmate programs (Sellers, 1989; Shichor, 1995).

Under a grant from the National Institute of Justice, the Urban Institute (Hatry et al., 1989) conducted a study of two pairs of public and private facilities in Kentucky and Massachusetts. The study attempted to control for the social, political, and economic environment in making the comparisons (Shichor, 1995). In Kentucky, the Urban Institute compared the Marian Adjustment Center, a private minimum-security adult facility operated by the U.S. Corrections Corporation with the publicly run Blackburn Correctional Complex. The actual per diem of the private facility was found to be higher (about 10%) but the analysis

did not take into account the capital costs of the public facility. Generally, the private facility scored higher marks in the quality of inmate conditions of confinement. The Massachusetts programs were both small (12-16 bed) juvenile facilities located in buildings owned by the state. The difference in cost between these programs was less than 1% although the private facility was rated higher in service performance.

DiIulio (1987) examined a number of public prisons in Michigan, California, and Texas in an effort to determine if specific management differences could account for the fact that some prisons outperformed others in their ability to control serious incidents and generally provide decent conditions of confinement for inmates. DiIulio identified three dimensions of prison life—order, amenity, and service—which distinguished well-run prisons from disordered ones ("order" means an absence of assaults, rapes, and riots; "amenity" includes good food, cleanliness, recreation, etc.; "service" involves providing rehabilitation programs). He argued that the quality of these key dimensions was influenced heavily by the relative expertise of correctional management and staff. Though the study was limited to the public sector, the dimensions of prison life identified by DiIulio have proved useful in forming a basis for comparing public prisons with private ones.

Logan (1992, 1996) drew upon DiIulio's three dimensions of quality and from the U.S. Bureau of Prison's Prison Social Climate Survey (Saylor, 1984) in designing a Prison Quality Index. Logan's index included eight dimensions: Security, Safety, Order, Care, Activity, Justice, Conditions, and Management. In a comparison of three prisons in New Mexico (a private, a state, and a federal prison), Logan found the private prison outperformed the state and federal prisons in six of the eight dimensions. The exceptions were in the dimensions of "care," where the state prison outscored the private one and in "justice" (which includes inmate impressions on such items as staff fairness, the grievance process, and access to legal resources) where the private and federal prisons achieved equal scores (1992). Like DiIulio, Logan argued that characteristics of prison management directly influenced the outcome of prison quality.

Archambeault and Deis (1996) completed a comprehensive evaluation of cost-effectiveness in three prisons in Louisiana (two private, one public). In addition to a comparison of general cost data (they found the private prisons to be less expensive), they conducted an examination of institutional records to determine rates of serious incidents and the overall climate of safety within each of the prisons. The private prisons were found to be safer

places to work (fewer assaults on staff), significantly safer for prisoners (fewer inmate assaults on inmates), and more effective at providing treatment programs such as literacy, vocational training, and adult education. The study also found that the private prisons employed a higher percentage of minorities and women than the public facilities and that this higher rate of minorities and women in the work force was linked to higher levels of inmate and staff safety.

Recognizing that a growing body of research on correctional privatization was indicating improved conditions of confinement for prisoners in private facilities, Culp (1998) reexamined the large data base generated in the Abt Associates, Inc. (1991) national survey of juvenile corrections facilities in the U.S. and compared 173 public training schools with 41 private facilities on rates of serious incidents and a number of management-related variables. Whereas other studies examined no more than six individual facilities at one time, this study made public-private comparisons across a large correctional system. Privatization of juvenile corrections in the US has progressed for a considerably longer time and with much less controversy than has been the case in the adult system (Meehan, 1995). For research purposes, there are simply a lot more privatized juvenile facilities to learn from than

there are adult prisons (but with over 140 private prisons now in the US, this is beginning to change).

In looking at 30 indicators of conditions of confinement in private and public training schools, including serious incidents involving injury, escape, and suicide attempts, Culp (1998) found that private facilities registered more favorable results than the public sector in 23 of the 30 areas. Private sector training schools had statistically significant advantages over public facilities in the rates of juveniles injured by staff and inmate suicide attempts.

Bottomley et al (1996) examined the private Wolds Remand Prison in the UK and compared it with similar public sector prisons. The Wolds was the first private adult correctional facility in England. The study employed interviews with correctional managers, correctional officers, and inmates as the primary methodological technique. Although Wolds was not found to be operating significantly better or worse overall than the public facilities, the researchers discovered that nearly 80% of the prisoners at Wolds regarded it as better than the public prisons they had experienced. One reason cited for their preference of Wolds was its policy, required under its contract with the government, to provide 15 hours of "out-of-cell" activities every day. Bottomley observed that the

threat of additional privatization was spurring public sector prisons to set higher standards for out-of-cell activities in their facilities.

It is interesting that so few studies have taken prisoner opinions into account (only Hatry, 1989, Logan, 1992 and Bottomley, 1996; Brakel, 1988 published a separate study of prisoners' impressions of privatization). While the Brakel, Hatry, and Bottomley studies reported prisoners favoring the conditions of confinement in private prisons, the Logan study ironically (given his strong advocacy for privatization-see Privatization Research Site, 1998) found a slight inmate preference for the state prison. Setting aside the obvious argument that prisoners, after all, aren't really supposed to "like" prison, their impressions can be quite important in determining differences in the order, amenity and service provided by various prisons. As Harding observes, "what prisoners desire may not necessarily be what is optimal for penal policy as a whole, [but] it would be perverse and intellectually arrogant to disregard completely the views of 'consumers'" (1997, p 116). Moreover, greater prison "service" may translate to more favorable recidivism outcomes.

Recent research by Lanza-Kaduce and Parker (1998) indicates that this may be the case. In a study of matched pairs of inmates released from public and private prisons in

Florida, the authors found a statistically significant lower rate of recidivism among prisoners released from the private prisons. Further, among prisoners who reoffended, the private prison releasees committed less serious crimes than the public prison recidivists. Lanza-Kaduce and Parker also tested for the relationship between recidivism and program completion rates ("programs" included educational, vocational, substance abuse treatment, behavioral education, and pre-release counseling). They found that recidivism among both public and private prison inmates "was more likely among those who failed, were dropped, refused to participate, or were removed from programs than among those who successfully completed a program" (p. 20). The authors note that the State's contracts with private providers specifically require inmate access to therapeutic programs and suggest that this factor may be responsible for the private facilities' lower rate of recidivism.

Most recently, Biles and Dalton (1999) compared the rate of inmate deaths in private and public prisons in Australia. They examined deaths from all causes and compared prisons by calculating the rate of death based on actual prison occupancy. Australia had five private prisons in 1999, which held approximately 16% of all the prisoners in Australia. The total death rate in private prisons was slightly lower than the rate in public prisons, but not

statistically significant (private: 2.93 per 1,000 prisoners; public: 3.35 per 1,000 inmates). Suicide rates were almost identical (1.51 in private; 1.57 in public), leading the authors to conclude that the evidence did not support the public perception of higher risk to inmates in public prisons.

In summary, we have witnessed a decade of privatization research that has moved from evaluating the relative cost efficiency of private prisons to questioning whether the practice may lead to better conditions of confinement and recidivism outcomes. There is no clear-cut "winner" in an imagined contest over which is "better," public or private prisons. Rather, the research suggests that state imposed contract requirements regarding cost and program services may be behind the relatively greater efficiencies registered by some private sector prisons. The competition for state contracts may also be prompting improvements in public prisons as government corrections officials strive to compete head-to-head with the private operators. The creation of a dual system of public and private prisons appears to have opened corrections to market pressures that demand greater accountability from the system as a whole. It is the goal of the present research to identify and examine more closely how these market pressures operate.

Research on Escapes

Most of what we know about prison escapes is the result of studies that have tried to articulate a psychological and demographic profile of potential prison escapees (Lyons, 1997; Quinsey, et. al., 1997; Sandhu, 1996; Chard-Wierschem, 1995; Dolan & Snowden, 1994; Johnston, et. al., 1991; Shaffer, et. al., 1985; Campbell et. al., 1985; Murphy, 1984; Campbell, 1983; Anson and Hartnett, 1983; Sundin, 1971). Examining the problem from the individual unit of analysis of the prison escapee, these studies have looked at a variety of factors, including inmate age, prior escape history, criminal history, and psychological profile in order to find common characteristics of persons who have escaped from prison. These studies could ostensibly, then, aid in classification of individual inmate escape risk.

Taken together, these studies reach little consensus on psychological correlates to prison escape, other than agreeing that a prior history of escapes and being convicted of a property crime are positively correlated to escape potential. Additionally, Cowles (1981) and Haisted (1985) examined race as a predictor of escape and found that black inmates have significantly lower escape rates than white inmates. Most escapees, then, are white males convicted of a property crime who have a prior history of escape.

Beyond the realm of individual inmate characteristics that might explain escapes, a couple of studies examined factors in the social environment that might account for prison breaks. The Centre for Research, Evaluation, and Social Assessment in New Zealand (1996) found a key difference between inmate and prison staff perceptions on why escapes occurred: inmates attributed escapes to internal pressures such as boredom and depression while prison staff members believed that external pressures involving family and personal relationships prompted most escapes. The researchers also found that most escapes were spontaneous and poorly planned. In another study of situational factors, Duncan & Ellis (1973) found the most frequently cited reason for escaping by inmates (42.6%) was concern over pending administrative reclassification decisions. In other words, internal prison matters provided the motivation for escape. This finding led Duncan and Ellis to conclude that improving communications among prison staff regarding at-risk inmates would have more impact on reducing escape attempts than would the tightening of institutional security measures.

Two studies have examined escape using individual prisons as the unit of analysis. Both studies examined the effects of prison overcrowding on serious incidents, including escapes. In the larger of the two studies, Nacci, et al. (1977) examined thirty-seven institutions in the

federal prison system and found a positive correlation between population density and assaultive behavior, but no relationship between overcrowding and escapes. Lee's (1980) study of three prisons in the Florida State system confirmed that overcrowding was positively correlated to disruptive behavior. But surprisingly, Lee found escapes to be negatively correlated to population increases (as population increased, escapes actually went down). In a study that sought to identify whether austere conditions of confinement, management expertise, or outside influences had the greatest effect on serious incidents in prisons, McCorkle, et al. (1995) found that management factors, such as diversity of corrections staff and inmate involvement in educational, vocational, and industrial programs had significant effects on inmate violence. Taken together, these studies suggest that management factors may influence escape rate more so than poor conditions of confinement brought on by overcrowding.

A short list of research has examined the effects of escape on the local community surrounding prison facilities. Sundin (1971) examined a full year's prison escape data in Sweden and found not one case of a violent crime perpetrated by an escapee in the local community. On the contrary, escapee criminal behavior generally amounted to larceny and traffic offenses. In his study of walkaways from minimum-

security facilities in Michigan, Murphy (1984) determined that only one percent of escapees was involved in any type of serious crime in the vicinity of the correctional facility. In a project that spanned four years and examined the community consequences of a new 500-bed maximum-security prison in Washington State, Carlson (1990) found similar benign behavior on the part of escapees. While some community residents made "lifestyle changes" in response to the building of the prison and resented the potential threat that escapees imposed on the community, most prison neighbors believed that the prison was economically beneficial to the community and that the potential problem of inmate escapes amounted to a risk that was quite tolerable on balance.

The News Media/Corrections Relationship

In reporting on the criminal justice system, the news media shows a marked preference for police, arrest, and courtroom stories and tends to devote very little time and attention to news about corrections (Doyle and Ericson, 1996). According to Chermack (1998), media focus on the criminal justice system appears to be front-loaded, with the greatest attention on the reporting and discovery of crime (18.7% of stories), followed by stories on arrest (15.4%) and arraignment (13.3%). Media attention continues to taper off as an offender is processed through the system: 9.1% of

stories cover trials, 7.3% report on sentencing, etc. By the time an offender lands in prison, the attention approaches absolute zero: 2.3% of stories cover appeals, only 1.1% report on release from prison.

Other studies of media coverage of corrections found similarly low priority coverage given to prisons. Graber (1980) found that only 2% of the crime stories in the Chicago Tribune dealt with corrections, while Dussuyer (1979) counted only 4.3% of Toronto news stories focused on the prison system.

A progression of scholars has considered the social functions of punishment and why corrections seems to have taken a back row seat in the theatre of criminal justice administration. Durkheim (1964) suggested that the social effects of punishment included the symbolic display of collective sentiments, the reinforcement of solidarity, and the expressive release of collective emotion (Garland, 1983). To achieve such ends, punishment is necessarily visible. Public executions constitute a grand and dramatic form of this symbolic display of punishment. But as the practice of public execution gave way to long-term incarceration, governments constructed highly visible, fortress-like prisons in order to maintain an imposing symbol of the punishment function (Foucault, 1995).

Building on Rusche and Kirchheimer's (1968) idea that the form of punishment in society is correlated historically with the mode of economic production, Foucault (1995) considered how punishment became a hidden technical operation in an all-encompassing "carceral archipelago" of interconnected institutions of discipline within society. While the physical presence of prisons announces to all citizens the government's legitimate claim over the power to punish, the secrecy and mystery of what goes on within makes government control over the individual even more insidious. This "veiling of punishment," disguises from public view what might otherwise be deemed intolerable, and dissuades the public from otherwise challenging the legitimacy of the state (Foucault, 1995; Spierenburg, 1984)

Garland helps summarize where social theory on punishment has consolidated on this point: the social functions of punishment, as described by Durkheim, now occur earlier in the process. More specifically, the focus of attention has become centered on the declaration of punishment in court, rather than the process of punishment that occurs in prison (Garland, 1990; Doyle & Ericson, 1996). Attention is now centered on the adjudication of offenders, rather than upon the execution of sentences. This certainly seems to be the case, as the body of media studies would indicate.

From a microscopic perspective, the paucity of press attention to corrections stories may be the result of legal restrictions on media-inmate contact and due to the geographic isolation of prisons.

In three separate cases, the U.S. Supreme Court argued that the state's security interests trump the public's right to know what goes on behind prison walls. These three cases, *Pell v. Procunier*, *Saxbe v. Washington Post Co.*, and *Houchins v. KQED*¹, established general principles regarding the news media's access to inmates:

- a) The first amendment does not guarantee the public or the press a right to obtain information
 - b) Journalists have no greater rights of access than the general public, and
 - c) The public's need for access to information will be balanced against other societal needs, such as law enforcement interests and personal privacy
- (Davis, 1998).

These broad restraints on news media access offer general parameters but little guidance when trying to answer the question, "how open is communication between prisoners and the press?" The answer to this question appears to depend upon whom you ask. The American Correctional Association reported in 1996 that 39 states have policies that allow face-to-face interviews with inmates (Davis,

1998). ACA publications advance the advisability of systematic openness in prison-media relations (Jarvis, 1998; Kindel, 1998). State-level Departments of Correction publicly promote open communications with the media (e.g., Green, 1998). Yet, according to a survey of State DOC practices conducted by the Society of Professional Journalists, in reality each request for an interview is processed on a case-by-case basis (Davis, 1998). Using a broad interpretation of "substantial government interest," prison administrators regularly deny the press access to prisoners, justifying such restriction on any of a number government "interests:" the orderly administration of justice; institutional security; media security; avoiding the creation of "celebrity inmates;" inmate privacy; respect for crime victims; or the generalized notion that prisoners, punished by the state for violating its laws, must reside in institutions focused on remorse and contemplation rather than talking to reporters (Davis, 1998; Doyle & Ericson, 1996).

Prison administrators also voice suspicion of media motives in reporting corrections stories. Chermak (1998) notes, for example, that the news media features stories about escapes and riots because the potential public danger surrounding such events can be highlighted; danger appeals to their customers. DiIulio (1987) cites the case of a rash

of escapes from minimum-security prisons in Michigan. In covering the story, journalists took pictures of the high walls of a maximum-security prison and featured them along with the story about the escapes, despite the fact that none of the escapes had occurred from the maximum-security prison. The concern is that media coverage of escapes and other prison events may be sensationalized for marketing purposes.

In spite of what may appear to be an on-going cat and mouse game between journalists and corrections administrators, there does appear to be cooperation between the two at least when it comes to the initial reporting of escapes. As Chermak observes, officials are very willing to cooperate with the press when seeking public assistance in catching escapees. Prison location, however, may serve to limit the extent to which the press checks out officially reported information.

Prisons tend to be located in relatively remote geographical areas and this isolation limits the amount of information picked up by the media. The majority of prisons are located in small towns or rural areas, a distance from the major cities and their full time news departments. While big town newspapers may have a "police desk" that monitors crime stories as they happen, the major newspapers are unlikely to conduct an on-scene report unless the story is a

major event, such as a prison riot or execution. In contrast to street crime and courtroom reporting, where news reporters may interview witnesses, victims, attorneys, and bystanders, the reporting of prison incidents is more typically based solely upon prison administration-released information.

Rarely are the views of line-level staff or the inmates involved in a serious prison incident ever reported. This proscription is backed up by official policy, as most state level departments of correction specifically prohibit any lower level staff from making comments to the news media (SPJ, 2000). Occasionally, correctional officer union representatives will make a statement about the escape. In the cases reviewed for this study, this happened a number of times but the union's comments had to do with generalized criticism of the prison administration rather than specific information on the escape. In other escapes reviewed for this study, reporters occasionally tracked down the victims, or relatives of victims or offenders who had escaped, in order to report their reaction. When information does come out of prisons, it is heavily laden with accounts and data provided by prison officials.

This preponderance of Department of Correction controlled information on escapes contributes to the critique that official control over prison information is

part and parcel of an historic trend toward the veiling of punishment (Foucault, 1979; Garland, 1990; Doyle and Ericson, 1996). Notwithstanding this overarching criticism, we may proceed with the expectation that news of prison escapes typically occurs in locales far away from the major news media outlets, that it is filtered by corrections officials, but that both press and prison administration share a common interest in the initial reporting of prison escapes.

¹ Pell v. Procunier, 417 U.S. 817; 94 S. Ct. 2800 (1974); Saxbe v. Washington Post Co., 417 U.S. 843; 94 S. Ct. 2811 (1974); Houchins v. KQED, Inc., 439 U.S. 812; 99 S. Ct. 71 (1978).

CHAPTER 3

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN PRISON MANAGEMENT

Before peering into the way today's prison managers react to the problem of prison escapes, it is useful to review the general context of prison management in the United States. At the outset, it is important to recall that the privatization of prisons in the U.S. is hardly a new phenomenon.

"My prison is transparent: my management, no less so."

-Jeremy Bentham (1995, p. 200)

While writing the Panopticon papers around the turn of the Eighteenth Century, Bentham (1995) believed that prison efficiency could be improved if managerial duty and self-interest were united. Bentham, like the renowned prison reformer John Howard, was a critic of the prison ships operated by the British government (the ships were commonly known as "the Hulks"). The Hulks were "impenetrable to the public eye," a situation which gave "the hulk-masters" freedom to do as they pleased with prisoners, including abuse them (p. 200). Bentham argued that if a private prison manager possessed the strong public duty to run a good prison, and running a good prison meant greater income for the manager, the prison would, theoretically, operate quite well. To Bentham, "contract management" would be superior to the government's "trust-management," wherein

the managing hands, whether one or more, not having any interest in the success; gaining nothing in case of profit, losing nothing in case of loss: in a word, their interest was not to be coincident with their duty (p. 197-8).

In his effort to reform the brutal hulk system, Bentham drew inspiration from Adam Smith's concept of the "invisible hand." In The Wealth of Nations, Smith (1986) postulated the classical economic model of behavior, arguing that personal utility maximization is the primary motivation of all individuals (whom Smith termed "*Homo economicus*"). Guided by the "invisible hand" in a laissez-faire economy, individuals would further the common interest as a consequence of pursuing their own self-interest. But Bentham was never able to get his model prison, the Pantopticon, off the ground. Good or bad though they may be, ideas need public policy to become operational, and Bentham lacked the political savvy to get his project funded. Nonetheless, Smith's ideas of the melding of individual and common interest along with Bentham's ideas about contracting out to the private sector found practical application in Nineteenth Century almshouses and work houses in Europe.

Durham (1989) reminds us that the U.S. has an extensive history of private sector involvement in the operation of prisons and correctional programs. Borrowing from eighteenth

and nineteenth century European models of almshouses, prison work houses and contract labor, the earliest American prisons (such as Philadelphia's Walnut Street Jail) contracted-out the labor of convicts to private entrepreneurs. For prison managers, the "bottom-line" had a clear cut meaning: "the ability of a nineteenth century warden to turn a profit in the operation of his institution was at times the main factor determining whether he retained his job" (Durham, p. 127). The practice extended well into the twentieth century but fell into disfavor as abusive treatment of inmates and "sweetheart" contracting arrangements became widespread (Durham, 1989). Perhaps the "invisible hand" of the free market was not always benign. As Hardin observes:

One may sense, however, that all too often we are less helped by the benevolent invisible hand than we are injured by the malevolent back of that hand; that is, in seeking private interest, we fail to secure greater collective interests. The narrow rationality of self-interest that can benefit us all in market exchange can also prevent us from succeeding in collective endeavors (1982, p. 6).

The notion of "market failure," i.e., that the government must step in to provide essential services when the private sector fails to adequately provide them, gained

influence in public administration in the U. S. beginning with the writings of Arthur C. Pigou in the 1920's. Pigou, (1928, 1929) argued that the government needs to take over the production of certain goods and services when free markets do not resolve the problem of "externalities". In corrections, one of these externalities involves socializing the cost of public safety while privatizing the profits earned in providing public safety services. Since everyone pays for public services (like corrections) through taxes, Pigou argued that tax revenue should be distributed to public employees and expended on facilities owned by the public.

Concern over abuse of inmates combined with "market failure" economics to virtually end private corrections in the U.S. by the late 1920's. The demise of private prisons and contract labor was sealed in 1929 when Congress passed the Hawes-Cooper Act and related legislation that banned prison-made goods from interstate commerce. In response to lobbying efforts by organized labor, by 1940 virtually every state had passed legislation banning the importation of prison-made goods from other states (Clear and Cole, 1997).

From Autocracy to Bureaucracy

Freeman (1999) traces the evolution of correctional organization in the U.S. from a management perspective, distinguishing between what he terms "pre-DOC corrections"

(existing from 1812 until the early 1940's) and "DOC corrections" (from the early 1940's to the present). Along the way, Freeman ties correctional management to the dominant schools of organizational theory that tended to influence both private and public administration in the United States (e.g., Scientific Management, the Human Relations school, and the contingency approach). The primary shift in management practice began in the post World War II years as states moved from individual, warden-controlled prisons to consolidated state systems under centralized control of a Department of Corrections. Freeman argues that a major impetus to this shift in management structure was a wave of destructive prison riots that occurred between 1951 and 1953. In this two-year period, prison riots broke out in eighteen states,¹ with subsequent investigations exposing a common thread of problems in prison management structure:

Managers were unable to exercise effective control; guards were untrained; inmate classification procedures were almost nonexistent; prisons were run without formal rules; poor planning created a lack of direction; disciplinary practices were arbitrary and inconsistent; wardens were hired only because they could deliver political votes; employees were hired, promoted, and fired on the basis of managerial whim, operating procedures were unwritten and inconsistently

applied; there was a lack of inmate programs; and there existed throughout corrections an extraordinary lack of professional leadership (Freeman, 1999, p. 18-19).

The Federal Bureau of Prisons, authorized by Congress in 1930, provided the management model as new "Departments of Correction" were created in state after state in the decade following World War II. The idea of having numerous institutions under one jurisdiction, as in the federal system, was appealing to state officials who recognized the advantage of being able to transfer problem prisoners from one prison to another (Martin, 1955). Another change, moving wardens out from direct political appointment, was noted by Sykes in his classic study of a maximum-security prison in New Jersey. In that state, a move to "take the prison out of politics" was accomplished in 1951 with appointment of wardens given over to a newly created Department of Institutions and Agencies (Sykes, 1958). As the states adopted the federal Bureau of Prisons model, Weberian (1978) principles of bureaucracy defined the new staffing patterns and authority relationships. Individual prison wardens became management level employees in state government agencies, correctional officers became part of the state civil service system, and prison rule making was incorporated into state administrative procedures.

In 1962, President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10988, which established the framework for public employees to join unions and enter into collective bargaining agreements with government agencies. Prior to Kennedy's order, public employee unions were banned in the federal service and had limited membership in the states. In the ten years following the passage of the Executive Order, many states followed suit in passing legislation that permitted public employee unions to engage in collective bargaining at the state and local level. By 1975, thirty-three states had signed collective bargaining agreements with unions representing over one-half of all correctional workers in the United States (Montilla, 1978).

Like the prison riots of the early 1950's, the Attica riot of 1971 prompted further changes in correctional management. Riveland (1999) notes how Attica and other disturbances led to heavy involvement by the federal courts in the day-to-day management of prisons. In the decade of the 1970's, "many institutions—and sometimes entire correctional systems—found themselves operating under the directions, orders, and limitations of the federal courts" (p. 166). By 1980, over two-thirds of the states in the country had one or more prisons operating under some form of federal court order or consent decree. Riveland, a former secretary of corrections in Washington State and Colorado,

suggests that "today's superintendent must manage complex personnel systems, overcrowded institutions, and technological advances in a context of increased public and political scrutiny and close legal oversight" (p. 163).

Throughout the 1980's and 1990's, responding to this growing internal complexity and increased external scrutiny, correctional managers adopted principles from organizational behavior theory to help manage prisons. These techniques included contingency management and the human capital approach, as "various DOCs experimented with unit management, quality circles, management by objectives, and other forms of activity that allowed correctional employees a greater say in the daily operation of the prison" (Freeman, 1999; p. 24).

While correctional management may have adopted techniques from systems theory to help oversee the increasingly complex world described by Riveland, correctional institutions have hardly become bastions of modern management philosophy. When DiIulio looked at three managerial styles of governing prisons—what he termed the responsibility, consensual, and control models—he argued that a paramilitary bureaucracy with a strong leader, i.e., the "control" model, remains the best way to run a prison (DiIulio, 1987). The control model was best, in DiIulio's conceptual scheme, because more so than the others, it

resulted in good order with safe conditions for prisoners and prison staff, decent living standards, and a modicum of rehabilitation and training opportunities for inmates.

On the other hand, there is evidence that job satisfaction among correctional workers is higher in prisons where workers are afforded more participation in management and greater control in decision-making—as seems to be the case in the federal prison system (Wright, 1997). But this encouraging finding has a potential dark side: less centralized control might lead to security lapses, more riots and injuries. Indeed, equating workers control with more “professionalized” workers, Wright (1997) cites a number of studies showing that more professional, higher educated corrections workers were actually less satisfied in their work, perhaps frustrated that they could not have greater rehabilitative impact on inmates.

Sykes’ appreciation of the oxymoron in rational-legal authority managing a maximum-security prison may be no less profound today than it was in 1954:

It pursues an odd combination of confinement, internal order, self-maintenance, punishment, and reformation, all within a framework of means sharply limited by law, public opinion, and the attitudes of the custodians themselves. None the less, attempts to exercise total social control through the use of a bureaucratically

organized administrative staff would all seem to be cut on much the same pattern and the prison appears to offer many clues to the structure and functioning of the new leviathan (p. xv).

If a strong leader supported by a paramilitary structure is still the best way to run a prison (as DiIulio would suggest), how can prisons be managed at all safely in an regulatory environment where strong leadership is an apparent anachronism?

From Bureaucracy to Transparency

Though there may be limits on just how far modern organizational behavior theory can help in managing staff and inmates inside the prison, there is little doubt that the autonomy of correctional system managers has declined tremendously in the last quarter of the 20th Century. In a recent survey of corrections administrators' views on prison management trends, all respondents noted this declining autonomy and the impact of outside forces on how the prison is run (Riveland, 1999). Many administrators share the views of Tom Coughlin, the former head of the New York State Department of Corrections:

During the late seventies and early eighties, the courts took over as the major influence in prison administration. In the 1990's the policy makers took over from the courts. One impact is that this makes

prisons and how they operate more visible to the public and under regular scrutiny (Riveland, 1999; p. 172).

Scholars have been studying the impact of the external environment on organizations for some time, working toward building a consistent theory of how organizations respond to the larger world around them. Talcott Parsons (1960) identified three internal subsystems within an organizational "system"—the technical, the managerial, and the institutional subsystems—and suggested that the organizational system needed to interact with a larger "suprasystem" in order to maintain its legitimacy. Drawing on the work of Parsons, Post (1976) and Post and Andrews (1982) suggested that it is the institutional subsystem which interfaces with the external environment and that this subsystem, "with its interest in preserving social legitimacy and negating public criticism, has a virtually unlimited number of relevant publics with which to be concerned" (1976; p. 8).

Post suggests there are four models of organizational interaction (what Post terms the Legal, Market, Exploitation, and Technostructure Models), and two primary ways each model responds to forces outside: adaptation or manipulation. In an effort to account for all contingencies of reaction, the model builds in complexity with a loss of

construct validity. It is difficult to operationalize the many combinations of forces that Post identifies.

Oliver (1991) articulated five ways that organizations can interact with their environment in order to manage conflicting environmental constraints and enhance their likelihood of survival: 1) acquiescence, 2) compromise, 3) avoidance, 4) defiance, and 5) manipulation. Ogle (1999) suggested that Oliver's framework could be used for examining how prison managers respond to changes and pressures in the external environment. Still, there is much gray area among and between the operational definitions of these variables.

A more simplified view is presented by Mezner and Nigh (1995) who present two forms of organizational interaction with the external environment, "buffering" and "bridging." Similar to Post's idea of manipulation and adaptation, "buffering" involves activities designed to keep the external environment from interfering with internal operations. "Bridging," on the other hand, involves actively courting relationships with regulatory agencies and other influential stakeholders. It is the "public affairs" department of an organization that typically performs these roles (Mezner and Nigh, 1995).

The observation that organizations have complex external environments and that management behavior takes

different forms in interacting with this environment provides important building blocks for studying how prisons may respond to outside forces.

This budding systems view of organizations has been nourished by Freeman (1984) and Mitroff (1983) who recognized that there is a broad range of groups that places demands upon large, complex organizations (such as prisons). Under the "pre-systems" paradigmatic perspective, groups not directly interacting with an organization were viewed as acting outside the range of the organization's self interest. But under the systems view, the influence of these groups must be taken into account. Referred to as "stakeholders," this category includes "any identifiable group or individual who can affect or is affected by organizational performance in terms of its products, policies, and work processes" (Bowditch and Buono, 1997; p. 230). In corrections, these stakeholders include administrative, judicial, and professional regulatory agencies, public interest organizations such as the media, single-interest organizations such as corrections officers' unions and victims rights groups, and groups that represent people who live in the neighborhood of correctional facilities (R. M. Freeman, 1999). Whether they aim to affect an organization or are affected by it, stakeholders require transparency in the organizations to which they are tied.

Berry and Rondinelli (1998) suggested a framework for studying private corporations that may be useful in examining public and private prison management interaction with stakeholders. Their study examined how successful corporations in industrialized countries are managing their external environment in the face of growing public concern over industrial pollution and mounting governmental regulation:

Beyond complying with increasingly more stringent regulations, [progressive corporations] must protect or enhance their ethical images, avoid serious legal liabilities, satisfy the safety concerns of employees, respond to government regulators and stockholders, and develop new business opportunities in order to remain competitive in world markets (p.39).

They suggested that four market forces drive companies to respond proactively with the external environment: regulatory demands, cost factors, stakeholder forces, and competitive requirements.

First, government regulations are becoming increasingly more difficult to circumvent; noncompliance is simply not an option. Increasing compliance costs are anticipated, routinely budgeted for, and processed as standard operating procedure. Second, the high costs of compliance and financial liability for noncompliance are prompting

progressive organizations to embrace the "spirit" as well as the "letter" of regulations in order to create an atmosphere of compliance that pervades all levels of the organization. Third, stakeholder demands are forcing organizations to buffer themselves with "more effective use of corporate intelligence," and build bridges that "define new missions, realign value systems, find new ways of managing change, accelerate training and education, and modify behavior throughout the organization" (p.40). Lastly, competitive requirements are driving organizations to develop and embrace voluntary quality standards that enhance their ethical reputation along with their competitive edge.

In their recent review of "what we have learned from prison privatization research," Camp and Gaes observe that:

In most of the literature in favor of privatization, there are emphatic but vague references to "market pressures" that force efficiencies in private companies, but little or no detail is offered as to how these market pressures actually translate into real differences between private and public prisons (1998, p.7).

Perhaps the four market forces articulated by Berry and Rondinelli may accurately describe the pressures that bear upon prison managers in the increasingly complex, stakeholder-surrounded world of the modern prison. And if

these market forces are more demanding in private industry than in public administration, they may help distinguish management behavior differences in private and public prisons.

Much of the privatization debate has been ideologically charged, presented as though a battle is being waged with winner-take-all stakes going to either the public or private sector. No longer novelties, private prisons now exist or are under consideration in over half of the States (NIC 1996). The key to understanding the apparent success of the privatization experiment may lie in identifying how market pressures impact the accountability of prison managers for correctional outcomes.

Vagg (1994) helps clarify what we mean by accountability when discussing prison management:

The idea of accountability is, above all else, a quality that defines certain kinds of relationship. It conveys the idea that certain individuals have a duty to report on, explain, and justify to others actions they have taken or decisions they have made. And it conveys the idea that this duty is imposed because those individuals have authority, powers, and perhaps budgets which are not theirs by right, but which form part of their occupational role (1994, p. 1).

This notion of responsibility for reporting, explaining, and justifying actions taken or decisions made regarding serious incidents in prison (like escapes) may be qualitatively different in private and public correctional facilities.

Critics of privatization tend to fall back on Pigovian "market failure" justifications for an exclusively public corrections system. In Pigou's scheme, correctional services constitute a "public good," as opposed to a private good that can be produced in a free market. Public goods involve products or services that are characterized by non-rival and non-excludable consumption. For example, "consumption" of incarceration services by one inmate does not preclude the another offender's "consumption" (non-rival consumption), while everyone in society benefits from the incarceration of inmates whether they pay for it or not (non-excludable consumption). This being the case, there is no true "market for these "goods" to be traded. Thus, the government steps in to allocate these goods administratively.

Critics of this perspective, such as Buchanan (1972), Downs (1976), and Niskanen (1971), argue that Pigovian economics is an artificially closed behavioral system. It assumes that government motivation will be "public interest" rather than the "self-interest" that drives private

production. But are public managers really so different than public managers? Not according to Downs (1967):

The fundamental premise of the theory is that bureaucratic officials, like all other agents in society, are significantly - though not solely - motivated by their own interest. Therefore, this theory follows the tradition of economic thought from Adam Smith forward (p. 2).

Buchanan and other "public choice" theorists argue that the Pigovian economists did not anticipate "government failure." Whereas private managers seek to maximize profits, public managers seek to maximize their budgets; this leads to a system of governmental monopoly, higher costs, and lower quality of services.

Harding (1997) distinguishes between two forms of prison management—an input-based strategy and an output-based one. For most of the 20th Century, the state held a monopoly on running prisons in the United States. Tax money and prisoners (inputs) flowed into them as the goal of rehabilitation gave way to an expectation of mere incapacitation (Allen, 1981). As Harding observes, "the existence of the prison system seemed to provide its own justification for everything that happened within it—a classic marker of an input-based organization." By contrast, "an output-based strategy would have put much more emphasis

upon success rates; for example, reduced recidivism or positive self-development of offenders" (p. 19). The specific market pressures of going out of business, loosing a lucrative contract, or stock value dropping as a result of poor performance may cause private prison operators to focus on output—on performance indicators such as security, safety, and program completion rates. While profitability is certainly the most important output for a proprietary organization, it may be tied to contractual expectations of enhanced inmate programs and the provision of acceptable conditions of confinement.

With some optimism, Harding suggests that the output-based management of private facilities may force the public sector to do likewise and that "this notion of cross-fertilization will be seen in due course to be one of the most important single justifications for . . . privatization" (p. 20). There is some evidence that this may already be occurring (Bottomley, et. al, 1996). The use of market testing (MT), i.e., "outsourcing but with a concession to permit an in-house bid," is becoming a popular device in the public sector to enhance the efficiency of its own operations (Harris, 1995).

Camp and Gaes (1998) call for research that identifies the "innovations" brought to corrections by the public sector that might account for improvements in the system.

They are probably correct in their observation that the "good" private facilities are essentially implementing exactly the same programs and services pioneered and implemented in "good" publicly run prisons. Short of greater flexibility in managing their personnel resources (such as greater freedom in the hiring and firing of staff and the ability to pay workers a lower wage scale than the state), what innovations in correctional practice, Camp and Gaes ask, are being brought to the table by the private sector? No doubt, it would be interesting to learn of any specific new techniques or technologies in correctional management developed by the private sector. However, such "innovation" may simply involve the competition for contracts and the accountability for outcomes that characterize private management and is largely missing in the public sector.

A fundamental difference between public and private prisons, and one not examined in previous research, is the simple fact that a private prison can lose its contract and go out of business. Public facilities are not similarly constrained. As a result, the risk of losing a contract following a serious incident may prompt private prison managers to act more decisively than state officials would in response to a crisis. This vital difference between the public and private sector has been largely ignored in prior research. In reviewing the body of privatization studies as

part of the McDonald et. al study (1998), Camp, Gaes and Saylor briefly comment on the issue of contract termination. They note that their survey identified only sixteen known contract terminations, and that only five of these resulted from poor performance by the private vender. Relying on what appears at face value to be incomplete data²—the five contracts all involve Texas prison contracts terminated by out-of-state contracting authorities—Camp, Gaes and Saylor conclude "that some private facilities have been found in violation of their contracts reveals little, if anything, about their relative performance vis-à-vis their public counterparts (p. 54)." Far from revealing little, the termination of contracts, and the implicit risk of potential termination, may reveal quite a lot.

Undoubtedly, there are con men and hucksters among private providers who are ill prepared to manage a prison or who seriously compromise program quality for short-term profits. But it is likely that market forces will nudge them to the wayside and put them out of business due to failure to live up to contract obligations. DiPiano (1995), in considering the argument that private contractors will cut corners to maximize profits, observes, "it is illogical to assume that a prison contractor would reduce security to a dangerously low level. If this were done, the contractor would be in danger of losing his contract and all profits

associated with it (p. 198-199)." As Benson notes, "when reducing costs by reducing quality means losing customers and revenue, profits fall" (1998, p. 172).

A recent article in the *Columbus Dispatch* (10/9/98) supports this observation: the value of Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) stock dropped 25% within three weeks of a widely reported incident involving the escape of six inmates from the CCA's prison in Youngstown and the company acted immediately to change staff and shore-up security. Similarly, the price of Wackenhut stock dropped 65% following simultaneous problems at three of its prisons in Louisiana, Texas, and New Mexico (Tatge, 2000). In response, the company added an ombudsman, an investigative department, and regional staff to monitor facilities. Private prison owners probably get more long-term bang for their buck when their facilities are providing good conditions of confinement and live up to contract obligations. The addition of shareholders as "stakeholders" in correctional outcomes may lead to more open and visible prisons as well as more ethical correctional practices. This view is precisely the argument presented by proponents of the "stakeholder perspective" in the study of organizational behavior (Freeman, 1984; Mitroff, 1983).

It is possible that research into market forces may reveal more about the quality of contract monitoring by the

public sector and the intensity of media scrutiny than fundamental differences between public or private modes of management. In studying a reasonably large sample of incidents (i.e., 88 escapes), it is hoped that the analysis that follows will permit systemic rather than merely anecdotal conclusions. It is also possible that any systemic differences in accountability that might emerge may be temporary. Due to the novelty of private prisons and the public policy controversy surrounding privatization (Culp, 1997), it is possible that serious incidents in the private sector receive more extensive news coverage and their managers prompted to respond more decisively simply due to a "Hawthorne effect" (Roethlisberger, 1941). We have seen, for example, that the initial cost advantages of private prisons are eroding as time goes on. Heightened accountability in the private sector may be no less ephemeral. However, as in the case with cost data, a declining advantage in the private sector may signal that improvements are occurring in the public sector. Certainly, this research will articulate a wealth of questions to be answered in more focused future inquiry.

¹ These states included: New Jersey, Michigan, Louisiana, North Carolina, Idaho, Georgia, Kentucky, California, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, and Minnesota.

² The research has revealed at least three other contract terminations due to poor performance: Louisiana Correctional Services lost a contract with the Idaho DOC for placement of inmates at its Basile, LA prison; Civigenics, Inc. of Massachusetts lost a contract with Colorado for a jail in Teller County; also in Colorado, Rebound Corporation had its contract for the high security High Plans Youth Center terminated.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Several years ago, while speaking at a correctional association conference, Jerome Miller related the following maxim:

You are a successful state administrator if you (1) keep staff happy; (2) stay within your allocated budget; and (3) avoid untoward incidents (escapes, suicides, riots, blatant incidents of abuse) which might come to public attention (Miller, 1991, p. 83).

Prisons and jails, as "total institutions" (Goffman, 1961), are notoriously closed to outside scrutiny, making it difficult for an "outsider" to obtain a clear picture of how problems are handled by corrections authorities.

Notwithstanding our discussion of stakeholder forces that gesture at parting the veil of punishment, Departments of Correction still maintain very strict controls on public access to the area inside prison walls, and this restriction has been upheld consistently by the Supreme Court on public safety and institutional security grounds¹ (Gentry, 1986). The information that does emerge is heavily controlled by corrections authorities. In commenting on the lack of transparency in correctional systems and the tendency of prison authorities to avoid public scrutiny, Vagg offered

the poignant observation that "prison systems tend to consume their own smoke if they can" (1994, p. 250).

In a sense, prisons are like the terrestrial counterpart of black holes: places so densely packed with matter that nothing, not even light, can escape. Just as indirect methods of observation (measuring the "escape" of x-rays) help us to understand black holes, looking at what "leaks out" of prisons may give us a better understanding of what's going on inside. Once the community beyond the prison walls has been engaged, as in the case of escapes, we have a unique opportunity to witness how prison managers react; an opportunity not available by direct means in the day-to-day routine of prison operations.

This research project explores several questions. At the outset, are there differences between public and private prisons regarding the frequency and characteristics of escapes? Many critics of prison privatization raise the specter of profit-driven owners cutting costs by scrimping on security. Does the real world of prison escapes confirm this implication? In viewing the reactions of prison managers, is there an observed difference in the ways that public prisons handle prison escapes? Do the market factors explored in the previous chapter—things such as regulatory demands, cost factors, stakeholder forces, and competition—impinge more keenly on private prison

operators? If so, do private facility managers deal with reported serious incidents more decisively than their public facility counterparts? If the public choice and stakeholder perspectives are correct, we should see no greater risk of security breaches in private prisons and more decisive action on the part of their managers when problems do occur.

These expected outcomes can be put in the form of the following hypotheses:

Hypotheses

- H₁ Private prisons are no less secure than public prisons
- H₂ As market forces increase, the intensity of reaction to prison escapes increases.
- H₃ Market forces have greater influence on private prisons than on public prisons.
- H₄ The intensity of reaction to escapes is greater in private prisons than in public prisons.

Why focus solely on prison escapes?

Initially, it was thought to operationalize the definition of serious incidents to include all riots, major disturbances involving multiple participants and significant property damage, assaults and killings of inmates by other inmates, inmate suicides, and escapes. "Reporting" of these incidents would include recording of the events in one of a number of standardized corrections databases (as described below) or local newspaper coverage of the event. However, it

became apparent that the labeling of many serious incidents is subject to considerable discretion by corrections authorities. What specifically constitutes a "riot" or "disturbance," for example, is open to interpretation by corrections staff and preliminary searches of news media data bases revealed these incidents to be reported sporadically and inconsistently by the press.

Moreover, violence between inmates resulting in death is a relatively rare event (a total of 79 reported inmate homicides in 1997, Camp & Camp, 1999) and typically handled by pressing official charges against the inmates involved. The responsibility of corrections officials to resolve these incidents is superseded in large part by the criminal courts, limiting the discretion of correctional management to resolve them.

Suicide data are also problematic. On the one hand is a concern that suicide rates in confinement may be underreported (Hayes, 1989; Lester & Dante, 1993). On the other hand, some reported "suicides" might actually be homicides involving foul play of guards or other inmates (see Smith, 1984). In general, problems surrounding the validity of officially reported data, which abound in "free world" criminal justice data (see, for example, the discussion of the limits of Uniform Crime Reports in Maxfield & Babbie, 1995), are likely to be compounded by the

closed nature of prison bureaucracies. As McConville puts the matter, "in the closed world of the prison, where retaliation is so readily at hand, the collective memory so unforgiving of informants, and a frequently incompetent and poorly motivated bureaucracy is charged with the maintenance of records, the unreliability of these data increases enormously" (1989, p. 201).

Rather than become ensnared in the morass of endlessly qualifying the validity of prison incident data, it was decided to limit the scope of the inquiry to escapes, a category of serious incident that is fairly straightforward in definition and relatively difficult to conceal from the outside world when they occur. Prison escapes generally result in notification of local law enforcement and the news media tend to provide coverage of these events due to the potential increase in danger to the community when an inmate is "on the loose" (Chermak, 1998).

Summary of the Research Design

The study uses a descriptive, case study methodology in examining approximately 88 of the most serious prison escapes during 1997 and 1998. The data set of escape incidents is compiled from the Lexis-Nexis (Academic Universe©) database. Academic Universe© is an archive of more than 7,000 English language newspapers, newsletters, magazines, trade journals, wire services, and broadcast

transcripts. A proprietary service available through colleges and universities (including John Jay College of Criminal Justice), the database is a "new and improved" edition of the former "Nexis" news archive and is generally considered to be the most extensive database of its kind currently available to academic researchers (Simpson, 1993). Key word searches of the Lexis-Nexis database are used to identify all prison escapes reported in the news media during 1997 and 1998.

The newspaper-derived database of prison escapes is crosschecked with four standardized, national databases of prison information, The National Corrections Reporting Program (NCRP) of the US Department of Justice, Corrections Compendium surveys, the annual "Directory" of the American Correctional Association for 1997 and 1998, and Corrections Yearbook surveys of prison incidents for calendar years 1997 and 1998.

Inmate escapes are reported annually to the US Department of Justice through the National Corrections Reporting Program (NCRP). The NCRP has been compiled annually since 1983 when the National Prisoners Statistics program, which compiled data on prisoner admissions and releases, and the Uniform Parole Reports, which kept track of prisoners on active parole status in the community were combined. This database is available to the public

(currently, to year-end 1997) through the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data at the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). While this is the most frequently updated national database that includes a record of how many prisoners escaped from custody, the information is limited to descriptions of prisoners entering and leaving the custody or supervision of state and federal authorities and is reported aggregately for jurisdictions, not for individual prisons. There is no way of knowing whether the receiving or releasing facility in a given jurisdiction is a public or private entity. While the information is useful in establishing baseline rates of escapes per jurisdiction, it doesn't provide detail sufficient to make public-private comparisons.

The American Correctional Association (ACA) publishes two databases that include a count of inmate escapes from custody. The ACA's monthly publication, Corrections Compendium, conducts periodic surveys of various prison incidents, including escapes. The most recent census of escapes was completed for calendar years 1996 and 1997. These data are used to crosscheck the validity of other data sources.

The ACA also publishes an annual Directory of Juvenile and Adult Correctional Departments, Institutions, Agencies, and Paroling Authorities, hereinafter referred to as the

Directory. The Directory provides an annual state-by-state count of escapes and other incidents. The Directory also provides considerable information about individual prisons, including age, size, location, security level, and whether or not the facility is accredited by the ACA.

A fourth database is available through the independent Criminal Justice Institute (CRI). The CRI publishes an annual "Yearbook" that details considerable information on all adult correctional agencies from the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Information is provided to the CRI by correctional authorities via annual surveys. The Yearbook also includes data from the largest jail systems in the US and, beginning with the 1998 issue (1997 data), includes a separate section on privately managed facilities. Yearbooks for 1998 and 1999 are used in this research. Similar to the above databases, the Yearbook does not identify individual facilities. However, the inclusion of a separate section on private facility data provides an opportunity to make direct comparisons between the public and private sectors on the frequency of serious incidents.

According to the Yearbook, in 1997 approximately 5.5% of adult correctional facilities in the United States were managed by private companies. In that year, there were approximately 7,500 escapes from all correctional facilities

in the country. Approximately 4% of the escapes were from private prisons. Only about 10% of all escapes are of the most serious variety, i.e., escapes of a convicted felon from a high security level facility or escape from any security level facility involving injury to staff, the inmate, or the public. It is estimated that in the two-year period from Jan 1, 1997 to Dec 31, 1998, there were approximately 1,500 of these "serious" escapes in the United States. If the 4% private facility escape rate holds, we can project that about sixty of these escapes occurred in private facilities and the remainder in public facilities.

All four databases are compared and contrasted with the information from Lexis-Nexis in order to determine how extensively the media covers prison escapes in the US. The comparison process also provides a check on the reliability and validity of the available corrections databases. In combination with news searches, Yearbook data help to analyze whether or not incidents in private facilities are reported more frequently in the press than public facility incidents. This analysis will serve to update current understanding of how well the news media covers the field of corrections and observe whether there are differences in the transparency of public and private modes of ownership.

As part of the research project, letters were sent to the heads of fifty-two correctional systems in the US (each

of the fifty states plus the District of Columbia and the Federal Bureau of Prisons). The purpose of the letter was two-fold: to request official "letters of cooperation" and to identify contact persons who could help validate and elaborate on information drawn from the databases. A total of 30 corrections departments responded with letters of cooperation, a response rate of 58%. Copies of the request letters sent and cooperation letters received were filed with the Office of Sponsored Research, the Graduate Center, City University of New York (the Institutional Review Board) in the interest of documenting informed consent for interviews and overall ethical conduct of research. This process proved quite valuable in that representatives of a number of state departments of correction have volunteered to provide considerable information on specific escapes that occurred during the period being studied.

Using substantive information derived from news accounts, investigative documents, and correctional databases, the study identifies a set of the most serious escapes that occurred during 1997 and 1998. An "intensity of reaction scale" was developed from the substantive information as the project unfolded. Discriminators of reaction included: amount of coverage in major newspapers, official investigation launched, public meetings held to discuss security (facing neighbors as stakeholders), range

and number of stakeholders addressed, changes to security level of the facility, change in contract provisions, addition of monitoring staff (private contracts), upgrading of security equipment at the facility, staff fired or reassigned, nature of political controversy following the event, and introduction of new legislation directly related to the escape.

Newspaper accounts are analyzed to determine whether reaction to prison escapes has been long term/short term or internal/external (as described below). A reliability check of this information was completed by checking its accuracy with officials from the governmental authority responsible for oversight of the respective prisons. Additionally, a 10% random sample of the newspaper accounts was reviewed by an independent reliability observer. Working independently, the reliability observer fit each of the accounts onto the two-by-two Intensity of Reaction Scale (as described below). Results are presented in Chapter 6.

The study assumes that three predetermined variables—Facility Size, Age, and Security Level influence the number of escapes that occur at any given prison. It is also assumed that a high frequency of escapes in an individual prison will *a priori* influence the intensity of reaction to escapes from that prison.

Operational definitions

Escape. This study examines only the most serious of prison escapes. These would include escapes by a convicted felon from a medium security or higher security level prison where physical barriers must be circumvented in order to affect the escape. "Walkaways" from non-secure facilities are excluded. Serious escapes also include those from any security level facility involving injury to staff or the inmate, or escapes that are occasioned by crimes perpetrated against the public (e.g., burglary, hostage taking, auto theft, robbery).

Market forces are factors external to the prisons that impose limits on the discretion of prison managers; there are four categories of market forces examined in this study (additional detail on these constructs is provided at the end of the chapter):

1. Regulatory Demands (e.g., outside reporting required of the prison by federal courts, accreditation agencies, etc.);
2. Cost Factors (e.g., the annual percent increase in per inmate operating expenses of the prison over the past five years);
3. Stakeholder Forces (e.g. the extent of access to inmates provided by a prison); and,

4. Competitive Requirements (e.g. the percentage of prison beds in the state that are contracted out to private operators).

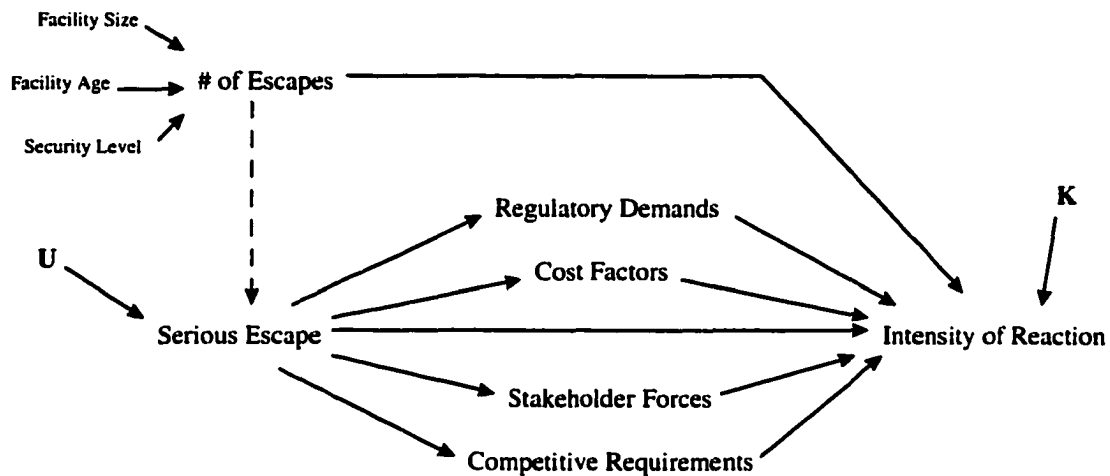
Intensity of Reaction – using substantive information derived from news accounts, investigative documents, and interviews with selected officials involved in individual escape incidents, the study characterizes each escape according to one of four categories of reaction: 1) Short Term/Internal Reaction (brief interval of consequences affecting only the prison involved); 2) Short Term/External Reaction (brief interval of consequences that affect other prisons as well); 3) Long Term/Internal Reaction (relatively permanent changes in the prison affecting only the prison involved; and, 4) Long Term/External Reaction (permanent changes that effect other prisons as well as the prison involved). This information is arrayed in a two-by-two table as suggested in Table 1. A preliminary model of the relationship among the variables is depicted in Figure 1.

Table 1: Intensity of Reaction

Short Term/Internal	Long Term/Internal
Short Term/External	Long Term/External

Figure 1 - Market Force Variables and Intensity of Reaction

(U and K signify residual effects not explained in the model)



To the extent possible, demographic information on each escapee is collected and summarized in the final research report. These data include age, ethnic background, and current sentence, and sentencing history for inmates involved in each of the reported escapes. This information is compared and contrasted with other studies on escapee characteristics. These data also help determine if the inmates involved in escapes from facilities in the study are representative of all inmates who escape from prison in the United States.

Preliminary research indicates that only a fraction of all prison escapes are reported in the newspapers (although

it may be hypothesized that, perhaps due to the novelty of private prisons, the press is more likely to report incidents in these facilities than in public prisons).

Many of these serious escape incidents have prompted official investigations and the drafting of official reports. These reports typically describe the incident in detail, draw conclusions regarding the causes of the escape, and chronicle any corrective action that has been taken. To the extent possible, representatives of the Department of Corrections involved in selected escape events were contacted to determine if a report had been prepared and if it was available to the public. These requests were made by mail and electronic correspondence, followed by telephone calls in order to enhance the rate of reply.

When information from newspapers and investigative documents did not adequately describe the escape incident, or where available information was contradictory, it was necessary to conduct semi-structured telephone interviews of key individuals knowledgeable about the escape in question. No interviews were conducted with "protected populations," e.g., prisoners. Key informants included newspaper reporters covering the stories, staff from the prisons involved, and State Department of Corrections officials in the jurisdiction where the incident occurred. The interviews simply involved fact-finding, i.e., requesting sufficient

information about the escape or the official reaction to enable the scaling of escape "severity" or reaction "intensity." Descriptive information about the individual prison facilities involved in the escape (e.g. size, age of facility) was most readily obtained by speaking directly to state-level Department of Corrections personnel as a matter of convenience. All information requested in these interviews was otherwise available to the public through other sources or documents. There was neither a risk of harm to subjects nor information sought concerning sensitive aspects of the subjects' own behavior.

Using the information obtained through news accounts, correctional agency archives, and interviews with corrections officials, the study identified a set of public and private prisons for comparison. At minimum, facility-on-facility comparisons were made along the dimensions of facility size, security level of the facility, and region of the country where prisons were located.

Data collected on escape severity, the intensity of reaction, the age, size, and security level of the facility involved, and whether it is publicly or privately managed are summarized by way of descriptive statistics. These data are analyzed using Chi Square and bivariate correlation tests to determine if a relationship exists between type of

management (public or private) and the intensity of official reaction to the escape incidents.

Laws governing access to public information are outlined in the Freedom of Information Act Handbook (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991-1998). Access to private corporation files and information is not so freely accessible. However, since all private prisons operate as subcontractors of governmental functions, it was anticipated that sufficient information would be available through governmental records and archives. The ease with which access to information is provided by either the public or private sector is an important data point in the overall assessment of prison accountability and visibility and is discussed in the research report.

Measures of Market Forces

In an effort to enhance the validity of the model proposed in this research project, it is helpful to provide more detailed descriptions of the four subcategories of variables used to measure the "market forces" construct.

Regulatory Demands

Four variables are included in a construct that measures the extent of regulatory demands: 1) whether or not the facility is ACA accredited, 2) the percentage of correctional facilities in the state that are ACA accredited, 3) whether or not any prisons in the state were

under the supervision of a court monitor or master, and 4) whether or not the facility is accredited by the National Commission on Correctional Health Care (NCCHC). In regards to the first two variables, it is assumed that the American Correctional Association (ACA) accreditation process places regulatory demands on agencies that wish to attain or maintain accredited status. According to Keve (1996), nearly half of the prisons in the United States are involved in accreditation (but only 3.5% of the jails).

Accreditation is a triennial process that requires the facility to develop and implement policies and procedures that comport with the ACA's assessment of good correctional practice. ACA Standards for Adult Correctional Institutions (3rd ed, 1990 and 1998 Supplement) requires the facility to have written procedures regarding escapes:

specific procedures that can be used quickly when an escape occurs should be make available to all personnel. Procedures should include the following: prompt reporting of the escape to the warden/superintendent; *mobilization of law enforcement agencies, community groups, and relevant media*; preparation of escape circulars for distribution and mailing; and after apprehension of the escapee, prompt notification of all who were previously alerted to the escape [*italics added for emphasis*] (ACA, 1990; 1998).

In addition, the ACA provides standards for operation of a control center, for perimeter security, for the operation of entrances and exits, for security equipment storage, and for control and use of tools and culinary equipment. The standards also induce correctional facilities to create "written policy, procedure, and practice" that establish a commitment to informing the public and the media of serious incidents occurring inside the prison (p. 19, 1998 Supplement).

The percentage of all facilities in a state that are accredited by the ACA also indicates the strength of regulatory demands impinging on each prison. According to Keve (1996), there appears to be regional variability in the extent of ACA accreditation within state DOCs. For example, eight of the ten states with the highest involvement in ACA accreditation lie east of the Mississippi. Nevertheless, it is assumed that the pressure of regulatory demands impinging upon individual prison facilities will be highest in those states with the highest percentage of accredited facilities.

The ACA proceedings and annual directories provide information on the extent of ACA accreditation. This information will be verified through interviews with state DOC officials.

The third variable in the regulatory demands construct involves whether or not any prisons in the state are under

the supervision of the federal courts. As Riveland (1999) notes, the involvement of the courts in day-to-day supervision of prisons places strong limits on the autonomy of individual facility administrators. It is assumed that regulatory demands will be higher in states where the courts are involved in supervising facilities due to overcrowding or conditions of confinement.

The ACA directory of correctional facilities provides an annual list of the states that have facilities under court supervision. This information will be checked for reliability and clarified through interviews with state DOC officials.

Also, a growing number of prison and jails are entering into a separate accreditation process with the National Commission on Correctional Health Care (NCCHC). According to the NCCHC,

accreditation promotes an efficient and well-managed system of health care services. It adds prestige to facilities, increases staff morale, aids recruiting efforts, helps to obtain community support, and provides additional justification for budgetary requests. Accreditation helps protect financial assets by minimizing the occurrence of adverse events. In many instances, accreditation reduces liability premiums and

protects facilities from lawsuits related to health care (<http://www.ncchc.org/accreditation.html>).

Like the ACA process, NCCHC accreditation places additional regulatory demands on prison managers.

Cost Factors

The Bureau of Justice Statistics computed per-inmate-spending costs for each state in 1990 and 1996. [BJS, "Census of Prison Facilities 1990;" BJS, "State Prison Expenditures, 1996]. Using these figures, we can compute an average annual rate of increase in per inmate expenditures for each of the states (see Appendix F). Three states (Alabama, California, and Texas) recorded a negative annual rate of spending per inmate while the increasing annual rate in the other states varied considerably (from a fraction of a percent to over 10%). It is unknown how this cost factor impinges on managerial reaction to inmate escapes but the present research may shed new light on the subject. For example, do escapes from prisons in states that have declining per inmate operating costs indicate a pattern of lax security tied to these cutbacks? Is the extent of reaction to escapes less in states that are under more financial pressure (i.e., do cost factors attenuate reaction to serious incidents)?

Stakeholder Forces

The third accountability construct involves the extent to which the prison interacts with the community outside the prison. While such interaction may be aimed at buffering the facility from outside forces or directed at building bridges between the prison and outside stakeholders, the extent to which the prison deals with the outside environment may impact how it responds to serious incidents like escapes. Since it is typically the job of an organization's public affairs unit that performs these roles (Meznar and Nigh, 1995), one such indicator is whether or not the prison has an officially designated public information officer.

Another measure is whether or not the prison has a community advisory group. Such formal groups involve members of the local community surrounding a prison and may provide an indicator of the transparency of a prison's management.

A third measure of stakeholder forces involves media accessibility as rated by the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ). A 1998 survey of all state corrections departments indicates the extent of media access to prisoners (Davis, 1998). The presence of these factors would suggest that prison administration would interact with their stakeholders when a serious escape occurs. Such reactions as holding public meetings with the prison's neighbors to discuss security, or calling a media press conference (or

issuing press releases regarding the escape) would indicate attention to stakeholder forces.

Competitive Requirements

The final accountability construct involves the presence or absence of prison privatization pressure within the state. This construct is measured by the percentage of prison beds in the state that are contracted out to private providers. Using Corrections Yearbook data, this ratio is computed by dividing the total number of private prison beds in the state by the total number of both public and private beds. The assumption is that in those states that are using private prisons, competitive pressures will encourage facility managers in both public and private facilities to deal more decisively with prison escapes.

¹ In *Pell v. Procunier*, 417 U.S. 817 (1974), the plaintiffs sought to define a constitutional right for the news media to have access to prisoners. They argued that a prisoner's right to free speech and the public's right to information combined to outweigh the state's interest in maintaining security. The Supreme Court, however, found that "newsmen have no constitutional right of access to prisons or their inmates beyond that afforded the general public" (at 834). State security interests, in effect, trump the public's right to know what is going on behind bars.

CHAPTER 5

PRISON ESCAPES IN THE US 1997-1998

This chapter examines prison escapes during 1997 and 1998 from a number of dimensions. It begins with a discussion of the various sources of prison escape information that are available and major differences between them. Next, the chapter discusses the use of the news media in developing a study sample of prison escapes. Third, the chapter examines differences between public and private prisons reflected in the prison escape databases as well as some state-by-state differences. Fourth, the chapter examines the characteristics of escapees and how they escaped from prison. The chapter concludes with an examination of whether or not the operation of various market forces described in Chapter 4 are predictive of how prison managers react when escapes do occur.

National Escape Data

Given the profusion of criminal justice data in the United States, it is somewhat surprising that thorough records on prison escapes are not maintained on any consistent or standardized basis. There is considerable variability in the escape data as reported by several sources.

The US Department of Justice, which maintains copious databases on many characteristics of the incarcerated

population, does not maintain a prison escape database *per se*. The Department of Justice manages the annual National Corrections Reporting Program (NCRP), which keeps track of prisoners entering and leaving state prisons. The NCRP is based on a questionnaire completed by the various state DOC's each year, with individual inmates as the unit of analysis. Included in the information collected is whether or not each departing inmate had been "AWOL" or on "Escape" status at any time while serving his or her sentence. These data are recorded for the entire period of the inmate's sentence, do not distinguish between one or many escapes, and do not indicate the total number of escapes in any given year. Moreover, the data are reported by jurisdiction (the fifty states plus the District of Columbia and the Federal Bureau of Prisons), not individual prisons, making it impossible to compare institutions be they public or private. Finally, the rate of participation in the survey by state Departments of Correction seems mediocre, with only 36 states (72% response rate) reporting data for 1997.

Nonetheless, the NCRP data provide one perspective on how many inmates walk-away or escape from custody. Of prisoners serving at least 13 months (which includes most felons) and who were released from prison in 1997, 2% reportedly escaped or walked away without permission at any time while serving their sentence. Data on calendar year

1998 were not yet available from the NCRP at the time of this study. A total of 413,268 prisoners who had completed a sentence of one year or more were released from all 36 reporting states in 1997 (Correspondence with D. Wilson, OJP, USDOJ, 10-10-00). Assuming the average sentence to be about 24 months (BJS), the 2% escape and AWOL rate would translate to 8,285 escapes over the two-year sentence, or about 4,132 in the single year 1997 (Table 2). The NCRP data includes inmates in all security level facilities, including minimum-security, work release, and other low custody programs. The NCRP also reports how many inmates were discharged from correctional supervision while on AWOL or Escape status (only .6% of inmates in 1997).

The American Correctional Association (ACA), in its monthly journal Corrections Compendium, conducts periodic surveys of various substantive issues of relevance to academicians and corrections practitioners. The ACA most recently tracked escapes and walkaways from state prisons during calendar years 1996 and 1997, and published the findings in the June 1998 issue of Corrections Compendium. Data for calendar year 1998 were not collected in the survey. Forty-two states (84% response rate compared to a 72% response rate of the NCRP) participated in the Corrections Compendium survey of escapes (see Table 2). Like the NCRP, the Corrections Compendium data are reported by

jurisdiction, not by prison. A total of 5,743 escapes and walkaways were reported in the Corrections Compendium survey. This total is 39% greater than the NCRP estimate for the same year.

Table 2 - Total Escapes (and Walkaways) in 1997 and 1998

<u>Name of Survey</u>	<u>Number of Escapes</u>	
	<u>1997</u>	<u>1998</u>
NCRP	4132 ^a (est.)	n/a
Corrections Compendium	5743 ^b	n/a
ACA Directory	9482 ^c	4588 ^d
Corrections Yearbook	8496 ^e	7179 ^f

^a National Corrections Reporting Program: reports from 39 jurisdictions; projected data.

^b Corrections Compendium: reports from 43 jurisdictions (year ending 12/31/97).

^c American Correctional Association (ACA): reports from 47 jurisdictions in 97 (year ending 6/30/97)

^d ACA: reports from 39 jurisdictions in 98 (year ending 9/30/98).

^e Corrections Yearbook: reports from 52 jurisdictions in 97 (year ending 12/31/97).

^f Corrections Yearbook: reports from 51 jurisdictions in 98 (does not include Bureau of Prisons).

The ACA also reports a count of escapes in its annual Directory of Juvenile and Adult Correctional Departments, Institutions, Agencies, and Paroling Authorities (the "Directory"). The Directory is published annually and data are available for both 1997 and 1998. While the 1997 data are based upon 47 jurisdictions, the 1998 data are based on

only 39 (same as the NCRP). The Directory also includes both walkaways and escapes, and numbers are based on jurisdiction, not individual prison. Again, there is considerable variability in the reported total number of escapes: the 9,482 total escapes reported in the Directory for 1997 is 65% higher than the number reported in Corrections Compendium and 129% higher than the total estimated from NCRP program data.

A fourth database is compiled by Corrections Yearbook, and is published annually by Criminal Justice Institute. These data are based on an annual survey of the 50 state-level Departments of Correction plus the District of Columbia and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Corrections Yearbook data have the highest response rate of the four national surveys (their data includes all jurisdictions in 1997; all but one in 1998). The Corrections Yearbook accounting of escapes in 1997 falls between the numbers in the Corrections Compendium and Directory surveys, but is based upon a 100% response rate (see Table 2). The Corrections Yearbook surveys have the advantage of also listing information, including escapes, on individual private prisons in the US. Further, it is possible to separate out walkaways and AWOLs from the aggregate escape data in the Corrections Yearbook survey. For these reasons, the present research draws information primarily from Corrections Yearbook for calendar years 1997 and 1998.

Escapes Covered by the News Media

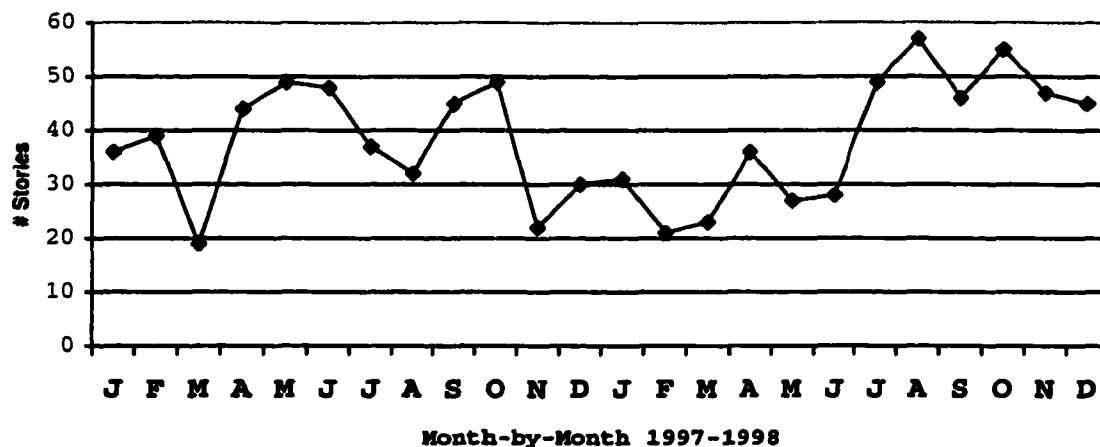
The news media provides another public record of prison escapes in the United States. As was observed in Chapter 2, news media attention to criminal justice issues tends to be "front loaded," with attention fading as an offender moves through various stages of the system from arrest to incarceration. Prior studies found that less than five percent of newspaper stories about criminal justice issues dealt with corrections (Graber, 1980; Dussuyer, 1979). However, as Chermak (1998) noted, correctional authorities and the press tend to cooperate in the reporting of escape incidents.

The Lexis-Nexis news database was used to search for articles about prison escape appearing in the print news media during calendar years 1997 and 1998. The Lexis-Nexis database of newspaper articles is divided into two categories: general news and U.S. news. General news includes a list of fifty-eight U.S. and international English language newspapers, magazines, newsletters and journals. Large city daily newspapers in the U.S. account for thirty-four of these "general news" sources. "U.S. News" is subdivided into four regional categories: Northeast, Midwest, Southeast, and Western. Northeast sources include forty news sources; Midwest includes forty-five sources; Southeast includes sixty-four sources; and Western includes

seventy-three sources. A complete listing of these sources is included in Appendix A.

A search of all news sources for the two-year period (1997-98) yielded 4,248 news stories as matching the search terms "prison" and "escapes." This total included many duplicate stories, several accounts of prison escapes from outside the United States, and a host of articles about irrelevant escapes (e.g., historical references to infamous escapes, references to prison escapes in films and fiction, and stories of individuals who had "escaped" a prison term). Pruning the data base of these stories left a total of 906 press narratives (stories) detailing prison escapes in the US during the two-year period: 450 from 1997 and 456 from 1998, an average of about 40 escapes per month (see Figure 2). The chart depicts a (logical) seasonal increase in escapes during the summer and fall months followed by a decline during the coldest months of the year.

So far, the collection of news stories is inclusive of the so-called "walkaways," or escapes of non-violent inmates from minimum-security facilities and other minor escape incidents. Comparing this list of news stories with the Corrections Yearbook totals of escapes and walkaways for 1997 and 1998, we find that the news media covered 5.3% of total escapes in 1997 and 6.35% of escapes in 1998, or an overall rate of 5.78% for the two years (see Table 3).

Figure 2 - Escape Stories in the Newspapers

The percentage of escapes covered by the press is only slightly higher than low rate of coverage of corrections found by Graber (1980) and Dussuyer (1979). Twenty years have passed since those studies were completed; yet the latest findings confirm that the news media attention to corrections has remained about the same.

Table 3 - Extent of News Media Coverage of Escapes

	1997	1998	All Escapes
Number of Escapes (incl. Walkaways)	8,496	7,179	15,675
Number Covered by News Media	450	456	906
Percent Covered by News Media	5.3%	6.35%	5.78%
Number of Escapes (excl. walkaways)	1,210	660	1,870
Number Covered by News Media	44	44	88
Percent Covered by News Media	3.64%	6.67%	4.71%

At this stage of the research it was decided to drop cases from the news story database involving walkaways from work camps and pre-release centers. Also eliminated were any cases involving escapes from minimum-security facilities that did not involve a breach of prison security. This final "cut" of the database yielded 44 incidents in 1997 and, coincidentally, 44 incidents also in 1998. Approximately 90% of the newspaper stories in both years involved walkaway-type escapes. The final newspaper story database of 88 incidents includes the most serious prison escapes that occurred during the 1997-1998 study period.

It is also possible to eliminate walkaways from the Corrections Yearbook surveys. Walkaways account for a full 86% of all survey-reported escapes in 1997 and 91% of escapes reported in 1998 (very similar to the 90% ratio of news stories). In comparing the press coverage of these most serious escapes to the number reported in Corrections Yearbook, we find the press covered 3.64% of the serious escapes in 1997 and 6.67% of the escapes in 1998 (overall rate of 4.41% for the biennium—see Table 3). These findings strongly support a conclusion that the print news media covers only about 5% of prison escapes in the United States.

Public—Private Comparison

The first level of comparison between public and private prisons involves the percentage of all escapes

accounted for by either sector. One of the more fundamental concerns voiced by critics of privatization is that profit taking will shortchange security in private prisons. Is there an inordinately high number of escapes from private prisons as this line of argument would suggest?

A review of the databases indicates that the answer to this question is clearly "no." Recall from Chapter 1 that the Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates the "market share" of the incarcerated population controlled by private prisons to be 5.5% (BJS, 2000)¹. Of the 8,498 escapes in 1997, only 3.98% (338 escapes) occurred in private prisons; of 7,179 total escapes in 1998, only 2.41% (173 escapes) were from private sector facilities (Corrections Yearbook data). The rate of escape from private facilities is significantly lower than the rate from public facilities ($p = .001$). [for 1997, $\chi^2 = 37.67$, $df=1$; for 1998, $\chi^2=132.1$, $df=1$; significant $p = .001$]. While we will examine more subtle differences between public and private prisons later on, a likely suspect for the lower escape rate in private prisons is that the facilities are much newer than their public prison counterparts (on average, public prisons are four times older than public prisons). Newer prisons take advantage of architectural and technological advancements in visibility and security, effectively making them more secure than older prisons. Pratt & Maahs (1999) found that the cost

of prison operation was more closely related to age of a facility than to public or private management. It is reasonable to assume that newer security features are less subject to breakdown than older systems. Unfortunately, the national databases do not contain adequate data to thoroughly examine if differences in escape rates correlates with age of the facility.

Nonetheless, when walkaways and other minor escapes are eliminated from the database, private prisons again score better than expected based on percent of market share: private facilities accounted for 4.38% of serious escapes in 1997 and only 1.3% of serious escapes in 1998 (Corrections Yearbook data) while holding 5.5% of the correctional population. For now, it is clear that there is no evidence to support the hypothesis that the profit motive will cause private prisons to scrimp on security considerations in these facilities, and that escapes will increase as a direct consequence.

Although the news media cover only about 5% of escapes in the US, these news accounts provide much richer qualitative information than can be found in the statistical databases. The final database of 88 serious prison incidents reported by the news media constitutes a unique and rich source of information about public-private prison

differences. A state-by-state listing of these incidents is depicted in Table 4.

Table 4 - The "88" Public and Private Prison Escape Cases

	1997		1998	
	All Cases	Private	All Cases	Private
Alabama	1			
Arizona			1	
Arkansas	1		2	
California	4		1	
Colorado	1		1	
Delaware	1			
Florida	1		3	
Georgia	2			
Hawaii			1	
Indiana	1		1	
Iowa	1			
Kansas	1		1	
Louisiana	3	1		
Maine	1		1	
Maryland			1	
Mississippi	1		1	
New Hampshire	1			
New Mexico			1	
North Carolina	2		5	
Ohio	1		1	1
Oklahoma			1	1
Oregon			2	
Pennsylvania	3	1	1	
Rhode Island	1		1	
South Carolina	3		1	
South Dakota			1	
Tennessee			4	3
Texas	5	1	7	2
Utah			1	
Virginia			1	
Washington	2			
Wisconsin	2		2	
D.C.	1			
Fed Gov ^a	3	1	1	
Total	44	4	44	7

^a "Fed Gov" includes Federal Bureau of Prisons, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and U.S. Army.

Of the forty-four (44) incidents in 1997, a total of four (4) involved escapes from private prisons. In 1998, seven (7) of the forty-four (44) escapes were from private prisons. Thus, the final database of serious escapes covered by the news media in 1997 and 1998 includes 77 escapes from public facilities and 11 escapes from private facilities.

The 88 escape incidents occurred in 79 separate prison facilities (Appendix D provides a complete listing of the 88 escapes and the prisons involved). Seven (7) of the prisons in the database recorded more than one escape during the two year period, and all of these were public prisons: two public prisons had three separate escapes during the period; five public prisons had two incidents; none of the private prisons had more than one incident. It is tempting to speculate on the reasons for this, e.g., that public prison managers react to escapes more conscientiously than public managers, and therefore repeat incidents don't occur. Possible reasons for multiple escapes will be suggested in the last section of the chapter. Whatever the reasons, the database indicates that public prisons are more likely to experience multiple escapes than private prisons.

Of the 79 prisons in the database, 68 (84.1%) were publicly operated while 11 (13.9%) were private. At first blush, this difference may appear to conflict with the finding that less than 5% of escapes occur in private

prisons. However, as a closer look reveals, a higher (albeit non-statistically significant) percentage of private prison escapes are covered than is the case in public facilities.

Of the eighty-eight serious prison escapes reported by the news media during 1997-1998, about half (51.7%) of the accounts could be termed "perfunctory", as they include only minimal details of the escape and a brief description of the escapee(s). These reports read like police blotters, with information taken directly from reports of the escapes provided by prison officials to local law enforcement agencies. In just under half of the escapes (forty-three incidents; 48.3% of the sample), the information has a more "investigative" character. In contrast to the perfunctory reports, the investigative reports include considerably more detail, including background on the prison, interviews with officials involved in the incident, and details of the escape.

The news media is slightly more likely to provide investigative coverage on escapes from private prisons—54.5% of escapes from private facilities received investigative reporting but only 47.4% of public facility escapes—although the difference is not statistically significant ($\chi^2=0.95$, $df=1$; critical value of chi sq = 2.7 ($p = 0.1$)).

Beyond the initial reporting of an escape, however, the news media is unlikely to follow-up on escape stories in either type of prison. There were three or more news stories published on only 27% of the escape incidents in the database (a total of 24 escapes). (Note: since most escapees are apprehended within two days of the escape, and the press tend to follow up these escapes with a second story on the apprehension, the publication of three or more stories was used as the indicator of follow-up coverage). The press treats follow-up stories from both public and private prisons with equal disregard, with only 27% of escapes from both public and private prisons resulting in follow up stories.

As noted previously, there are distinct differences between public and private facilities in the age of their respective physical plants. The mean age of the public prisons in the database is 44.28 years, while the average private prison facility is 20.5 years old. The mean is a poor indicator of central tendency in the case of both types of prisons, as a few very old prisons skew both averages. In the public sector, there are six public prisons in the database that are over 120 years old. In the case of the 11 private prisons, one of the facilities was located in a 60-year-old building that was replaced in 1998 with a new building. The median age of both types of facilities is

probably a more accurate indicator of central tendency: the median age of public prisons is 27.5 years; the median age of the private facilities is 6 years. In general, the buildings and grounds comprising the public prisons are four times older than those found in private prisons.

The average age of the seven prisons that experienced multiple escapes is 48.6 years old (a median age of 27); these prisons were virtually the same age as public prisons as a whole.

The eleven private prisons in the database tend to be smaller in capacity than the public prisons. The average capacity of public prisons is 1,380 beds compared to an average of 1,032 beds in the private facilities; the public prisons have 33.6% larger design capacity than the private prisons (see Appendix C). If the percentage of all prisoners who escape or are AWOL at any time of their sentence remains constant between public and private inmates (2% according to the NCRP), and all other variables remain equal, the simple fact that public prisons are larger than public ones would cause them to have more escapes.

The private prisons are more likely to have met the accreditation standards of the American Correctional Association than their public counterparts: 55.6% of all private prisons were accredited compared to 28.4% of the public prisons (the rate for all prisons was 31.6% (see

Appendix E). As noted in Chapter 4, accreditation is a triennial process that requires the facility to develop and implement policies and procedures that comport with good correctional practice. Among other things, these standards require that prisons have well-developed procedures for operation of a control center, for perimeter security, for the operation of entrances and exits, for security equipment storage, and for control and use of tools and culinary equipment. Arguably, a prison where these procedures are all functioning properly would experience fewer escapes than one where such procedures were not in place.

The private prisons in this study are newer, smaller, and more likely to be ACA accredited than the public prisons. These advantages help explain the statistically significant difference in escapes between private and public prisons.

Differences by State

A total of thirty-five jurisdictions (33 states plus DC and the Fed Gov) are represented in the database of 88 serious escapes. Texas led all jurisdictions in number of escapes with 13, while California came in second with 7 escapes. Six jurisdictions registered 4 escapes (Florida, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Wisconsin, and the federal government). Note: "federal government" includes prisons operated by the Bureau of Prisons, the Immigration

and Naturalization Service, and the United States Army. Three states recorded 3 escapes, and eight states had 2 escapes. The states with the highest number of escapes tend to be states with higher prison populations rather than noticeably lax security: in comparison to all other states, Texas ranks in the lowest quartile for escape rate; California ranks in the second lowest quartile (escape rates and quartiles for all states are presented in Appendix B). Texas and California also have the largest state prison populations in the United States.

There is also considerable variation among the states in the extent to which DOCs contract for prison bed space with private facilities. Twenty-one of the 52 jurisdictions in the United States (19 states plus DC and the federal government), or 40.4%, contracted-out for some portion of the state's prison bed space needs during 1997 and 1998 (a listing of contracting rates in all states is provided in Appendix G). Among the 35 jurisdictions represented in the escape database, a total of 15 (or 43%) contracted out any portion of their prison beds. Eight (8) of these jurisdictions contract out less than 10% of their beds; six (6) jurisdictions contract out between 10% and 20% of their beds, and one jurisdiction (New Mexico), contracts for over 20% of prison bed space.

The calculation of statistics for escape rate and rate of privatization provides another opportunity to test the hypothesis that the profit motive in private prisons results in compromised security and, subsequently, in higher escapes. The research question may be phrased as follows: in examining the fifty states, does the escape rate increase as the rate of privatization increases? An answer of "no" is supported by the data. In examining the relationship between escape rate and privatization rate, we find no statistically

Table 5 - Percent of Prison Beds Privatized and Escape Rate Quartile of the Top 10 Private Prison States

	% Private	Escape Quartile ^a
New Mexico	28.1	2
Oklahoma	17.9	3
Colorado	17.7	4
Mississippi	17.9	4
Tennessee	14.7	1
Louisiana	12.4	2
Hawaii	11.9	3
Texas	8.1	1
Wisconsin	6.5	3
Florida	5.9	2

^a 1=lowest escape rate; 4=highest escape rate

significant correlation between the two variables (Pearson correlation coefficient = .316). The absence of a

relationship between escape rate and privatization rate is graphically depicted in Table 5. The table includes the ten states with the highest rates of privatization and their corresponding escape rate quartile. States with higher levels of privatization are just as likely to have high or low rates of prison escapes.

Characteristics of the Escapees

As suggested in the literature review (Chapter 2), the body of research on escapee characteristics describes the typical prison escapee as a white male incarcerated for property offenses. The racial profile of escapees in this study replicates the findings of prior studies but the criminal offense background of offenders in this study differs considerably.

A racial description of the escapee(s) was provided in only 18 of the 88 escape incidents (20.5% of the time) and on only 22 of a total of 135 escapees (16.3%). By contrast, committing offense is provided on 126 of the escapees (93.3%). The news media appears to pursue a socially conscious policy of not publishing the race of the inmate. In many cases, the escapee(s) were apprehended fairly quickly, negating any reason to publish a detailed description of the inmate. Those newspapers that did report the race of escapees included papers from all parts of the

country, implying that there is no regional bias in reporting.

Nonetheless, the racial profile of escapees in this study replicates previous research findings (as noted in the literature search). Among the 22 escapees (from 18 escapes) where race was reported, 72.7% were Caucasian, 22.7% were African-American, and 4.5% were American Indian.

Prior research on escapee profile leaves the impression that escaped convicts tend to be property offenders. However, the escapees in the present study have considerably more violent criminal backgrounds than those previously studied. Unlike race, criminal history is usually reported in the press. Of the 126 escapees on whom we have background information (93.3% of the sample), violent criminals account for the majority (58%). Forty-one inmates (a third of the sample) were serving time for murder; another 32 inmates (25%) were convicted of other violent crimes including aggravated assault, armed robbery rape, and child molesting (see Table 6). This may be an artifact of the focus on secure facility escapes: we have purposely eliminated non-secure facility escapes and other walkaways from consideration in this database. Thus the current sample is probably composed of a higher proportion of violent offenders than was the case in previous studies.

Nevertheless, prison escapees in 1997 and 1998 appear to be a more dangerous lot than those studied previously.

Table 6 - Committing Offense of Escapees	Frequency	Percent
Murder	42	33.1
Rape/Sex Assault/Child Molester	7	5.5
Armed Robbery	10	7.9
Aggravated Assault/Assault	5	3.9
Robbery	10	7.9
Burglary	14	11.0
Theft/Larceny/Forgery	14	11.0
Drug Offenses	7	5.5
Probation/Parole Violation	4	3.2
Other	14	11.0
Total	127	100.0

Although the offenders in this survey were a rather violent lot, the number of escapees who committed offenses while escaping is actually small. Escapees used violence against prison staff in only six of the escape incidents in this study (8.3% of the escapes), but there were no serious injuries sustained by prison staff (typically, prisoners bound and gagged correctional staff). Once outside the prison, 6.3% of the offenders (a total of eight) committed serious crimes in the community in the course of the escape. Although a very low percentage of inmates commit crimes, there is greater danger to the community than previous research would imply (e.g., Sundin's (1971) research found no instances of violent crime in a year's worth of escape data in Sweden; Murphy's (1984) finding that only 1% of

minimum security walkaways committed crimes). The eight escapees in this study who committed crimes while escaping were involved in the following: burglary on a residence, assault on an elderly woman, two bank robberies, hostage taking of a middle-aged married couple, kidnapping, vehicular manslaughter, and murder. Nearly two-thirds of the escapees in this study were convicted of violent crimes. Among other things, Chapter 6 will explore the qualitative context that this potential for physical violence has on the people who live in areas around prisons. Nevertheless, it is clear that the criminal history and escape-related criminal behavior of the escapees in this study are considerably more serious than what was found in prior studies.

One final characteristic of the escapees is worthy of note. Prison escape is mostly a solo activity: in over two-thirds of the escapes studied, escapees left the prison by themselves. In another 23.3% of the escapes, two inmates were involved. There were only 7 escapes (7% of the sample) in which three or more inmates left the prison together. The largest group escaping at once was 6 inmates, and this occurred three times in the study sample.

How they escaped

The news reports provide information on how 72 of the 88 escapes (82%) were accomplished. Over 70% of prison escapes involve cutting or scaling perimeter fencing or by

slipping away while in a non-secure area of the prison (e.g., on a work detail outside the secure perimeter). The most common escape scenario involves use of a wire-cutting device stolen from a maintenance shops within the prison, or simply taking advantage of a temporary lapse in staff attention (see Table 7). While dramatic, Hollywood-style escapes involving ingenious or sophisticated plans occur every year (as documented in the next chapter), the majority of escapes are rather "garden variety:" one or two inmates steal a pair of pliers and use them to cut a hole in the fence; or they simply make a break for it while "taking out the garbage."

Table 7 - Method of Escape	Frequency	Percent
Cut or scaled fence/perimeter	32	44.4
Escaped from non-secure area	19	26.4
Used physical force against staff	6	8.3
Sneaked out in vehicle	6	8.3
Forged documents	3	4.2
Breached perimeter from outside	2	2.8
Tunneled	1	1.4
Other	3	4.2
Total	72	100.0

Although more than two inmates escape together in less than 10% of escapes overall, there is a notable difference between public and private prison escapes in this regard. Among the 88 prison escapes in this database, only seven escapes involved three or more inmates, yet three of these occurred in private prisons (see Table 8).

Table 8 - # Inmates in Each Escape

# Inmates in each Escape	All Prisons # Escapes	%	Public Prisons # Escapes	%	Private Prisons # Escapes	%
1	60	68.2	53	68.8	7	63.6
2	21	23.9	20	26.0	1	9.1
3	2	2.3	2	2.6	0	0
4	1	1.1	0	0	1	9.1
5	1	1.1	0	0	1	9.1
6	3	3.4	2	2.6	1	9.1

A closer examination of two of these *en masse* escapes from private prisons helps account for the difference. Both the escape involving six inmates and the escape of five inmates from private prisons involved groups of out-of-state inmates placed as a group in private facilities and both escapes occurred soon after the prisons "opened for business." (Note: Both these escapes are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 6; Cases #12 & #18.) The fact that large groups of out-of-state inmates became the initial residents of brand new prisons may have contributed to their banding together in subsequent escapes. If these two cases are ignored in the database, the distribution of inmates participating in each escape is identical in public and private prisons.

The two anomalous findings—that public prisons in the study were more likely to have multiple escape incidents

while private prisons were more likely to have escapes involving multiple inmates—provide somewhat of a counterbalance to one another in the on-going debate over which mode of operation is better. At present, the escape databases lack sufficient veracity to suggest definitive reasons why this might be so.

Reaction to Escapes

A benefit of using newspaper reports to build the escape database is that many of the news stories provide very detailed descriptions of the escapes and what actions were taken in the aftermath of each incident. Recall the distinction made earlier in this chapter between news reporting that was termed "perfunctory" or "investigative." Perfunctory reports provide minimal details of the escape, a brief description of the escapee, and tend to read as though they were taken directly from police reports of the escapes. Investigative reports, on the other hand, usually include more background information, interviews with named officials and witnesses, and follow-up information about the escape. Of the 88 escapes in the database, slightly fewer than half of the escapes (42 of the incidents, or 47.7%) are covered with what might be termed investigative reports (Appendix D describes the extent of news coverage on each escape incident).

"Follow-up stories" comprise one form of investigative reporting. Recall also that the news media provided such follow-up coverage on 24 escapes in the database (27% of the sample). Follow-up coverage is defined as three or more separate stories covering the escape incident. Twenty-one of these escapes occurred in public prisons; three escapes occurred in private prisons (these 24 escape incidents are chronicled in Chapter 6).

Reaction to escapes can be represented in the form of a two-by-two table with four categories of reaction: 1) Short Term/Internal Reaction (brief interval of consequences affecting only the prison involved), 2) Short Term/External Reaction (brief interval of consequences that affect other prisons as well), 3) Long Term/Internal Reaction (relatively permanent changes in the prison affecting only the prison involved), and, 4) Long Term/External Reaction (permanent changes that affect other prisons as well as the prison involved).

There is background and follow-up information available on eighteen (18) of the cases to enable us to make observations about the official reaction to escapes from public and private prisons. This group of 18 cases includes all three private prisons (100%) and 15 of the 21 public prisons (71.4%). Reaction to all three of the private prison escapes may be characterized as "Long term/External," which

is the most intensive form of reaction on the scale (see Table 9). One prison in the survey lost a lucrative contract over the incident and an out of state Department of Corrections removed several hundred inmates placed in the facility (and placed them in other prisons). In the second private incident, the custody level of inmates confined in the prison was changed, perimeter security was enhanced, and state law was changed requiring all private prisoners to be classified according to a standardized instrument. The third incident resulted in security improvements that were implemented in all the prisons operated by the private company.

Table 9 - Intensity of Reaction to Escapes in Selected Public and Private Prisons.

	SHORT-TERM	LONG-TERM
INTERNAL	4 public (26.7%)	5 public (33.3%)
EXTERNAL		3 private (100%) 6 public (40%)

Note: For reference purposes, the escapes comprising these data
Are based upon the following 15 escapes described in
Chapter 6: 1,2,3,4,6,8,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,20 and 22.

Two-fifths (35.7%) of the public prison escapes were characterized by such intense reaction. One-third (33.3%) of the public prison escapes were followed by long-term but internal reaction, affecting only the prison involved in the escape. Long-term/Internal reaction in these cases included perimeter security enhancements and staff discipline

measures that that did not affect other prisons. Four public prison escapes resulted in short-term internal reaction. Reaction to these escapes included temporary lockdowns and inconclusive internal investigations. None of the private prison escape reactions was so characterized.

The comparatively "light" reaction to escapes in the public sector could help account for the fact that seven public prisons experienced repeat escapes during the study period (including two public prisons that had three separate escapes during the two year period). None of the eleven private prisons had more than one escape during the period under study. We might speculate that while the movement away from highly independent, warden-controlled prisons and toward department-of-corrections systems was supported in large measure by the desire to integrate all state prison operations with one another, vestiges of the old system still linger in many of the large public prisons in the US. Thus, problems detected in one facility (e.g., shoddy tool control procedures) that contribute to escapes are not regularly shared with other prisons in the system (i.e., an external reaction).

Following the same line of reasoning, such insularity of public prisons could help account for reduced external pressure to make improvements and thus contribute to repeat escape incidents. Although it is tempting to make such

conclusions, the database is too small to justify such generalizations. However, the case studies presented in the next chapter support such a view. For now, the search for well-supported reasons why public prisons in the sample experienced repeat escapes while the private prisons did not remains a project for future research. The information collected from the news database and other sources may yet provide new clues to understanding how market forces may impinge differently on public and private prisons.

Market Forces

In discussing the evolution of modern prison management (Chapter 3), it was suggested that Berry and Rondinelli's (1998) framework of market forces could be useful in studying private and public prisons. Four types of market forces were conceptualized in Berry and Rondinelli's framework: Regulatory demands, cost factors, stakeholder forces, and competitive requirements. In the final section of this chapter a method of operationalizing this conceptual framework is suggested. This conceptual framework is then used to evaluate the intensity of reaction following the fifteen escapes described in the previous section.

The general concept of "market forces" may be operationalized using the following twelve variables:

1. Is the facility ACA accredited, yes or no? ACA accreditation places additional *regulatory demands*

- upon the managers of a prison to conform to specific standards and pass periodic inspections.
2. Is the facility NCCHC accredited, yes or no? Like ACA accreditation, the National Commission on Correctional Health Care imposes additional *regulatory demands* on prison managers.
 3. The percentage of correctional facilities in the state that are ACA accredited. At minimum, is the percentage above the national average of 31.6%, yes or no? If many correctional facilities within a prison system are seeking and/or maintaining accreditation, this places additional *competitive requirements* on correctional managers to manage problems decisively.
 4. Is the entire state prison system following rules imposed under a federal court order or consent decree, yes or no? During the course of the past twenty years, over two-thirds of the states have had a majority or its prisons or the entire state system under court supervision (Riveland, 1999). Court oversight increases *regulatory demands* on the state system and increases the pressure of *cost factors* related to compliance.
 5. Are any prisons in the state under court order due to conditions of confinement, yes or no? The two most common reasons for court oversight of prisons is

overcrowding and conditions of confinement.

Overcrowding, which is arguably unavoidable in many state systems, is less onerous than conditions of confinement, which is more readily controlled by management action (see pages 26-27; overcrowding is not correlated to escape). The presence of this type of court order in a state would increase *regulatory demands*.

6. Is the subject prison or any other prison in the state under the supervision of a court appointed monitor or master, yes or no? As is the case when the state system is under court order, the assignment of a special master or court monitor to a prison in the system increases *regulatory demands* and *cost factors*. Additionally, assignment of an outside observer increases *stakeholder forces*.
7. Are the state's per inmate costs increasing at an above average rate, yes or no? If the state's annual rate of cost increase is in the 3rd or 4th quartile among all states, above average *cost factors* are assumed to be impinging on correctional managers.
8. Does the inmate escape rate in the state exceed the national average, yes or no? It is assumed that correctional managers would sense *competitive requirements* to bring their escape rate down if they

were performing worse than average (falling in the 3rd or 4th quartile among all the states).

9. Does the prison have an assigned Public Information Officer, yes or no? Awareness of the importance of *stakeholder forces* operating in the external environment of the prison has prompted some prisons to create a specific position that deals with such external affairs.
10. Does the prison have a formal Community Advisory Board, yes or no? Prison managers that have created advisory boards recognize the importance of good community relations and open communication with prison neighbors, i.e., they have responded to *stakeholder forces*.
11. Does the prison provide relatively unfettered contact between inmates and journalists, yes or no? The Society of Professional Journalists rates each of the prison systems in the US according to the amount of access to prisoners provided to members of the press (see note b., Appendix E). Scoring a 3 or 4 on this survey nets a "yes" answer to this question. Providing access to journalists is an index of *stakeholder forces*.
12. Does the state use private contractors to provide bed space for any of the state's medium to maximum-

security prisoners, yes or no? A National Institute of Corrections study (NIC, 1996) found that, by 1996, private prisons were operating in twelve jurisdictions and under consideration in 16 others. In our 1997-1998 sample, there were twenty-one jurisdictions contracting out. It is assumed that states that have "outsourced" some of their prisons beds have placed greater *competitive requirements* on the performance of all prison managers.

There is sufficient background and follow-up information available on eighteen (18) of the cases in the study database to make observations about the official reaction to escapes. This information was displayed in Table 9. There is also sufficient information on each of the prisons involved in the escape incidents to answer the dozen market forces questions listed above. The comprehensive performance of each prison in the set is depicted in Appendix I. Table 10 summarizes how each of the 18 prisons fared in terms of official reaction to escape and lists the score attained on the market forces instrument.

Out of twelve possible points (intense market forces), the sixteen prisons scored an average of 3.8; the median and mode were the same, a score of 4. The highest score (a score of 8) was attained by a private prison in Ohio, a state with a high percentage of ACA accreditation, considerable federal

court activity, a high rate of increase in yearly per inmate costs, and relatively good access to journalists. The next highest rating (7) involves a private prison that was an ACA

Table 10 - Summary of Reaction and Market Forces score for Eighteen Selected Prisons (private prisons in bold type)

<u>Prison</u>	<u>Reaction</u>	<u>Score</u>
State Correctional Institution, PA	Long - External	4
Washington State Prison, WA	Long - External	4
California Medical Facility, CA	Long - Internal	4
California Rehabilitation Center, CA	Long - Internal	4
Waupun Correctional Institution, WI	Long - External	4
Prairie du Chien Facility, WI	Long - Internal	4
Goodman Correctional Institution, SC	Short - Internal	3
Adult Correctional Institutions, RI	Long - External	2
Basile Detention Center, LA	Long - External	3
Macon State Prison, GA	Short - Internal	0
Hays State Prison, GA	Short - Internal	0
Freemont Correctional Facility, CO	Long - External	5
Mark Stiles State Prison, TX	Short - Internal	4
Glades Correctional Institution, FL	Long - Internal	4
Northeast Ohio Correctional Center, OH	Long - External	8
Oregon Women's Correctional Center, OR	Long - Internal	3
South Central Correctional Facility, TN	Long - External	7
Riverbend Prison, TN	Long - External	6

accredited facility in a state (Tennessee) with considerable court oversight, a high overall escape rate, and extensive

use of privatization. The highest scoring public prison (with a score of 6) was also in Tennessee, providing evidence that high market forces in a particular jurisdiction may affect prisons in both the public and private sector.

Two public prisons scored zero. Both prisons were in Georgia, a state with low ACA accreditation activity, little federal court attention, a relatively low rate of increase in prison costs, and more restrictive policies regarding journalist access to inmates.

The market forces instrument appears to have moderate reliability in suggesting how intense the reaction to prison escapes will be. On the external-internal reaction dimension, only three scores fell above the median but all three corresponded to escapes with the more intensive "external" category of reaction (two private prisons and a public prison). Among the eight prisons that scored the mean of 4, five were characterized by "internal" reaction while three reacted with "external" measures. The four prisons that scored below the mean were split two and two between internal and external reaction. This sample suggests that a high score may help predict external reaction; however a low score is not predictive of internal reaction.

The market forces instrument was more predictive of the Short-term—Long-term dimension. Three prisons reacted with

short-term measures to their prison escapes, and all three scored below the median on the market forces instrument. Any prison with a score of at least 4 on the scale reacted to escapes with long-term measures.

The small sample size, particularly small with regard to private prisons (only three), precludes the making of sound generalizations about the interplay of market forces on private and public prisons. Two private prisons scored above the mean (score of 8) while the other scored below the mean (3) on the measure of market forces influencing management reaction to escape. The private prison scoring below the mean is in Louisiana, a state with a peculiar arrangement whereby local facilities contract with the state to provide placements to the department of corrections. It is also a prison that had a large contract cancelled due to escapes and other problems with managing inmates (this prison, and the Louisiana placement arrangement is detailed in the next chapter).

It is tempting to infer that the low influence of market forces on the prison as indicated in the score on the instrument is invalidated by the reality of the prison losing a contract. But in order to support such conclusions, the market forces instrument should be tested on a larger sample. The hypothesis that market forces impact more

heavily on private prisons is neither conclusively supported nor rejected on the basis of this sample.

We have moved along in this chapter from examining fairly straightforward data derived from national prison databases to more exploratory research that seeks to devise a measurable market forces construct that may help to understand the phenomenon of escapes from public and private prisons and how the managers of these facilities respond. In so doing, we are entering territory perhaps better charted by qualitative methodology. Prisons are, after all, social institutions operated by and for individuals. The following chapter presents two-dozen brief case studies of prison escapes that occurred during the study period. By moving the focus to the individual prisons and the actors involved in escape, more subtle differences between public and private prisons can be examined.

¹ Estimates of "market share" controlled by private prisons range from under 3% (McDonald, et. al., 1998) to as high as 6% (RPPI, 1998); the Bureau of Justice Statistics put the figure at 5.5% (BJS, 2000). The growth rate of private prisons in the United States has averaged about 30% per year over the past decade (Private Corrections Project, 1998).

Chapter 6

High Profile Escapes in 1997-1998

This chapter provides concise case studies of twenty-four (24) escapes and the prisons in which they occurred. The information is drawn from the database of eighty-eight (88) escapes identified in the Lexis-Nexis search. These twenty-four incidents received relatively extensive reporting in the news media. A minimum of three news stories, at least one of which was investigative, were published on each of these escapes. Additional information on these incidents was provided in investigative reports and from correspondence and discussions with selected officials from state-level departments of correction. Twenty-one of the escapes occurred in public, state run prisons. Three involved private prisons (incidents #12, #18, and #22). This chapter provides a chronological synopsis of these twenty-four escapes. The amount and depth of information provided on the escape and the prison involved varies depending on the severity of the escape and the extensiveness of news coverage. In total, the accounts of these escapes provide a good overview of how escapes come about and the range of reactions that result.

Each case study concludes with a summary description of each facility's size, age, and how the prison rates on

each of the twelve market forces variables described in Chapter 5. Each case summary also categorizes management reaction to the escape according to whether it was long term or short term and internal or external. These summaries enable the reader to make cross-prison comparisons among the various institutions included in the database.

The "market forces" variables include the following:

- ACA** Whether or not the prison is accredited by the American Correctional Association.
- NCCHC** Whether or not the facility is accredited by the National Commission on Correctional Health Care.
- % ACA** The percentage of prisons in the state that are accredited by the ACA.
- Ct. Order** If the entire state prison system is operating under a federal court order or consent decree.
- Conditions?** If any prison in the state is operating under court order due to conditions of confinement.
- Master?** If any prison in the state is under the supervision of a court appointed master or monitor.

Cost Increase Quartile How the state rates among all states in annual increase in per inmate costs of care (1st quartile is lowest increase, 4th quartile is highest).

Escape Rate Quartile How the state compares to others in annual escape rate (1st quartile is lowest).

PIO? If the prison has a designated Public Information Officer.

Advisory Bd.? If the prison has established a community advisory board.

Media Access Score A score extrapolated from the Society of Professional Journalist survey of state DOC policies regarding journalist contact with inmates (1 is lowest; 4 is highest).

Privatization Extent The percentage of prison beds in the state that are contracted out.

When information is unavailable or unknown on a particular variable, the symbol "-" appears.

The twenty-four cases described in this chapter are presented in the following order:

1. State Correctional Institution - Pittsburgh, PA, January 8, 1997.

2. Washington State Prison, WA, March 16, 1997.
3. California Medical Facility - Vacaville, CA
April 10, 1997.
4. California Rehabilitation Center - Norco, CA
April 12, 1997.
5. Limestone Correctional Facility, AL, June 25, 1997.
6. Waupun Correctional Institution, WI, July 23, 1997.
7. Maine Correctional Center, ME, July 26, 1997.
8. Prairie du Chien Facility, WI, July 29, 1997.
9. Camp Hill State Correctional Institution, PA
July 29, 1997.
10. Goodman Correctional Institution, SC
September 8, 1997.
11. Adult Correctional Institutions, RI,
September 13, 1997.
12. Basile Detention Center, LA, September 25, 1997.
13. Macon State Prison - Oglethorpe, GA,
September 28, 1997.
14. Hays State Prison, GA, October 19, 1997.
15. Freemont Correctional Facility, CO
October 29, 1997.
16. Mark Stiles State Prison, TX, March 13, 1998.
17. Glades Correctional Institution, FL, April 11,
1998.
18. Northeast Ohio Correctional Center, OH, July 25,
1998.
19. Lieber Correctional Institution, SC, July 25,
1998.

20. Oregon Women's Correctional Center, OR
August 28, 1998.
21. Catawba Correctional Center, NC, October 9, 1998.
22. South Central Correctional Facility, TN
October 12, 1998.
23. Ellis Unit - Huntsville, TX, November 27, 1998.
24. Riverbend Prison, TN, December 27, 1998.

1. State Correctional Institution - Pittsburgh, PA,
January 8, 1997.

On Wednesday morning, January 8, 1997, a group of six inmates escaped through a 64-foot tunnel that passed under the wall of the old state prison in Pittsburgh. The prisoners had accumulated an impressive array of tools and had managed to work on the tunnel, undetected, since mid-September. The tunnel was entered from a crawl space underneath a utility building inside the wall and continued on to an unmanned prison warehouse on the outside of the secure compound. Amazingly, the inmates employed power tools to cut through the concrete floor of the prison warehouse and had accumulated an unbelievable array of tools and materials in the tunnel, including: blueprints to the prison, 250 feet of extension cords, an industrial drill, an electric "Sawzall" capable of cutting through rebar in the concrete floor of the warehouse, a 20-ton

hydraulic jack, and a two-way radio tuned into the frequency used by security personnel¹ (Horn, 1997).

Two of the six escapees were serving life sentences for murder. Two others had prior histories of prison escapes. The group stole a car from a private business adjacent to the prison and drove it to Dayton, Ohio where they abandoned it. All six were eventually apprehended in Texas within two weeks of the escape.

Initial press reports were extremely critical of the Department of Corrections and the agency was widely lampooned in editorial cartoons throughout the state (Freeman, 1999). For its part, the DOC acted quickly in terminating or reassigning a number of staff (including the Warden), shoring up internal security, and changing a number of policies, including suspension of the practice of allowing inmates to wear civilian clothing.

A number of factors contributing to the escape were cited in the course of the official investigation. A year before the escape, the prison had been flooded by a nearby river and hundreds of rusted-out tools were marked for replacement. Lax procedures in inventorying new tools and discarding old ones allowed prisoners to appropriate them for personal use. There was also considerable construction occurring inside the walls of the prison—much of it by

private contractors—and lax security resulted in theft of construction materials by the inmates. Inmates were allowed relatively free movement throughout the facility and staff rarely checked-up on whether or not inmates were actually located in assigned areas during the day. Once the escape was actually detected, staff failed to notify the proper authorities according to policy. A general lack of supervision of inmates and cavalier adherence to policy and procedure allowed a group of prisoners to amass tools, dig the tunnel, and make their escape undetected.

In response to the escape, the Superintendent of SCI Pittsburgh was demoted and transferred to another institution. One of two Deputy Superintendents resigned; the other was also demoted and transferred to another facility. The Deputy Commissioner of the DOC responsible for overseeing the prison had a recent salary increase revoked and disciplinary action against several line staff was pursued through civil services procedures (Horn, 1997). A system-wide inventory of all state prisons was ordered in the aftermath of the escape and department-wide tool control, key control, inmate movement, and other policies were revised.

In April 1998, just 15 months after the escape, the Pennsylvania DOC proudly announced that the SCI Pittsburgh

facility had achieved American Correctional Association accreditation. The press release noted a number of security improvements that had been made at the prison, including:

- Rezoning of the institution interior with 12-foot fences and razor wire;
- Replacement of all locks considered compromised, and re-keying the entire institution;
- Installation of a closed-circuit camera intrusion system along the perimeter of the institution and repair of the microwave security system in the outside warehouse;
- Installation of an automated community-notification system; and
- Implementation of new tool and key control policies, and training of all institution staff in security issues (Lukens, 1998).

Summary: State Correctional Institution, Pittsburgh, PA

Capacity	1800	Age (in yr. 2000)	115
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	4
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	2
% ACA	73.9	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	4
Master?	-	Privatization Extent	N

Reaction: Long-term, External. Significant security enhancements were made to the SCI Pittsburgh facility and a number of staff were disciplined. A central office

administrator was also disciplined, an automated community notification system was installed, and policy regarding permissible inmate clothing was changed throughout the state prison system.

2. Washington State Prison, WA, March 16, 1997.

John Allen Lamb, sentenced to 50 years for murdering a 99-year-old man, was being held in Washington State's most secure custody facility, the Intensive Management Unit at Walla Walla. Lamb was the first inmate to escape from the facility, built in 1984 to house the most dangerous and high-risk inmates in the state ("Flight to freedom," 1997).

In making his escape, Lamb used a hacksaw blade to cut through a light fixture and retaining bar. He then climbed through the ceiling to a corridor containing utility pipes, used a heavy steel grate as a battering ram to open a service door, and scaled two razor wire-topped fences. Last seen in his cell around midnight, Lamb had not been checked again until 6:30 a.m. when COs found him missing. He left the prison wearing only shorts and shoes, but stole civilian clothes from a house in the community before being caught a few hours later while hitchhiking on the on-ramp of a local highway ("Flight to freedom," 1997).

Washington Governor Gary Locke announced to the press that he was demanding "a full investigation to keep this

from ever happening again" ("Flight to freedom," 1997). Preliminary findings suggested that Lamb, who had worked at the prison maintenance shop, might have smuggled out a 4-inch piece of hacksaw blade in his rectum. He used the blade to cut through the heavy plastic cover on the light fixture and the steel bar behind it. He used sticky toothpaste to conceal his work and keep the cutout portion of the plastic glass in place. According to Ron Jensen, a correctional housing unit manager at the facility, "(Lamb) also smeared the whole plastic glass cover with toothpaste to disguise traces of the cut in the cover. In a cellblock where it is not uncommon for inmates to smear feces on the walls of their cells, smeared toothpaste might not seem all that unusual to corrections officers" (Penhale, 1997). According to Tom Rolfs, state director of prisons, a "critical incident fact finding review" would be carried out by investigators from outside the prison (Penhale, 1997).

Following the investigation, the Washington DOC made several internal changes, including "changes to security policy, physical plant upgrades, establishment of an Intensive Management Committee (IMU) which provides statewide oversight and the development of a IMC officer academy" (Vail, 2001).

Summary: Washington State Prison, WA

Capacity	1709	Age (in yr. 2000)	113
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	2
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	4
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	4
Master?	Y	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Long-term, External. Changes were made in security policy and physical plant. Involvement by the Governor at the state level, creation of a statewide oversight committee and an officer training program for the ICU.

3. California Medical Facility - Vacaville, CA

April 10, 1997.

This was a very high profile escape, due in large part to the sensationalism occasioned by the escape of a convicted murderer held in a maximum-security AIDS unit. The inmate, David Wayne Anderson, cut through one-inch square metal bars on the window, used a sheet to lower himself from a third story window, then cut open a fence and fled the California Medical Facility in Vacaville. Anderson enhanced his Hollywood-style climb down the sheets by putting a "dummy" in his bed to disguise his absence. He escaped at about 3 a.m. but wasn't found missing until 7:15 a.m. Anderson then hijacked a delivery truck and forced the driver to take him to San Diego where he stole the truck,

took the driver's money, and left him bound and gagged at a motel.

DOC officials said the tower that overlooked the area was not staffed from 3 p.m. to 7 a.m. Don Novey, president of the California Correctional Peace Officers Association commented, "Unfathomable, you've got maximum-custody murder inmates in there and you don't have the tower manned?" I don't know why." (Furillo & Martineau, 1997). A horn at the prison alerted neighbors to the breakout and the local Police Department was flooded with calls. DOC spokesperson Christine May said that Anderson "had a number of assaults on inmates . . . also had been written up for possession of stimulants, sedatives, and prison-manufactured alcohol. He also had at least one possession of a weapon. He had numerous disciplinary infractions." (Furillo & Martineau, 1997) At the time of the escape, the prison was on lockdown due to the attempted escape of another inmate.

Two weeks after the escape, Anderson sent a "taunting" letter to prison authorities (Hoover, 1997). The letter described visits to the beach and amusement parks, and a comment that he had "played with some precious little kids."

Three weeks later he was captured in San Diego, armed with a sawed-off shotgun and a bag of money stolen during

an armed robbery of a restaurant. He offered no resistance to police.

Vacaville Warden Ana Oliveriez held a public meeting attended by 150 local citizens. The warden said, "trees and shrubs around the facility have been removed since the escape and engineers are looking into building an electric fence² around the prison. She added that she hopes to start an automated telephone system that would alert about 1,200 nearby residents if there were another escape" (Martineau, 1997). Anderson told officials he bought a saw blade from another inmate and kept it hidden in the sole of his tennis shoes for two months, switching shoes on days he knew he would be forced to go through a metal detector. An x-ray of his shoes later confirmed this.

Summary: California Medical Facility, CA

Capacity	2315	Age (in yr. 2000)	45
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	1
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	2
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	Y
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	N
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	1
Master?	-	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Long-term, Internal. Line-of-sight visibility was improved in the facility by the removal of obstructions and an electric fence was installed. While prison management met with the local community following the escape, it is unclear whether plans to implement a community notification

system had yet been implemented at the time of this writing. Requests for specific information from the department yielded only general statistics on prison escapes in California.

4. California Rehabilitation Center - Norco, CA

April 12, 1997.

Michael Bradley, serving life for first-degree murder, robbery, burglary and assault and Gregory Smith, serving a 35-year sentence for robbery, burglary, sodomy with force and oral copulation escaped from the California Rehabilitation Center. The inmates, who were housed in a single-story dormitory, "removed bolts securing a metal window screen, then slipped out of the window and into a crawl space below the dorm by cutting through chain-link fencing. Hidden from view, they crawled to the south end of the dorm, and then dashed 80 to 100 yards to the first of two chain-link perimeter fences topped with razor wire. They cut through both fences and escaped." (Loux and Soifer, 1997, p. B3). They may have burglarized a local home. A neighbor called police after spotting someone in the house and "a number of uniformed correctional officers . . . swarmed over the home," but the burglars were gone.

They were recaptured about 24 hours later while sitting on a highway guardrail. Corrections staff found a

flashlight, screwdriver, two pairs of wire cutters, and a pipe-cutting device in the crawl space under the dormitory.

One immediate reaction to the escape was peculiar to the historical significance of the prison facility:

The prison has canceled until fall tours of the prison's historic administration building, which was a luxury resort in 1929. These tours, led by the Norco Historical Society, will resume after the prison has finished its investigation into the escape and revised its safety and security procedures" (Loux, 1997, p. B4) .

Inspectors from the DOC "were extremely complimentary of the prison's security plans and how employees responded when alerted to the escape," said Acting Warden Raymond Middleton at a meeting of the prison's Citizen's Advisory Committee. In February, two months before the escape, "the prison received the highest marks for perimeter security for the second year in a row from the department (Loux, 1997, p. B4) .

In covering the local controversy generated by the inspector's comments, Councilman Terry Wright said, "if everyone did their job, how the hell did they (the escapees) get out (Loux, 1997, p. B4)?" A local resident, Wanda Watson complained that COs drew guns in her face

during search of her neighbor's home. The Warden apologized to her, and said he wished she had gotten their names so that a report could be filed. Both the CO union and residents were concerned over reports that 41 positions were being cut in a "reallocation of resources" that Middleton discussed. Other local elected officials demanded the DOC halt the placement of violent convicts at Norco. According to Loux,

More than eight months after a murderer and a rapist made a short-lived escape from the California Rehabilitation Center, several of the security improvements planned to prevent a recurrence have not been made. Renovation of the compound's perimeter fencing is half-completed, a more effective community alert system is not yet in place and an electronic monitoring system capable of detecting body heat or movement near prison boundaries has not been installed (Loux, 1997b).

Dave Carlson, chairman of the prison's citizen's advisory committee called the delays frustrating. The DOC had spent \$267,000 in emergency state funds to overhaul the two perimeter fences and install intercoms and motion detectors. Razor wire was placed in the crawl space under

the dorm. Administration was going through channels to try to obtain the funds to do the other improvements.

Summary: California Rehabilitation Center, CA

Capacity	2800	Age (in yr. 2000)	37
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	1
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	2
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	Y
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	Y
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	1
Master?	-	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Long-term, Internal. Similar reaction to the escape from Vacaville, improvements to internal security systems were implemented at the California Rehabilitation Center. California has the largest state prison population in the US but is in the lowest quartile among the states for the annual rate of increase in spending on inmates.

5. Limestone Correctional Facility, AL, June 25, 1997.

In June 1997, "violent convict" Scourterrious Lofton, escaped from the medium-security Limestone Correctional Facility while assigned to a work crew outside of the prison ("Glitch set stage," 1997). He escaped with leg irons clamped to each ankle, stole a car, left the state, and stopped in a small town in Georgia where he took two prominent hostages (the Street Commissioner of Trenton, GA and his wife) before being recaptured.

A local Trenton physician, Dr. Arthur Kurtz called a public meeting to discuss what could be done to hold state

prisons liable for damage done by escaped inmates (although the prisoner escaped from prison in AL, the attacks occurred in GA). Dr. Kurtze claimed the community can incur costs in excess of \$100,000 (from stolen and damaged property to jail and trial costs) and suggested that prisons should be responsible for these costs. The citizens group discussed the possibility of meeting with local legislators to see if a bill could be drafted.

In a follow-up article in the Chattanooga Times, Susanne Sachsman (1997) reported on the DOC's reaction. According to the DOC, "after an escape, the prison investigates and determines responsibility. An employee must be found grossly negligent to be held liable for the escape, and even then he is not responsible for further actions committed by the convict" (p. C1) According to DOC Public Information Officer Karen Kirk, the prison does not consider itself financially responsible for crimes committed by inmates once they have illegally left the grounds. General Counsel for the Alabama DOC, Andy Redd said there are constitutional problems with holding prisons liable for the actions of their escaped inmates.

Inmate Lofton (whose committing offense is not listed in the press accounts) was apparently "in the process of being reclassified so he would never be allowed outside the

prison. (Sachsman, 1997). (Note: the heightened escape risk prompted by such a situation is well documented in research by Duncan and Ellis (1973). They found concern over administrative reclassification to be the number one reason prisoners escape; see Chapter 2). However, before the reclassification was completed, Lofton escaped while on a work detail. While holding the hostages in their home in Trenton, Lofton was shot by one of them as he tried to evade police and police subsequently captured him.

Summary: Limestone Correctional Facility, AL

Capacity	1640	Age (in yr. 2000)	15
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	1
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	3
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	N	Media Access Score	2
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	1.5

Reaction: Insufficient information to categorize the reaction to this escape.

6. Waupun Correctional Institution, WI, July 23, 1997.

Kenneth Ray Hunter was serving a sentence of 72 years for multiple crimes, including armed robbery, when he escaped from the inpatient area of University Hospital in Madison. Hunter had escaped twice in the past and was now being held at Waupun C.I., a maximum-security prison (McDade, 1997). The hospital is regularly used by Waupun

and Oakhill Correctional Institution inmates, and is designed with a maximum-security waiting area.

Hunter had been taken to the hospital to check a heart problem. According to corrections officials, a lone correctional officer took him out of the secure area in order to be tested in the cardiology unit. The CO, who worked at minimum-security Oakhill, had only two months experience on the job. He removed Hunter's restraints without prior approval and the inmate overpowered him and escaped. The CO was also not wearing a panic alarm, which is standard procedure. Gary Lonzo, Chairman of the Coalition of Correctional Institutions, the union representing 4,000 COs, blamed the DOC in the press for using inexperienced Oakhill COs to supervise Waupun inmates. DOC spokesman Bill Clasius characterized the CO's actions as a "sign of errors of judgement, not experience" (McDade, 1997).

Hunter was captured a week later in Milwaukee. Five months later, on January 2, 1998, the DOC announced that it had allocated \$400,000 for a new secured waiting area for prisoners being treated at the hospital.

Summary: Waupun Correctional Institution, WI

Capacity	825	Age (in yr. 2000)	149
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	3
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	3
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	N
Conditions?	N	Media Access Score	4
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	6.5

Reaction: Long-term, External. This escape prompted significant improvements in security at the hospital used to treat inmates from both Waupun and Oakhill. Wisconsin is one of the states that have contracted with private prison operators for a portion (6.5%) of needed prison bed space.

7. Maine Correctional Center, ME, July 26, 1997.

This escape in Maine generated three local stories, including investigative reports. Michael Beaulieu was serving a 6-year sentence at the medium-security Maine Correctional Center for assaulting a police officer, arson, theft, several burglaries, and for a previous escape from jail. In the prior escape, a 1994 escape from a county jail, Beaulieu and an accomplice jumped a jail guard, beat him over the head with a hand-held radio, and took a third inmate hostage, holding a sharpened piece of metal to his throat and threatening to kill him unless they were released. They were caught eight hours later (Mack, 1997). As noted in Chapter 2, a prior history of escape is correlated significantly with future escapes.

In this incident, Beaulieu was noticed missing at 4 p.m. on a Saturday following an afternoon recreation period in a minimum-security section of the prison. He apparently hid while other inmates returned to their cells and then cut a hole in the fence in an area that is blocked from the view of COs by a building. According to the superintendent, Beaulieu had access to tools from the facility's industries program. Beaulieu was caught two days later (Hench, 1997).

According to the Morning Sentinel report, this was the third escape from the facility in the past month, although the other two were from work details outside the secure area. James Clemons, the superintendent, said the facility had cut back on staff by one-third, losing 85 employees, over the past two years. He commented that the prison was "reviewing" how Beaulieu obtained the cutting tool. John Basso, state coordinator of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the union representing the COs, also blamed the staff cutbacks (Hench, 1997).

Summary: Maine Correctional Center, ME

Capacity	100	Age (in yr. 2000)	8
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	3
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	4
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	-	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	-	Media Access Score	3
Master?	-	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Insufficient information to categorize reaction to this escape.

8. Prairie du Chien Facility, WI, July 29, 1997.

The Wisconsin DOC opened a new prison for young offenders in the summer of 1997 in the town of Prairie du Chien. On July 29, less than 30 days after opening, Kelly Weston climbed the razor wire-topped fence and escaped. He was caught the next day. A month later, Steven Grubb and Allen Payette scaled the fence. Payette broke a leg in the attempt and was caught but Grubb made it into Madison before being apprehended the next day.

These escapes would be rather garden variety but for the intensity of local concern over the DOC's decision to locate a new prison in the town. In responding to Grubb's escape, Corrections Secretary Michael Sullivan blamed both escapes on improper installation of razor wire in the new prison (Aschon, 1997). State Representative Dave Hutchinson blasted the DOC in the press for promising to place non-violent juveniles at the new prison than taking adult felons instead. He accused the DOC of operating a "catch and release" program with the improperly installed razor wire ("More mail", 1997).

The prison had originally been sold to the community as a juvenile detention center, with lower security

requirements than an adult prison. However, the state did not have enough juveniles to fill it, the adult facilities were overcrowded, and in a controversial move, the DOC decided to use it as a medium-security prison for young offenders up to age twenty-one. Concern was raised that the prison, designed for juveniles, was understaffed for handling adult felons. Responding to this concern, Warden Kyle Davidson stated that the facility was not understaffed, but that the workers were new and unseasoned (Voight, 1997).

On September 17, the DOC held a public meeting to address citizen concerns. Warden Davidson suggested that the facility could install a siren to warn the community in the event of an escape. Mayor Karl Steiner announced that the State Building Commission had approved \$410,000 for a second security fence (12 ft. high with 30 in. razor wire ribbon) to be built at the facility (Voight, 1997b).

Summary: Prairie du Chien Facility, WI

Capacity	-	Age (in yr. 2000)	2
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	3
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	3
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	N	Media Access Score	4
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	6.5

Reaction: Long-term, Internal. Several internal security improvements were made in response to this escape. This was

a brand new prison at the time of the escape. Similar concerns with improper or incomplete installation of security equipment were voiced by officials following escapes from two other new prisons in this study, both being private facilities (Basile and Northeast Ohio Correctional Center) as described below.

9. Camp Hill State Correctional Institution, PA

July 29, 1997.

Edward Thomas Brown was serving a sentence of 16 to 32 years for robbery, burglary, and attempted murder of a police officer. While working on an outside detail on July 29, 1997, he overpowered a maintenance worker, stole a DOC pickup truck, drove several miles north of the area, and abandoned the truck, ("Cumberland escapee sought," 1997).

Brown then managed to evade capture for over six months while racking up a string of armed robberies in Scranton, PA; Raleigh, NC; Frederick, MD; Prince Georges County, MD; and Norfolk, VA (Clayton, 1998). In Raleigh, NC a month after the escape, he kidnapped a man as he got into his car, tied the man up, and forced the motorist to drive around town checking out local banks. When he settled on a local bank branch office, he tied the victim's neck to the car headrest and went inside to rob the bank. While Brown was inside the bank, the man feed himself from the car and

hopped to the front of the bank where a bank customer used toenail clippers to cut the remaining ropes from the victim. As he entered the bank, Brown was running out, he hopped into the stolen car, fled, and then abandoned the car (Roane, 1998).

Following leads that the fugitive was in New York City, Pennsylvania State Troopers and United States Marshals tracked him to a hotel in Washington Square. As they announced they were outside his door, Brown ran to the bathroom in the hotel room, put a pistol under his chin, and pulled the trigger (Roane, 1998).

Summary: Camp Hill State Correctional Institution, PA

Capacity	2116	Age (in yr. 2000)	59
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	4
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	1
% ACA	73.9	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	4
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Insufficient information to categorize reaction to this escape.

10. Goodman Correctional Institution, SC

September 8, 1997.

In 1976, Larry Logan killed two men and a woman execution-style in Georgetown, South Carolina and "was convicted because another man who was shot in the head survived to testify against him" ("Lesson from killer's

escape," 1997). He received three life sentences plus 20 years. Based upon good behavior, Logan received progressively less restrictive placements and was eventually permitted to work off-grounds as a custodian for the Department of Public Safety's Criminal Justice Academy. When he escaped on September 8, 1997, he had been working as a custodian for five years.

According to the DOC, violent offenders had been prohibited from working on outside labor crews since 1995, when DOC Commissioner Moore banned the practice. Logan was "grand fathered-in" based upon "his good record and the need for space in maximum-medium security prisons" ("Lesson from killer's escape," 1997).

Logan was featured on the Fox network television show "America's Most Wanted" in June 1998 (nine months after the escape). Based on tips garnered from the television program, Logan was identified as residing in Jacksonville, FL under the assumed name of James Funnye Jr. On June 20, 1998, he was arrested as he left a Bible study group at the Unity Christian Church in Jacksonville (Burch, 1998).

According to John Barkley, Public Information Officer for the South Carolina DOC, the DOC believed the escape was the responsibility of the Department of Public Safety. There were no disciplinary actions taken against employee

by that agency. Since the policy allowing violent inmates to work off-grounds had already been changed, there was no further reaction (Barkley, 2000).

Summary: Goodman Correctional Institution, SC

Capacity	456	Age (in yr. 2000)	30
ACA	Y	Cost Incr. Quartile	2
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	1
% ACA	71.9	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	N	Media Access Score	4
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Short-term, Internal. Other than generating media attention, there was no noticeable further reaction to this escape. The inmate was exempted from an existing policy prohibiting violent inmates from working outside of the prison. This is one of the few prisons represented in the case studies accredited by the ACA.

11. Adult Correctional Institutions, RI,

September 13, 1997.

This escape is included due to community concern and innovative DOC reaction to a number of escapes from Rhode Island's Adult Correctional Institutions. The State of Rhode Island DOC collectively refers to all its prisons as "Adult Correctional Institutions."

Sean P. DeSilets was serving a two-year term for Breaking and Entering when he escaped with the help of his girlfriend. Soon after visiting hours ended around noon on

September 13, 1997, DeSilits scaled the six-foot fence surrounding the yard of this minimum-security prison. He met up with his girlfriend and the two spent four days sleeping in the car in the backwoods before deciding to turn themselves in. While not particularly serious by itself, this was apparently the sixth escape of the year from the prison in Cranston (Sabar, 1997). One year earlier, two escapes by violent felons from maximum security in this small state prompted considerable community concern. All the Adult Correctional Institutions are located in close proximity to Cranston (Salit, 1998).

One of the 1996 escapes involved Eugene Travis who, while was serving a life sentence for two murders, rode out of the maximum-security unit in the back of a garbage truck. Local concern prompted Governor Lincoln Almont to establish a task force to look into ways to alert the public to prison escapes. In following the DeSilets escape, the press focused on what the task force was doing about community notification.

In March 1998, on the recommendations of the task force, the DOC contracted with Community Alert Network, a Schenectady, NY company, to install a community notification system. The system can make the 6,000 telephone calls necessary to notify all the neighbors of

the prison in Cranston within one hour of the system being activated. Following an escape, the DOC calls Community Alert Network, which activates a computer program using 120 telephone lines to transmit recorded messages to those on the notification list. The company receives payment at the rate of \$1.00 per emergency call or \$6,000 each time the system is turned on (Salit, 1998).

Summary: Adult Correctional Institutions, RI

Capacity	652	Age (in yr. 2000)	27
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	4
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	3
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	-	Media Access Score	2
Master?	-	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Long-term, External. Rhode Island is a state characterized by a comparatively high escape rate and increasing prison spending. The automated community notification system is designed to assuage community concerns following a prison escape.

12. Basile Detention Center, LA, September 25, 1997.

This private prison in Louisiana was opened in the summer of 1997 when the owner, Louisiana Correctional Services, obtained a two-year contract from the state of Idaho to house 300 inmates at a cost of \$36.75 per inmate per day (approximately \$4 million per year). The first group of 100 Idaho inmates arrived in the summer and

problems began almost immediately. In July, prisoners complained that officials were opening their mail and that there was a lack of rehabilitation activities. This erupted into a disturbance that resulted in at least \$35,000 in damages to televisions, beds, windows and light fixtures (Coddington & Russell, 1997). Similar problems settling a large group of out of state prisoners into a new facility occurred in Youngstown, Ohio a year later at a Corrections Corporation of America facility (described below).

Following the July problems, The Idaho DOC sent inspectors to the Basile Detention facility. After receiving assurances from the prison managers that problems would be corrected, Idaho sent an additional 200 prisoners to the facility.³

Shortly after 6 p.m. on September 25, 1997, a group of five inmates escaped from the prison by cutting their way through two chain-link fences. The group included Roger Dale Babb, serving 20 years to life for first-degree murder, Kallahan Lee Ziegler, serving 5 to 15 years for sexually abusing a minor, Michael J. Copenhaver, serving 25-to-life for murder, and Leroy Dale James, serving time for stealing (information on the fifth inmate unavailable) (Etlinger, 1997). Five of the six inmates were captured

within two weeks. Ziegler, who was convicted for sexual abuse, remained a fugitive as of December 2000.

In response to the July riot, the State of Idaho DOC conducted an audit of the contract for inmate housing at the Basile Detention Center. The audit was completed in August, and was presented to the management of Basile. As an outcome of the audit, the Idaho DOC contracted with a private individual to serve as an out-of state contract facility monitor. Following the September escape, the facility monitor conducted extensive interviews with staff and inmates at Basile. Despite earlier commitments by Basile managers to improve conditions at the facility, the monitor found "that serious problems are evident in the areas of inmate classifications, use of force, and restrictive housing" (Higgins, 1997).

On November 24, the Idaho DOC decided to terminate its two-year contract with Louisiana Correctional Services after only about six months of operation. Idaho then coordinated the return of its inmates at Basile back to a newly completed 536-bed addition to its prison complex in Boise (Russell, 1997).

Though it lost a \$4 million annual contract with the State of Idaho, The Basile Detention Center remains in business. The facility is owned by two brothers, Patrick

and Michael LeBlanc, and conducts business as Louisiana Correctional Services (LCS).⁴ Inmates confined at Basile and at Pine Prairie, the company's other facility, are under the custody of the Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections ("DPS&C"). LCS contracts with the Immigration and Naturalization Service for a portion of the 660 beds at Pine Prairie.

The State of Louisiana has a shortage of prison beds and an inordinate number of state inmates confined in facilities run by local governments. According to a survey conducted by the Council of State Governments (1999), Louisiana had the highest percentage of state inmates confined in local facilities among reporting states. Some 43% of local facility beds in Louisiana are filled by state inmates compared to an average of 14% among the other reporting states. In order to deal with this shortage of space, the Louisiana Office of Planning and Budget created a Community Corrections Partnership that provides for the housing of 17,281 state inmates in parish and local jails. The state allocates \$146 million to the project yearly, and pays a per diem of \$23 to participating "partners."

Louisiana Correctional Services participates in this program along with the Louisiana Sheriff's Association,

whose members operate a majority of the parish and local jails (Louisiana Office of Planning and Budget, 2000).

Summary: Basile Detention Center, LA

Capacity	-	Age (in yr. 2000)	1
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	2
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	2
% ACA	100	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	-	Advisory Bd.?	N
Conditions?	-	Media Access Score	4
Master?	-	Privatization Extent	12.4

Reaction: Long-term, external. This escape prompted the most serious of reactions, the termination of a contract and the transfer of prisoners to other facilities.

13. Macon State Prison - Oglethorpe, GA,

September 28, 1997.

Shortly after midnight, six inmates overpowered an unarmed guard at the Macon State Prison and took his keys. They tied the CO up, unlocked a fire escape, and ran for the fence. Sensors embedded in the razor wire-topped fence set off an alarm and four of the six inmates stopped short of scaling the fence. The other two inmates made it over the fence and were last seen running into the rain-soaked woods around the prison. They included Ian Dwight Harris, who was serving two life sentences following the execution-style murder of a physician during a robbery, and Corey Deandrea Grier, another convicted murderer. The two stole a car in the nearby town of Oglethorpe (Good, 1997).

Three days later, Grier turned himself in (fate of Harris is unknown). He claimed that he and Harris had planned the escape after both received bad news: the Georgia Supreme Court turned down Harris' appeal a few days before; Grier learned that the state had just taken custody of two of his seven children and neither his wife nor his grandmother had visited him in awhile. Recall from Chapter 2 that research on prison escapes in New Zealand found that Grier's reasons of family problems is more likely a reason offered by staff; inmates tend to escape due to boredom and depression (Center for Research, 1996). Grier also mentioned that the six inmates involved in the incident "prayed for rain because rain sets off false alarms in the security system and makes perimeter guards patrol more slowly, allowing for a larger escape window." (Cook, 1997c).

According to Tyrone Freeman, executive director of the State Employees Union, more than one-third of the COs scheduled to work the night of the escape called in sick and were replaced by untrained officers called in to cover for those absent. Freeman said that seven prison posts are unfilled. Freeman claimed that the front tower was unmanned. An officer posted in the tower behind the prison saw the escape but "did nothing because she did not know

how to use a rifle." Another officer watched the escape on a video monitor but "did not know what to do or how to operate equipment to alert the rest of the prison" (Cook, 1997) .

A week after the escape, the Georgia DOC completed an internal investigation of the incident. According to the DOC, although the inmates set off an alarm when they scaled the first of two 12-foot-high fences, no one went to investigate. Sensors in the yard were disabled, although a video camera monitored their movements as they escaped. The fence was topped with barbed wire. Razor wire had been planned for the top of the fence at this 3-year old prison but had not yet been installed. A CO monitoring the control room where the alarm sounded first ignored the warning, then 19 seconds later told a CO in a perimeter patrol truck. As COs were capturing the four inmates who remained inside, the CO at the control center shut off the alarm and the video camera at the fence, contrary to DOC procedures.

According to DOC spokesman Mike light, "it looks like there were two human errors, the technology worked here" (Cook, 1997b) . The DOC also announced a reward of \$5,000 for information leading to Harris' capture.

Summary: Macon State Prison, GA

Capacity	960	Age (in yr. 2000)	6
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	2
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	2
% ACA	2.5	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	2
Master?	-	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Short-term, Internal. The DOC placed the blame for this escape on existing staff at the prison. This escape involved a fairly new facility where planned security enhancements had not yet been made. Requests for more detailed information regarding this escape (and the Hays escape, noted below) received the following response:

All escapes are investigated by Internal Affairs pursuant to the Rules of the Board of Corrections. These reports are not available. The Official Code of Georgia Section 42-5-36 provides that investigative reports are confidential state secretaries unless declassified in writing by the Commissioner. Disciplinary actions were taken against employees in both cases and the inmates were recaptured (Bigda, 2001).

14. Hays State Prison, GA, October 19, 1997.

Less than a month after the escape from Georgia's Macon State Prison, convicted murderer Marvin Turner Jr. used a phony ID to walk out of Hays State Prison, one of

the state's highest security prisons. Turner obtained the photo ID card of another inmate, Curtis Scott, who was scheduled for release on the day of the escape. Turner affixed his own photograph on the card and used it to walk from the cellblock to the prison's ID room where he was given khaki pants, a white shirt and a blue windbreaker. Prison staff then signed him out. Turner was not fingerprinted prior to release, contrary to DOC policy. The other inmate (Scott) told officials he had "lost his ID card" and was charged for aiding and abetting an escape (Salzer, 1997).

Turner had been sentenced to life imprisonment at Hays after he and two accomplices lured a local grocery store manager into Turner's apartment in an effort to force him to divulge the combination of the store safe. In the apartment, they beat the manager and pressed spoons and coat hangers heated on an electric stove into his body in an effort to get him to reveal the combination. After breaking into the store and failing to open the safe, the three men took the manager to a remote cemetery where they took turns shooting him in the head through a pillow ("Escapee caught," 1997).

At the time of the escape, Hays State Prison was undergoing a Federal Bureau of Investigation inquiry after

14 inmates filed a lawsuit alleging they were abused during a July 10, 1996 shakedown for contraband.

Two employees of the prison, Lt. Doug Nelms and CO Richard Rinehard, were suspended with pay pending outcome of an internal investigation. Tyrone Freeman, executive director of the Georgia State Employees Union blamed the problem on understaffing at the facility. He claimed that there should have been 28 officers on the shift but that only 15 were on duty. The DOC claimed that the prison was not understaffed ("Escapee caught," 1997).

Local law enforcement officers apprehended Turner 11 days after the escape. Wayne Garner, the Georgia State Corrections Commissioner, announced to the news media that he would personally escort Turner back to Hays State Prison ("Escapee caught," 1997).

About three weeks after the escape, the DOC released the results of an independent audit of the DOC conducted by KPMG Peat Marwick. The \$125,000 audit was commissioned a year earlier when allegations of inmate abuse surfaced at Hays. The audit was highly complementary of the overall management at the Georgia DOC:

In the past two years, assaults, escapes, and suicides by inmates are down; morale of guards has improved, in part due to pay increases; security has improved;

inmate misconduct reports have increased slightly; grievances and lawsuits filed by prisoners are down; and per-day prison costs have dropped slightly, from \$47.78 to \$47.

"We found the department, quite frankly, very well managed, very well run," according to KPGM's Chuck Riepenhoff. "I'd give them an A" (Salzer, 1997b).

Summary: Hays State Prison, GA

Capacity	1112	Age (in yr. 2000)	10
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	2
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	2
% ACA	2.5	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	2
Master?	-	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Short-term, Internal. Reaction to this escape was limited to the disciplining of prison staff on duty at the time the incident occurred. As noted in the preceding case, State of Georgia policy prohibits release of investigative findings concerning escapes.

15. Freemont Correctional Facility, CO

October 29, 1997.

This escape prompted more than a dozen news articles in Colorado, due in part to the notoriety of one of the escapees. Two convicted murderers, Joey Ray Byers and Brian Hood, escaped from the medium-security Freemont facility. Hood was convicted of murdering his wife in a regionally

celebrated story dubbed by the press as the "fatal attraction" murder. In 1990, Hood persuaded his paramour, Jennifer Reali, to fire the fatal shots.

The two managed to steal a pair of bolt cutters from a prison maintenance shop and used them to cut through an old section of fence at the facility. An alarm on the fence was not functioning. Also, poor lighting in the yard hampered tower guards along with trash heaps from a remodeling project that were piled near the fence. Hood and Byers were able to walk away unsupervised from their cell house, purportedly to go to the gym, on the evening of the escape. They were last seen at 6:00 and not noticed missing until 9:00 p.m. Hood was captured about 20 hours after the escape while Byers held out for four days. Armed searchers with hunting dogs tracked the pair. According to the DOC, prisoners wear shoes with notches in the soles to aid in tracking if they escape. Hood was tracked to an isolated home where he was found crouching in a crawl space underneath (Nicholson & Emery, 1997).

Corrections Director Ari Zavaras said new tool-tracking procedures were to be issued statewide. No employees were singled out and there would be no disciplinary action. The obstacles obstructing the view from the tower have been cleared, new lighting was

installed, and a new perimeter fence is planned. Zavaras also said escape response procedures would be standardized statewide, and movement of inmates within prisons will be controlled more strictly. (Foster, 1997). In March, 1998, a brief wire report article appeared in the Rocky Mountain News (Denver) that the DOC had purchased four bloodhounds as part of security improvements to the East Canon Prison Complex⁵ after the escape of Byars and Hood.

Summary: Freemont Correctional Facility, CO

Capacity	1200	Age (in yr. 2000)	38
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	3
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	4
% ACA	31.8	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	N	Media Access Score	4
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	17.7

Reaction: Long-term, external. Improvements in security generated by this escape—revised statewide tool control procedures and the purchase of bloodhounds—involve all the prisons in the state.

16. Mark Stiles State Prison, TX, March 13, 1998.

When it was discovered that Steven Jay Russell had hoodwinked the staff of Mark Stiles State Prison into releasing him in February 1998, Russell's escape became the third escape from the prison in a little more than a year.

In January 1997, Charles Everett, serving life for a 1987 murder and Charles Hoffman, serving 45 years for

sexual assault of a 9 year old girl, got through the double row of razor wire-topped fence that surrounds the Stiles Unit. The two inmates apparently used a pair of rusty pliers to cut through both fences, picking a blind spot that was beyond the view of tower guards. The escapees were both caught within two days and prison officials announced that they would install a camera to monitor the blind spot in the fence ("Pair captured," 1997).

In June, James Keith Miller, an inmate serving two life terms for murder, slipped out of the boiler room during the early morning hours, stacked a number of toolboxes next to the fence, and took advantage of a dense fog to cover his escape. He stole a truck from a local refinery substation and drove to Mississippi where he was caught while trying to sell tools found in the truck. This was the second escape from Stiles in 1997 and the third one reported to the press since the prison opened in 1993 (Stewart, 1997).

According to Mary Anne Weaver, Executive Services, Texas Department of Criminal Justice, an investigation into the escape revealed two key areas that contributed to the offender's escape. First, job assignments within the maintenance department were assigned at the discretion of the maintenance supervisor without input from security

staff or administrative personnel. This procedure was corrected, with all offenders assigned through the Unit Classification Committee. (Note: The same ~~problem~~—maintenance staff making inmate work assignments without regard to classification issues—was also found in the SCI Pittsburgh investigation). Second, "the employee assigned to C-Picket should have observed the offender's escape and attempted to prevent (it). This employee's negligence was the main cause of this incident. The employee was disciplined in accordance with PD-21" (Weaver, 2000).

The third escape from the Stiles Unit involved a rather sophisticated plan. Although Steven Jay Russell's background was non-violent, he was assigned to the maximum-security Stiles Unit due to a past history of escapes. In May 1992, he escaped from the Harris County (Houston) Jail on Friday the Thirteenth by somehow obtaining civilian clothes and a walkie-talkie, posing as a workman, and convincing a jail officer to buzz him out the door. He was caught out of state in 1994, extradited back to Texas, and sentenced to three years for insurance fraud.

Less than a year after his release from prison in 1995, Russell (and a companion, an ex-con he had met in prison) were arrested in Harris County and charged with

embezzling \$800,000 from a medical management company where Russell had landed a job as chief financial officer. Russell's bond was set at \$900,000, but he managed to telephone the District Clerk's office, claiming to be District Judge Charles Hearn, and ordered his own bond lowered to \$45,000. After writing a bad check for the amount, he was released and left the state.

Russell was arrested in Florida and extradited back to Texas in June 1996. In September, he pleaded guilty to embezzlement and was sentenced to 45 years in prison, beginning his term at the maximum-security Estelle Unit. In December 1996, Russell "broke open a green felt-tip pen, dropped the cartridge into a bucket of water, and dyed his prison uniform green" (McVicker, 1998). Impersonating a doctor dressed in surgical scrubs, Russell walked out of the Estelle Unit on Friday, December 13, 1996 (he had also escaped from the Harris County jail on "Friday the Thirteenth"). Ten days later Russell was caught in a motel in Mississippi; the escapee became involved in a noisy quarrel with his companion, and the motel manager called the police, leading to Russell's recapture. Russell was returned to Texas and assigned to the Stiles Unit (McVicker, 1998).

In October of 1997, just nine months into his sentence, Russell nearly convinced prison officials to release him on a "special needs parole" because he was "unable to walk" (McVicker, 1998). The parole was processed but withdrawn in November when it was determined that he was ambulatory.

In January 1998, however, Russell produced a letter, purportedly written by a doctor, stating that he was dying of AIDS. The Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ), which performs the functions of a "DOC" in Texas, contracts with the University of Texas Medical Branch (UTMB) at Galveston for inmate medical care and referred Russell to them for treatment. The UTMB apparently never tested Russell for AIDS, but took his word and verified a terminal diagnosis. On January 16, 1998, a three-member parole panel approved Russell's release to the Restful Acres Care Center, a nursing home in Kenedy, Texas.

While Russell was at the nursing home, the home's medical director received a telephone call from someone identifying himself as a well-known Houston AIDS specialist. Russell was permitted to travel to Houston for two weeks in order to undergo "experimental HIV treatment." On March 13, Russell was permitted to leave the nursing

home and shortly thereafter TDCJ officials were notified that Russell "had died." (McVicker, 1998).

Russell had again made a clean break but his on-going relationship with an inmate-friend again led to his recapture. Russell, posing as an attorney, succeeded in getting his friend transferred from prison in Huntsville to the Dallas County Jail by creating a ruse that the friend was scheduled to testify in a criminal trial. Russell then attempted to obtain an official identification, as an attorney, from the U.S. Marshall's Service. While processing the request, a TDCJ staff person recognized his identification photograph and the process of tracking him down began, ending with his recapture in Ft. Lauderdale, FL in April 1998.

Summary: Mark Stiles State Prison, TX

Capacity	2897	Age (in yr. 2000)	7
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	1
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	1
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	Y
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	2
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	8.1

Reaction: Short-term, Internal. Minor changes to security at Stiles were implemented. According to staff from the Texas Department of Criminal Justice Services, the agency "did not complete a Serious Incident Review for the Steven Russell incident" (Weaver, 2000).

17. Glades Correctional Institution, FL, April 11, 1998.

This escape prompted numerous news articles, including a New York Times story, due to its stunning beginning and tragic end: it began with a dramatic prison breach from outside and ended with the escapees crashing into another car and killing an innocent driver. The incident began when an outside accomplice (John Beaston) rammed through four security fences at the maximum-security Everglades Correctional Institution with a stolen tractor-trailer cab and came out blasting with a gun. Beaston fired at a Correctional Officer who returned several shotgun rounds but no one was hit. A stolen car driven by the mother of inmate Jay Sigler followed the stolen big-rig truck. Sigler, serving time for armed robbery, hopped into the waiting car with Beaston and fled. They drove to a local shopping center where they were met by another accomplice and swapped cars. Sigler jumped into a car driven by Christopher Michelson, a former inmate at "Glades." Mrs. Sigler, Beaston, and another accomplice were arrested at the shopping center. Chased by local law enforcement, Sigler and Michelson turned into an alley, ran a stop sign, and entered a busy street where they plowed into a car, killing the 55-year old driver. Both were apprehended

immediately and Michelson, the driver of the escape car, was charged with first-degree murder. (Lester, 1998). The Florida DOC announced plans to build a concrete barrier around the facility (Robles, 1998).

Summary: Glades Correctional Facility, CO

Capacity	546	Age (in yr. 2000)	68
ACA	Y	Cost Incr. Quartile	2
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	2
% ACA	79.6	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	2
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	5.9

Reaction: Long-term, Internal. Perimeter security was hardened with the addition of concrete barriers around the facility. This is an unusual escape, in that perimeter security was breached from the outside by an accomplice, rather than from the inside by an escaping inmate.

It is difficult for corrections officials to prevent this type of escape, although enough of them have occurred to warrant the implementation of procedures that increase observation of the area immediately outside the prison. The National Institute of Corrections notes, for example, that helicopters have been used in at least 20 escape attempts from U.S. prisons between 1986 and 1996 (Schwartz & Barry, 1996). Indeed, at least two such attempts occurred in Florida in the past two years.⁶ In response, the NIC recommends that procedures should be established in prisons

that "require perimeter posts to notify the Shift Commander whenever an aircraft is flying unusually low or appears to be approaching the facility" (p. 102). While it may be too late to prevent a breach of the prison perimeter, such a warning could provide COs with time to secure prisoners still inside. Similar procedures regarding vehicular traffic could help reduce a recurrence of the tactics used in the Glades Correctional Facility escape.

18. Northeast Ohio Correctional Center, OH, July 25, 1998.

In the middle of a Saturday afternoon, six inmates escaped through the perimeter fence of this one-and-a-half year old private prison operated by Corrections Corporation of America (CCA). About 219 inmates from the Low Medium wing of the Northeast Ohio Correctional Center (NEOCC) were taken to the largest of three exercise yards for routine, summer recreation. They were checked into the yard through a metal detector, but the audio alert on the device was inoperable. The shift commander, a captain, turned over command of the entire facility to an inexperienced lieutenant, and the captain disappeared to do paper work in an isolated office. There were five officers on duty in the yard. After 45 minutes, at about 1 p.m., one of the officers was reassigned to cover another area. Other officers reportedly left the area for unspecified periods

for bathroom breaks. One officer was in the gym playing ping-pong with inmates. During this time,

Six inmates cut a four-foot hole in the heavy gauge chain link inner perimeter fence near the recreation yard. Then they moved a distance along the fence to a less visible area and cut through the outer fence, managed to make their way through three rolls of razor ribbon and escape undetected. No alarm was activated in the electronic detection a motion alarm system. Apparently, there was a somewhat longstanding area of vulnerability in the system which the inmates had discovered but staff had not (Clark, 1998, p. V 7).

The group of escapees included four inmates convicted of murder. Four of the six were recaptured within two days of the escape, all within a mile of the prison. The other two were apprehended within a week ("Four Ohio prisoners caught", 1998).

For its part, CCA announced on July 31st that it would make the following improvements at the NEOCC:

- Establish a checkpoint with a metal detector to make sure staff members cannot give weapons or tools to inmates (Note: a subsequent investigation revealed no staff complicity in the escape);

- Install razor ribbon between the perimeter fences;
- Put a supervisor in the recreation yard when it is in use;
- Build a gun tower outside perimeter fences overlooking the recreation yard;
- Meet with state and local police and emergency workers to improve communications; and
- Meet with an already established citizens advisory board at least four times a year ("Private prison steps up security," 1998).

The July escape was only the tip of an iceberg of serious problems CCA was experiencing at the Youngstown prison. The facility opened in May 1997 with the transfer of 900 inmates from Washington, DC. In the same month, several inmates refused to return to their cells and CCA staff used tear gas to restore order. In August 1997, a group of inmates filed a class action lawsuit in US District Court of the Northern District of Ohio alleging CCA violated their civil rights during the May incident. A number of stabbings and assaults, including several on NEOCC staff, occurred during the summer and fall of 1997 while the number of inmates in the prison continued to grow. In September, the CCA contract was amended to permit

1,440 District of Columbia inmates to be housed at the NEOCC. This number was increased to 1,700 in October 1997 (Clark, 1998).

In February and March 1998 two inmate homicides occurred in the prison and focused national press attention on the facility. CCA replaced the Warden with a more experienced warden from the CCA system (Clark, 1998).

Meanwhile, the Ohio Legislature, concerned that violent felons were being placed at NEOCC, passed House Bill 293, providing for state regulation of private prisons in Ohio. In March, the US District Court's ordered the reclassification of all NEOCC inmates, using the National Council on Crime and Delinquency's (NCCD) classification instrument, and the removal of all inmates with a classification of maximum-security. By June, some 119 maximum-security inmates were transferred out of the facility based upon the NCCD classification (Clark, 1998).

In August, immediately after the escape, the Ohio Governor, George Voinovich, requested US Attorney General Janet Reno to inspect the facility. The DC Corrections Trustee, John L. Clark, conducted an in-depth review of the management and security at NEOCC and published a report in November.

Among other findings, the study criticized the contract procurement process as too hasty and found that the prison was inadequately prepared to open its doors when it did. Both the District of Columbia DOC and CCA were faulted for sending over 200 violent inmates who required separation from one another into a medium-security prison. The DOC was anxious to rid itself of problem prisoners and failed to send adequate background information; CCA was anxious to get its beds filled (and revenue stream opened) and failed to demand adequate information from the DOC (Clark, 1998).

CCA's Northeast Ohio Correctional Center became a lightning rod for the entire controversy surrounding the prison privatization issue. An investigative report from the Ohio State Legislature describes the escape of 6 inmates from CCA Youngstown as "the ultimate failure in the primary mission and public promise of any prison," (De La Cruz, 1998). In November, CBS News devoted a segment of the program "60 Minutes" to the Youngstown prison that raised questions about the propriety of prison privatization. In December, the cover of Atlantic Monthly featured an article by Eric Schlosser on the CCA and other parties involved in the private prison business. The following May, the cover

article of Mother Jones magazine examined CCA's experience with the Youngstown prison.

The intensity of reaction to the CCA's problems at the NEOCC prompted changes to the facility not unlike those engineered by the Pennsylvania DOC at SCI Pittsburgh. CCA succeeded in gaining ACA accreditation for the Youngstown prison in the year after the escape. Even Barry Yeoman's criticism of CCA in Mother Jones magazine is attenuated with recognition that the company had made changes at the NEOCC:

The maximum-security prisoners have been shipped out. Sworn enemies are kept apart. The company has built three new guard towers and put up additional fences. And the prison sponsored more than 50,000 hours of staff training last year, in areas such as conflict resolution and escape prevention. The Youngstown facility currently appears to enjoy the institutional calm of a well-behaved high school, with murals on the cinderblock wall, monitors in every hallway, and well-stocked classrooms where inmates learn wiring, masonry, and commercial cleaning (Yeoman, 2000).

Summary: Northeast Ohio Correctional Center, OH

Capacity	2016	Age (in yr. 2000)	3
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	4
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	1
% ACA	80.0	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	Y
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	4
Master?	Y	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Long-term, External. Ohio is a state characterized by a high level of ACA involvement and federal court oversight of its prison system, along with a high rate of increasing inmate costs. This escape, and other attendant problems at the facility, prompted wide-ranging changes, including the reclassification of prisoners deemed acceptable for the institution, security enhancements, a justice department-induced investigation, and passage of a state law regulating private prisons.

19. Lieber Correctional Institution, SC, July 25, 1998.

Russell Hamby was serving a life sentence for murder. William Jenkins was serving a four-year sentence for breach of trust, but was awaiting trial on charges of criminal sexual conduct with a minor and contributing to the delinquency of a minor. In the middle of the afternoon on July 25, 1998, Hamby, Jenkins, and a third inmate scaled double 12-foot fences topped with rolls of razor wire in the southeast area of the recreation yard at Lieber Correctional Institution. The third inmate was caught in

the razor wire and cut badly, but Hamby and Jenkins made it to the outside. A roving Correctional Officer spotted them and fired three shots that missed the escaping inmates (Agnew, 1998).

This was the first escape from Lieber in five years, according to David Jordan, director of executive affairs for the Corrections Department (Hyler, 1998). Lieber is a maximum-security facility and houses South Carolina's death row inmates as well as a general population. Neighborhood residents expressed anxiety and fear to reporters covering the story about the prison's location in their community: e.g., "I don't like it because I have children at Clay Hill Elementary School (near the prison) and now they've got death row inmates over there. That really frightens me" (Hyler, 1998, p. B1).

The inmates were tracked to Savannah, GA where they were captured three days later while sleeping under an interstate highway bridge. Both were treated for serious cuts sustained in climbing over the fences at Lieber. DOC spokeswoman Linda Davis stated that an investigation into how the escapes happened was to be conducted (Hyler, 1998). However, the DOC did not fulfill requests for copies of the investigation.

Summary: Lieber Correctional Institution, SC

Capacity	696	Age (in yr. 2000)	14
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	2
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	3
% ACA	71.9	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	-	Media Access Score	4
Master?	-	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Insufficient information to categorize reaction to this escape.

20. Oregon Women's Correctional Center, OR

August 28, 1998.

Tracey Lee Poirer's escape from a maximum-security cell at the Oregon Women's Correctional Center was the only widely covered escape involving a woman prisoner. Poirer was sentenced to life without parole in 1991 for the murder of a 4-foot 4-inches tall travelling photography salesman who Poirer and a woman companion robbed and beat to death. Poirer was on parole for property crimes at the time of her murder conviction (Lockwood, 1998).

She was discovered missing at breakfast time, but it is unknown what time she left or how she got out of her cell. Prison officials reported that Poirer escaped by crawling through a hole that had been cut in the perimeter fence. Once on the outside, she forded a stream and met a friend who was waiting for her in a getaway truck that was found abandoned the next day.

The immediate accomplice-suspect was Pamela Kay Turner, the owner of the truck and a woman who had attempted to help Poirer escape in the past. Trimble worked as a correctional officer in a facility in Coos County where Poirer had been incarcerated in May 1997. When the relationship between the two women was investigated by the Coos County Sheriff's Office, Trimble resigned. Subsequently, Poirer was transferred to a prison in Arizona where corrections officials caught Trimble attempting to smuggle "an escape tool" to Poirer. Poirer was then transferred to the Oregon Women's Correctional Center ("Woman who helped in escape", 1998).

A month after the escape, the two women were featured on "America's Most Wanted," which apparently led to tips that they were living in Providence, Rhode Island. Providence Police checked out the leads and arrested the pair. They had arrived in Providence on September 3, found local jobs, and rented a one-room apartment (Rockoff, 1998).

Both women were held without bail in isolation cells at the Rhode Island Adult Correctional Institutions. At arraignment, both women challenged their extradition back to Oregon and were assigned public defenders (Rockoff, 1998). An initial hearing on their challenge scheduled for

October 29 was postponed. The women remained in Rhode Island, fighting their extradition until January 1999 when Trimble was returned to Oregon to face charges of aiding the escape. Information on the disposition of Trimble's case was not available. Poirer was returned to Oregon the following month, in February 1999 (Damon, 1999).

Poirer was charged with administrative violations by the DOC (escape, conspiracy to possess an escape devise (bolt cutters) and destruction of property (fence, window, bar covering window)). The DOC encouraged the county district attorney to pursue criminal charges as well. Poirer received 120 day in the Disciplinary Segregation Unit, a fine of \$200, and was ordered to pay restitution for the damage done to prison property (Damon, 1999).

The DOC reported that subsequent to Poirier's escape, security has been enhanced at the prison. This included a new electronic alarm system on the perimeter fence to detect significant movement including climbing and cutting, additional screening installed on most of the prison's cell windows, and the addition of an armed correctional officer to circle the prison's perimeter on patrol (Damon, 1999).

Summary: Oregon Women's Correctional Center, OR

Capacity	190	Age (in yr. 2000)	35
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	4
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	3
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	N	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	N	Media Access Score	4
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	0.0

Reaction: Long-term, Internal. Improvements were made to the facility's internal and perimeter security.

21. Catawba Correctional Center, NC, October 9, 1998.

Ronnie Gene Jackson, 45, had been sentenced to life plus 90 years in 1974 when he was 21 years old. He was convicted of killing two people and hiding their bodies in a well in High Point, NC. During his 24 years in prison, he had committed 13 infractions, including disobeying orders, weapons possession, theft of property, and provoking assault. His behavior had improved in the recent past and he was transferred to medium-security a year earlier (Ball, 1998). Although he had been denied parole twelve times (and his most recent denial occurred just one month prior to the escape), Jackson was made a trusty and permitted to work outside the perimeter fence. On October 9, 1998, while cutting grass and unsupervised by COs, Jackson walked away (Grossman, 1998).

Apparently, the escape was planned. According to Charles Mackie, Assistant superintendent, Jackson had

called a taxicab service a few days before and made arrangements "to be picked up at 9 a.m. Friday." (Grossman, 1998, p. B1). A local cabbie reported picking up Jackson near the prison at noon and taking him to a restaurant. His disappearance was not noticed until 2 p.m.

Summary: Catawba Correctional Center, NC

Capacity	208	Age (in yr. 2000)	71
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	3
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	4
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	N
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	N	Media Access Score	4
Master?	Y	Privatization Extent	1.0

Reaction: Insufficient information to categorize reaction to this escape.

22. South Central Correctional Facility, TN

October 12, 1998

The South Central Correctional Facility is owned by the State of Tennessee but operated under a contract with Corrections Corporation of America. Four inmates escaped on October 12, 1998, contributing to the controversy already raised by CCA's problems in Youngstown.

The four inmates included: William Todd Caldbeck, serving life for a series of rapes and robberies; Benjamin Dale Underwood, serving 40 years for second-degree murder, Charles Grady Hayes, serving 20 years for aggravated burglary; and Donald Wallace, serving life for first-degree

murder. Wallace was recaptured the night of the escape, just 150 yards from the spot where the four inmates cut through the fence but the other three make a clean break (Dries, 1998).

Inmate Caldbeck reportedly split from the other escapees as soon as they cleared the fence. He stole a pickup truck in the community and was recaptured in California two weeks after the escape. The other two inmates remained together, also stole a pickup truck, but remained in Nashville where they were recaptured a week later (Myers, 2001).

Notwithstanding the dangerousness of the escapees, the controversy surrounding this escape was enhanced by its close proximity to the Youngstown escape. Moreover, Tennessee is CCA's home base (CCA operates nine prisons in Tennessee), and the company was actively lobbying a proposal in the General Assembly that would privatize the entire state prison system. The Youngstown escapes and controversy prompted Governor Don Sundquist, a staunch supporter of CCA, to withdraw his support for further prison privatization in Tennessee ("State should regulate," 1998).

The CCA conducted an internal investigation and found several factors that contributed to the escape. First, the

escape had occurred during a routine shift change, a period when a large number of employees are entering and leaving the prison through the "pedestrian gate." The facility is equipped with a perimeter microwave motion detector between the double row of fencing and a separate motion detector system attached to the fence. The opening and closing of the pedestrian gate triggers the motion detector on the fence, and sounds an alarm in the control center. So called "nuisance alarms" are reset by the officer in the control center.

The inmates chose this exact time to cut the fence. The control officer, who was busy checking officers in and out of the facility, heard the alarm sound but reset the system without looking at the control panel, assuming the pedestrian gate had set off the alarm.

In response, CCA administration changed the overall prison staff schedule so that control room staff changes were offset from perimeter post changes by 30 minutes. A shunt was installed in the pedestrian gate to eliminate the "nuisance alarms" which had sounded whenever the gate opened or closed. A thirty-minute "no movement time" was also established, whereby anyone not involved in a shift change (staff or inmates) is not permitted to move from one area in the prison to another. According to the warden of

the South Central facility, this change was implemented in all CCA prisons (Myers, 2001).

Secondly, one of the inmates had managed to obtain a set of bolt cutters through the mail. A CCA shift supervisor had been circumventing policy by giving packages received in the mail on Saturdays directly to inmates rather than holding them for inspection on Monday as dictated by prison rules. The shift supervisor was accepting payment from the inmates for this service, which also included packages of marijuana specifically mailed to the prison in order to arrive on a Saturday that the officer was on duty. The bolt cutters arrived in this way. The shift supervisor was terminated by CCA. Inmate mail procedures were revised to require that at least two staff were involved in subsequent receipt and delivery of packages sent to inmates.

Finally, the section of fence where the inmates escaped was in an area where the topography of the prison ball field dipped, making the spot invisible to staff who patrol the exterior perimeter. The low spot in the prison perimeter was graded by bulldozer after the escape (Myers, 2001).

A month after the escape, the warden of the prison appeared before the Legislature's Select Oversight

Committee on Corrections to detail the findings of the investigation and the corrective action plan that was implemented by CCA.

CCA also began a major advertising campaign in October, using a series of eight full-page ads in the largest newspapers in Tennessee and in the weeklies in towns where their prisons were located. The ads "tout CCA's employee training, safety, and education programs, and its approach to juvenile corrections." The ads show a non-uniformed adult talking to a juvenile inmate holding a book while other juveniles play basketball in the background (Wade, 1998).

CCA's trouble during the summer of '98 also included an incident on Aug 5th at its prison in Whiteville, TN. An employee was attacked by an inmate, sustained serious head injuries, and was admitted to the hospital in critical condition.

Union opposition to prison privatization galvanized around CCA's problems, culminating in an October 16 protest by 2,000 corrections officers from around the nation at the headquarters of CCA in Nashville (de la Cruz, 1998b).

Summary: South Central Correctional Facility, TN

Capacity	1506	Age (in yr. 2000)	8
ACA	Y	Cost Incr. Quartile	1
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	3
% ACA	83.3	PIO?	Y
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	2
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	14.7

Reaction: Long-term, External. CCA made several improvements to security including the installation of additional razor wire around the ball field, line-of-sight improvements, and changes to the alarm system. Several policies were revised and a shift supervisor was fired. Changes were also made to other CCA facilities based upon the investigative findings. A committee of the State Legislature reviewed the investigation and corrective action plans.

23. Ellis Unit - Huntsville, TX, November 27, 1998.

Death row inmate Martin Gurule's escape from the Ellis Unit in Huntsville, Texas was the most heavily covered escape story in the study period. Moreover, the escape garnered extensive international coverage, the only escape in the study period to do so.

The escape initially included seven death row inmates. The group used felt-tip markers to dye long underwear black, and stuffed pillows and blankets in their beds to make it look like they were sleeping. The four then hid

"somewhere" in the prison after their outdoor recreation period ended at 8:45 p.m., cut through a fence into the general prison yard, and climbed to the roof of a building where they waited until after midnight (Langford, 1998).

After midnight, the seven jumped from the roof and broke for the double row of fencing. COs spotted them and fired a fusillade of 20 shots at the fleeing inmates. Six of the inmates fell to the ground and surrendered, but Gurule scaled both razor wire-topped fences and disappeared into the "foggy woods behind the prison" (Ward, 1998). Not only did prison staff fail to log the seven inmates back into their cells after recreation (as regulations require), but COs had also counted them present at a security check just before midnight, apparently falling for the bundled bedding ruse.

The international media and the national papers in the US observed that this was the first escape from Texas' death row since Floyd Hamilton, a member of Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker's gang, escaped in 1934. Adding to the newsworthiness of the story was Texas' reputation as the "busiest Death Row in the nation," where 17 prisoners had been executed in 1998 (Lyman, 1998; Campbell, 1998).

Despite a massive manhunt involving 500 police officers, bloodhounds, and helicopters, prison officials

could find no trace of Gurule for nearly a week following the escape. Although the formal search netted no leads, two off-duty prison employees, "out fishing" a week after the escape, found Gurule's body floating in a bayou less than a mile from the prison. Apparently, Gurule used makeshift body armor to protect himself from the razor wire (he used elastic bandages to strap magazines to his arms and cardboard to his torso). However, the same defensive casing then dragged him down when he tried to ford a nearby river (Reuters, 1998).

A preliminary inquiry into the escape cleared any COs of knowingly assisting in the escape (Ward, 1998). Within a week, the Chairman of the State Criminal Justice Board, Allan Polunsky, suspended a work program that allowed some death row inmates (including the seven involved in this incident) to move relatively freely about the prison compound⁷ (Turner & Walt, 1998). As the year ended, an investigation into the escape was still ongoing.

A federal grand jury was reconvened to investigate whether a former head of the Texas Prison system was responsible for purchasing shoddy fencing for the Ellis Unit. Andy Collins resigned as head of the Texas prison system in 1995 and was indicted in 1998 on charges of bribery, money laundering, fraud, and conspiracy in

connection with the purchase of a meat substitute used to feed inmates. Collins had also ordered a fence for the Ellis Unit. Made by Safeguard Technologies of New Jersey, the fence was erected 156 days behind schedule, was installed backward in some places, and may have contributed to the Gurule escape. Collins had reportedly ordered the fence without seeking other bids for the project (Tanamachi, 1998).

Summary: Ellis Unit - Huntsville, TX

Capacity	693	Age (in yr. 2000)	118
ACA	N	Cost Incr. Quartile	1
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	1
% ACA	0.0	PIO?	Y
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	N	Media Access Score	2
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	8.1

Reaction: Insufficient information to categorize reaction to this escape.

24. Riverbend Prison, TN, December 27, 1998.

The two-year interval covered in this study ended as it began, with a dramatic escape of six prisoners from a maximum-security prison—this time from Riverbend prison in Tennessee. Unlike the aged SCI Pittsburgh facility, Riverbend was built in 1989 and was specifically designed to hold the state's top security-risk prisoners, including those on "death row." Three of the six Riverbend escapees were serving time for murder.

Billy J. Coffelt, on a life sentence as an habitual criminal, and Lyle T. Ulzen, serving 65 years for second degree murder, succeeded in overpowering two COs at 5:30 a.m. on a Sunday morning. The inmates bound two CO's to chairs using handcuffs and leg irons, and then stashed them in a laundry room. One of the inmates then overpowered another CO manning the control room and opened the cells belonging to four other inmates. The six inmates went outside where they used a broken ladder to scale the double row of fencing and jury-rigged a mattress to shield them from the razor wire (Hedges, 1998).

Coffelt and Ulzen were released from their cells early in the morning in order to distribute before dawn meals to Muslim prisoners. The escape occurred during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, a time when Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset—the prison had made arrangements to accommodate the prisoners' religious rites (Johnson, 1998).

Two of the escapees were found Sunday night hiding near a residential area about three miles from the prison. Two others, including Ulzen, were found on Monday morning in an industrial area near the prison. Billy Coffelt, the other inmate who initiated the escape, was caught later on Monday and told officers "he was wet, tired, and hungry" (Johnson, 1998, p. 5A). The final escapee, Aaron James, who

was serving a 50-year sentence for second-degree murder, was spotted under the crawl space of a West Nashville house and apprehended by authorities on Tuesday (Locker, 1998).

Within days of the incident, the DOC promised a full investigation. But, as Riverbend is the state's most secure prison, political reaction was just as immediate. State Representative Edith Langster called for a full investigation of the escape and that "no matter how embarrassing to the state, the results must be made fully public so this community can understand exactly what happened ("More prison inmates," 1998). House Speaker Jimmy Naifeh said the escape was caused by "a major procedural breakdown somewhere in the system" (Yates, 1998, p. 1A). The legislature's Select Oversight Committee on Corrections announced that it would review the results of the DOC's investigation as soon as it was made available (Yates, 1998).

In response to the legislature's request, the Tennessee Department of Corrections conducted an internal investigation and presented its findings to the oversight committee on January 15, 1999, just nineteen days after the escape. Six staff from Riverbend were terminated as a result of their actions during or contributing to the escape. The warden and two other administrative staff

received suspensions of varying length. The practice of allowing selected inmates out of their cells early to serve pre-dawn meals for Muslim inmates was ended. A number of security improvements were made, including the addition of another mobile patrol position on each shift, installation of additional closed circuit television monitors, increased staff training in escape procedures, and a requirement for additional routine testing of overall prison security.

The escape also prompted system-wide changes, including the creation of a central office unit that conducts mock emergency drills on a regular basis at all institutions in the DOC (TDOC, 1999).

Summary: Riverbend Prison, TN

Capacity	702	Age (in yr. 2000)	11
ACA	Y	Cost Incr. Quartile	1
NCCHC	N	Escape Rate Quartile	3
% ACA	83.3	PIO?	Y
Ct. Ord.?	Y	Advisory Bd.?	-
Conditions?	Y	Media Access Score	2
Master?	N	Privatization Extent	14.7

Reaction: Long-term, External. In addition to internal security enhancements, reaction to this response involved the oversight of a legislative committee and changes to system-wide training and drills in emergency preparedness throughout the Tennessee Department of Corrections.

¹ Department investigators recovered the following contraband used by the six prisoners in the escape: one (1)

Milwaukee Sawzall w/saw Blade; one (1) Black & Decker Industrial Drill w/drill bit; four (4) Milwaukee Sawzall Blades (metal/wood cutting; one (1) 24" masonry bit; one (1) 6" x 1/4" Masonry Bit; one (1) chop saw blade; one (1) jackhammer bit 18" long; 250' of extension cords; one (1) workhorse flashlight; one (1) red hard hat with a flashlight attached by tape and electric cord; twenty-eight (28) "D" size batteries and a battery powered (yellow) flashlight; one (1) hydraulic 20 ton jack (red in color with two (2) handles; one (1) large red & black pipe wrench; and one (1) envelope containing "operation specifications" for a microwave alarm system and a wiring design and floor plan of the warehouse (Horn, 1997).

² The State of California has pioneered the use of lethal, electric fences to reduce the costs of manned perimeter security while preventing inmate escapes. In traditional prison facilities, towers are spaced at distances that allow officers to fire weapons to stop an escape. The fences can deliver deadly force without the use of guard towers. The electric fences carry a charge of 5,000 volts at very low amperage, a current sufficient to cause death to a human being coming into contact with the fence. Estimated average annual savings in staffing costs per prison where they are used is \$1.5 million (Hoffman, B. et al., 1996). The initial installations of the fences drew criticism from environmental groups concerned with birds and other game that were killed by the fences. The fences have been modified with a covering of netting to prevent the accidental death of wildlife. Colorado DOC recently adopted the use of electric fences at its new 2,445-bed Sterling Correctional Facility, which opened in May 1999 (Foster, D, The Rocky Mountain News (Denver), 12-26-98). Wisconsin DOC installed a lethal fence around the super-maximum-security Boscobel facility that opened in November 1999. Washington State DOC currently plans to install an electric fence around the Intensive Management Unit at Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla (AP State and Local wire service, 12-31-98).

³ Author's correspondence with Mark Carnopis, Public Information Officer, Idaho Department of Correction, December, 2000.

⁴ The company is not listed in existing private corrections databases (either the Univ. of FL Privatization Research Site or Corrections Yearbook). Information about the company is drawn from various other sources including the

Carnopis interview (Note 3) and information provided over the phone by LCS staff.

⁵ The Canon City prison complex is composed of nine state prisons, including Fremont Correctional Facility. The Colorado DOC employs 4,400 people at the Canon City prison complex. Old Territorial Prison, built in 1871, still sounds three blasts on its steam whistle to signal the community that there has been an escape from one of the prisons (Lipsher, S. Residents of Canon City take escapes in stride, The Denver Post, October 31, 1997).

⁶ In December 1999, two women hijacked a helicopter at gunpoint and ordered the pilot to fly to the maximum-security Union Correctional Institution, but dropped the plan after flying to within sight of the prison (AP, 1999). In July 2000, a helicopter landed inside the secure compound of the Martin Treatment Center, a convicted sex offender hopped in, and escaped. The helicopter crash-landed about 100 yards from the center and the inmate and the pilot were captured (Prison guards to be armed, 2001).

⁷ At the time of the escape, Texas had 453 inmates on death row, all of them housed at the Ellis Unit. All but 150 of the death row prisoners are locked in their cells for 23 hours per day (they are permitted one hour of supervised recreation and exercise). Some 150 inmates on death row qualified for a work program, doing jobs around the prison (Gurule was a janitor) or working in a prison factory that manufactures pants for correctional officers. The factory is in a secure area adjacent to the death row cellblock. The death row inmates in the work program were permitted several hours of outdoor recreation each day. According to Ned Benton, professor of public administration at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, the Texas program was unusual in allowing death row inmates to be involved in a work program (Lyman, R. Troopers, Dogs, and Helicopters..., The New York Times, 12-3-98).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This paper has considered a number of questions about prison escape, the difference between private and public prisons, and the interplay of market forces on management reaction to serious incidents. In Chapter 4, research questions were summarized in the form of four research hypotheses. Chapter 5 sought to test these hypotheses with quantitative data. Chapter 6 presented a qualitative perspective on twenty-four high profile escapes during 1997 and 1998. In this chapter, we will revisit the four research hypotheses in light of these quantitative and qualitative findings.

H₁ Private prisons are no less secure than public prisons

The findings in this research project refute the implication, voiced by many privatization critics, that private prisons are more escape prone than public prisons. The first hypothesis is strongly supported by the available evidence. In general, private prisons have a statistically significant lower escape rate than public prisons in the United States. Although private prisons confine approximately 5.5% of all prisoners, they were responsible for less than 4% of escapes in 1997 and fewer than 2.5% in

1998 ($p = .001$). Furthermore, of the 79 public prisons in the study sample, 7 of these facilities (8.9%) experienced multiple escapes from the same facility. None of the 11 private prisons in the study sample experienced multiple escapes from the same facility.

The qualitative data also support a conclusion that private prisons are no more escape prone than public prisons. One of the more heavily publicized escapes from private prisons—the escape of six prisoners from the privately run Northeast Ohio Correctional Center in Youngstown—is frequently cited by privatization critics as emblematic of lax security in public prisons. In the aftermath of the incident, the Ohio State Legislature concluded that such a security breach constituted “the ultimate failure in the primary mission and public promise of any prison” (de la Cruz, 1998). Yet, mass escapes of six prisoners also occurred in two public prisons during the study period—the SCI Pittsburgh and Riverbend escapes. The SCI Pittsburgh escape, in which inmates were able to secret away an unbelievable collection of tools, is perhaps more indicative of “ultimate failure in primary mission” than the NEOCC escape. Although six prisoners escaped the NEOCC, the method used—cutting the fence—was the most common

escape method employed by escapees from all types of prisons.

In reviewing the twenty-one public and three private prison escapes presented in Chapter 6, no clear advantage or disadvantage in perimeter security is readily apparent in either type of prison.

H₂ As market forces increase, the intensity of reaction to prison escapes increases.

Although preliminary evidence is presented in Chapter 5 suggesting a positive relationship between market forces and intensity of reaction, the data set is too small to support a generalization of findings. We can neither conclusively accept nor reject hypothesis number two.

The research has made advances in operationalizing the two constructs—"market forces" and "intensity of reaction." Market forces were measured using a twelve-item checklist that assigns one point to each "yes" response. The assumption is that the higher the score (1-12), the more powerful the market forces. Intensity of reaction was measured by considering the aftermath of each escape and placing each incident into a box in a two-by-two table indicating internal or external reaction and long-term or short-term effects. The implicit assumption in this scheme

is that long-term consequences are more "intense" than short-term ones, and that "external" reaction is more consequential than "internal" reaction.

There were 18 incidents that had sufficient information to articulate a market forces score and assign a place on the intensity of reaction grid. The sample was not randomly selected from the total of 88 incidents; thus there are potential problems with bias that cannot be eliminated. For example, the fact that the news accounts on these 18 incidents provided sufficient background may have been due to a stronger than average official reaction in the first place.

Notwithstanding these concerns, the market forces instrument was reasonably predictive of the distinction between long-term and short-term reaction. A score above the median of 4 on the market forces instrument was predictive of long-term reaction in the small, non-randomly drawn sample. This result lends support to hypothesis number 2; that as market forces increase, the intensity of management reaction to a prison escape also increases.

The market forces instrument was not predictive of internal vs. external reaction. In further research into the use of the instrument, it might be worthwhile to experiment with the weighting of the various questions. For

example, "state under federal court order" and "designated public information officer" are both assigned one point each. It is reasonable to assume that the court order variable places greater pressure on prison managers than does having a PIO on staff. Placing greater weight to different questions could enhance the reliability of the instrument in measuring internal vs. external reaction.

In some cases it was extremely difficult to obtain information that would elaborate on details provided by the news media. Repeated efforts were made to obtain additional information about escape reaction from official representatives at each of the 24 prisons discussed in Chapter 6. Additionally, similar information was solicited on each of the seven public prisons that experienced multiple escapes (one public prison, the Mark Stiles Unit in Texas, was in both categories). Of the (30) prisons that were contacted for more information, only a dozen responded. Responses were received from nine states (Georgia, Washington, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Florida, Texas, Oregon, Tennessee, and California), and both private prison operators, Louisiana Correctional Services and Corrections Corporation of America (CCA had two facilities among the case studies). While the Idaho Department of Corrections did not experience an escape in

their state, their Public Information Office was extremely open and responsive in providing information about the Basile, LA escape and contract termination. In terms of responding to requests for information for this research project, the private sector was easier to approach and more responsive with information than was the public sector.

The private prisons' greater attention to communication with the external environment lends support to the third hypothesis:

H₃ Market forces have greater influence on private prisons than on public prisons.

The two highest ratings on the market forces checklist involved two private prisons. However, our sample size is too small to conclusively reject the null hypothesis that market forces have no greater influence on private prisons than public ones. But qualitative data drawn from the case reviews imply that such market forces do place greater pressure on the private sector.

In attempting to obtain additional information from prison managers, private prisons had a higher response rate than the public ones. This comparative advantage of the private sector in giving out information is indicative of an organizational strategy that bridges or buffers contacts

with the external environment (Mezner and Nigh, 1995). It is an indicator that the private sector is responding more proactively to market forces than are the public prisons.

It was also observed that private prisons have double the participation rate in the ACA accreditation process than that of the public sector (55.6% to 28.4%). ACA (and NACHC) accreditation provides a benchmark for prisons to be compared to an objective set of standards and to other prisons that have been accredited. Again, this signals a response to market forces.

H₄ The intensity of reaction to escapes is greater in private prisons than in public prisons.

All three private prisons in the set of case studies were characterized by long term, external reactions to their escapes. Only a third of the public facilities registered such a strong reaction. Though the data are insufficient to permit quantitative measurement of a statistically significant difference, the qualitative data presented in Chapter 6 provide strong support for hypothesis number 4.

Even though it is not measured on the market forces instrument, the fact that a private prison can lose a contract is certainly a powerful market force. Public

prisons are not similarly situated. The pressure of losing its lucrative contract with the District of Columbia likely encouraged the CCA to make rapid and noteworthy changes to its NEOCC within weeks of the summer 1998 escape. The changes were so substantial that even an anti-privatization article in Mother Jones magazine (see page 175) took note of them. And in response to problems at the Basile Detention Center in Louisiana, the Idaho DOC suspended a two-year contract with Louisiana Corrections Services after only 6 months of operations.

During the same time frame, seven public prisons had repeat escape incidents. Two of these public prisons, including the Mark Stiles Unit in Texas, had three escapes. The escape from Stiles described in Chapter 6 was the third escape in less than two years, yet the news media described no specific actions taken to investigate the causes of the escapes or propose solutions (with the exception of installing one additional camera after the first incident—see p. 163). When a third escape occurred, the Texas Department of Criminal Justice did not consider it sufficiently serious to warrant a serious incident review.

Other Findings

This research project yielded a number of important findings that were unanticipated when the project was initially proposed.

First, this research revealed considerable reliability problems in the national databases that keep count of escapes. Response rates varied considerably among the four databases, ranging from 72% to 100%. The counts of escapes for the year 1997 ranged from a low of 4,132 to a high of 8,496, a difference of over 100%. It is recommended that the keepers of these databases be made aware of these reliability problems and that they make an effort to improve both response rate and inter-database reliability.

Second, this project has contributed to studies of how the criminal justice system is presented in popular culture and mass media. An exhaustive search of newspapers in the US yielded updated information on the percentage of escape incidents that were covered by the press in 1997 and 1998 (about 5%). To the author's knowledge, this was the first study in twenty years to update information about press coverage of corrections.

Third, this project discovered new information about the criminal history of escapees. Whereas earlier studies found that escapees were mostly serving time for property

crimes and rarely committed crimes while on escape, the escapees in this study were mostly violent offenders and, while few committed crimes while escaping, those who did commit crimes perpetrated some rather serious acts. Fully one-third of the escapees covered by this study were convicted murderers and some 58% of escapees were serving time for violent crimes. While escapees committed crimes in only 8.3% of the escapes in this study, the list of crimes included hostage taking, kidnapping, manslaughter, and murder.

Finally, this project uncovered a wealth of information on how prisoners escape from custody. Two-thirds of the inmates cut or climbed fences or simply ran while in an unsecured area. These are clearly due to management related problems with tool control and with basic supervision of staff. Over 90% of escapes involve inmates acting alone or in pairs. A handful of inmates used technology (copy and fax machines) to forge documents facilitating their mistaken release. In two cases, prisoners used accomplices to break into the prison from outside, thus facilitating the escape.

A number of the escapes involved tremendous ingenuity: dyeing clothing with marker pens; telephoning in phony orders to release while posing as a federal marshal;

secreting away a vast array of tools; swapping identification with other inmates; or, like the Count of Monte Cristo, getting officially discharged by faking one's own death. The two-dozen cases detailed in Chapter 6 provide a veritable "how-to guide" for escaping from prison and should be of interest to anyone concerned with the problem of prison escapes.

Appendix A**News Sources****Major Newspapers**

Arizona Republic, The

Asian Wall Street
Journal

Atlanta Journal and
Constitution, The

Baltimore Sun, The

Boston Globe, The

Boston Herald, The

Buffalo News, The

Chicago Sun-Times

Christian Science Monitor,
The

Columbus Dispatch, The

Courier Journal
(Louisville, KY), The

Daily News (New York)

Daily Yomiuri (Tokyo),
The

Daily/Sunday Telegraph
(London), The

Denver Post, The

Detroit News, The

Dominion (Wellington),
The

Evening Post (Wellington),
The

Financial Times
(London)

Gazeta Mercantil Online

Gazette (Montreal), The

Guardian (London), The

Herald (Glasgow), The

Houston Chronicle, The

Independent and Independent
on Sunday (London), The

Irish Times, The

Jerusalem Post, The

Journal of Commerce

Kansas City Star, The

Los Angeles Times

Miami Herald

New Straits Times
(Malaysia)

New York Times, The

Observer, The

Omaha World Herald

Ottawa Citizen

Philadelphia Inquirer

Plain Dealer, The

Rocky Mountain News

San Diego Union-Tribune

San Francisco Chronicle, The	AP State & Regional
Scotsman & Scotland on Sunday, The	Belleville News-Democrat
Seattle Times, The	Bismarck Tribune, The
Singapore Business Times	Business Wire
South China Morning Post	Capital Times (Madison, WI)
Southland Times (New Zealand), The	Chicago Daily Herald
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Chicago Daily Law Bulletin
St. Petersburg Times	Chicago Lawyer
Star Tribune (Minneapolis MN)	Chicago Sun-Times
Straits Times (Singapore), The	Cincinnati Enquirer, The
Tampa Tribune, The	Cleveland Scene
Times - Picayune, The	Columbus Dispatch, The
Times and Sunday Times (London), The	Copley News Service
Toronto Star, The	Crain's Chicago Business
Toronto Sun, The	Crain's Cleveland Business
USA Today	Crain's Detroit Business
Wall Street Journal	Crain's Small Business
Washington Post, The	Chicago
<u>Midwest Regional Sources</u>	Dayton Daily News
Agweek	Des Moines Register, The
Akron Beacon Journal	Detroit Free Press
	Detroit Monthly
	Detroit News, The
	Duluth News-Tribune
	Grand Forks Herald

Illinois Legal Times	Bangor Daily News (Bangor, Maine)
Indian Country Today	
Indiana Lawyer, The	Boston Globe, The
Indianapolis Business Journal, The	Boston Herald, The
Kansas City Star, The	Buffalo News, The
Midwest Construction	Business Wire
Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, The	Central Maine Morning Sentinel
News-Sentinel (Fort Wayne, IN)	Connecticut Law Tribune
North County Times	Court TV's Legal Questions
Omaha World Herald	Crain's New York Business
Pantagraph, The	Daily News (New York)
Plain Dealer, The	Intelligencer Journal
Post-Crescent, The	Kennebec Journal
PR Newswire	Lancaster New Era
Riverfront Times	Legal Intelligencer
South Bend Tribune	Long Island Voice
Star Tribune (Minneapolis MN)	Metropolitan Corporate Counsel, The
Topeka Capital-Journal	Morning Call (Allentown, PA), The
Wisconsin State Journal	New Jersey Law Journal
<u>Northeast Regional Sources</u>	New Jersey Lawyer
AP State & Regional	New York Law Journal
Asbury Park Press (Neptune, NJ)	New York Post, The
	New York Times, The

Northeast Power Report
 Patriot Ledger, The
 Pennsylvania Law Weekly
 Philadelphia Inquirer
 Portland Press Herald
 PR Newswire

Providence Journal-
 Bulletin, The

Record (Bergen County, NJ),
 The

Small Business column

Sunday News (Lancaster)

Telegram & Gazette

Times Leader, The

Times Union (Albany, NY),
 The

Union Leader, The

Village Voice, The

Wall Street Journal

Southeast Regional Sources

50 Plus Lifestyles

Advocate (Baton Rouge, LA),
 The

AP State & Regional

Arkansas Democrat-
 Gazette

Asheville-Citizen Times,
 The

Atlanta Journal and
 Constitution, The

Augusta Chronicle, The

Beaufort Gazette (South
 Carolina)

Bradenton Herald, The

Business Wire

Capital (Annapolis, MD),
 The

Charleston Daily Mail

Charleston Gazette, The

Chattanooga Times
 (Chattanooga, TN), The

Chattanooga Times /
 Chattanooga Free Press

Commercial Appeal (Memphis,
 TN), The

Courier Journal
 (Louisville, KY), The

Cox News Service

Daily Record (Baltimore,
 MD), The

Florida Daily Business
 Review

Florida Times-Union,
 The

Fort Pierce News (Fort
 Pierce, FL)

Fulton County Daily
 Report

Herald (Rock Hill, SC),
 The

Herald Sun, The	Roanoke Times & World News
Hill, The	Roll Call
Insight on the News	Sarasota Herald-Tribune
Jupiter Courier (Jupiter, FL), The	Sebastian Sun
Knoxville News-Sentinel (Knoxville, TN)	Southeast Power Report
Ledger (Lakeland), The	St. Petersburg Times
Louisiana Contractor	State, The
Macon Telegraph, The	Stuart News / The Port St. Lucie News (Stuart, FL), The
Messenger-Inquirer	Sun Herald, The
Miami Herald, The	Sun News, The
Miami New Times	Tampa Tribune, The
Montgomery Advertiser, The	Tennessean, The
Morning Star (Wilmington, NC)	Times - Picayune, The
New Times Broward-Palm Beach	Treasure Coast Business Journal
News & Record (Greensboro, NC)	Virginian-Pilot (Norfolk, VA), The
Palm Beach Post, The	Washington Post Magazine
Post & Courier (Charleston, SC), The	Washington Post, The
PR Newswire	Washington Times, The
Press Journal, The	Washingtonian
Richmond Times Dispatch	Weather Channel Column
	<u>Western Regional Sources</u>
	Albuquerque Journal, The

Albuquerque Tribune, The	Cox News Service
Amarillo Daily News	Daily Camera
Anchorage Daily News, The	Daily News of Los Angeles, The
AP State & Regional	Dallas Morning News, The
Arizona Business Gazette	Dallas Observer
Arizona Republic, The	Denver Post
Austin American-Statesman, The	Denver Rocky Mountain News
Bakersfield Californian, The	Denver Westword
Bulletin (Bend, OR), The	Deseret News, The
Business Press / California, The	Fort Worth Star- Telegram
Business Wire	Fresno Bee, The
Cal-OSHA Reporter	Houston Chronicle, The
California Journal	Houston Press
California Supreme Court Service	Idaho Falls Post Register
City News Service	Idaho Statesman, The
Colorado Construction	LA Weekly
Columbian (Vancouver, WA), The	Las Vegas Review- Journal
Contra Costa Times	Lewiston Morning Tribune
Copley News Service	Los Angeles Times
Corpus Christi Caller- Times	Metropolitan News
	Enterprise

New Times Los Angeles	Santa Fe New Mexican, The
News Tribune (Tacoma, WA), The	Seattle Post- Intelligencer
Northwest Construction	Seattle Times, The
OC Weekly	Seattle Weekly
Orange County Register, The	SF Weekly
Overhaul & Maintenance	Southwest Contractor
Phoenix New Times	Spokesman-Review (Spokane, WA), The
PR Newswire	Telegram-Tribune (San Luis Obispo, CA)
Press Enterprise, The	Texas Construction
Press-Telegram	Texas Lawyer, The
Real Estate Law column	Texas Monthly
Recorder	Tri-City Herald (Kennewick, WA)
Salt Lake Tribune, The	Tulsa World, The
San Antonio Express- News	Ventura County Star (Ventura County, Ca.)
San Diego Union-Tribune	Wyoming Tribune-Eagle, The
San Francisco Chronicle, The	
San Francisco Examiner	

State (A)	Population (B) (ACA) 12/31/97	Population (C) (CY) 1/1/1998	Escapes (D)	Rate x 1000	Rank (lowest=1)	Quartile (lowest=1)
Alabama	15316	22175	124	5.59	29	3
Alaska	3521	4220	91	21.56	44	4
Arizona	23247	23866	0	0.00	1	1
Arkansas	10649	11085	13	1.17	9	1
California	124813	157033	534	3.40	20	2
Colorado	11249	13476	266	19.74	43	4
Connecticut	15968	17366	0	0.00	2	1
Delaware	5469	5433	248	45.65	50	4
Florida	65117	65122	320	4.91	26	2
Georgia	36753	37933	70	1.84	14	2
Hawaii	4240	5023	35	6.97	32	3
Idaho	4075	3945	17	4.31	23	2
Illinois	40686	40787	1060	25.99	45	4
Indiana	17631	17903	17	0.95	8	1
Iowa	6748	7491	244	32.57	47	4
Kansas	7890	7914	27	3.41	21	2
Kentucky	10666	14600	130	8.90	38	3
Louisiana	18300	30039	95	3.16	19	2
Maine	1477	1547	3	1.94	16	2
Maryland	22029	21839	111	5.08	27	3
Massachusetts	10170	11521	22	1.91	15	2
Michigan	41625	44884	1304	29.05	46	4
Minnesota	5327	5332	230	43.14	49	4
Mississippi	15231	15447	20	1.29	10	1
Missouri	23850	24032	926	38.53	48	4
Montana	1787	2466	36	14.60	42	4
Nebraska	3347	3347	25	7.47	33	3
Nevada	8287	8819	39	4.42	24	2
New Hampshire	2118	2201	18	8.18	35	3
New Jersey	20237	28372	339	11.95	41	4
New Mexico	4737	4682	21	4.49	25	2
New York	69529	70211	9	0.13	5	1
North Carolina	31312	31892	135	4.23	22	2
North Dakota	719	804	5	6.22	31	3
Ohio	47166	48010	32	0.67	6	1
Oklahoma	14723	20434	175	8.56	37	3
Oregon	7642	8118	63	7.76	34	3
Pennsylvania	34696	34901	79	2.26	17	2
Rhode Island	2601	3491	21	6.02	30	3
South Carolina	20577	21321	39	1.83	13	1
South Dakota	2231	2239	3	1.34	11	1
Tennessee	14994	20141	36	1.79	12	1
Texas	129661	140718	16	0.11	4	1
Utah	4384	4760	4	0.84	7	1
Vermont	1071	2072	105	50.68	51	4
Virginia	24629	28845	2	0.07	3	1
Washington	12910	13226	157	11.87	40	4
West Virginia	2379	3172	10	3.15	18	2
Wisconsin	16385	14619	125	8.55	36	3
Wyoming	1252	1515	16	10.56	39	3
United States	100639	112158	596	5.31	28	3
DC		7048	483	68.53	52	4

Source (Column B): Population in Adult Institutions at year end 1997. Excludes Community Corrections and Special Facilities (e.g. drug); ACA Directory 1998;
Source (Column C,D): Corrections Yearbook 1998

Prison Size, Age, and Accreditation by Escape Case

	Case#	Private? ^a	ACA? ^b	ADP ^c	CAP ^d	AGE ^e
1	97-1		N	2874	2897	7
2	97-2		Y		1800	115
3	97-3		N	1270	1130	25
4	97-7	✓	N	493	500	6
5	97-8		N	4676	2200	13
6	97-13		N	1570	1604	29
7	97-14		N	318	456	34
8	97-16		N	2328	1709	113
9	97-17		N		2300	6
10	97-18		N	1208	1373	81
11	97-19		N	3111	2315	45
12	97-20		N		2800	37
13	97-21		N	1488	1152	5
14	97-22	✓	N		945	70
15	97-23		Y	2134	2335	136
16	97-24	✓	Y		411	16
17	97-25		Y	1149	1100	13
18	97-26		N		750	4
19	97-28		Y	1251	2229	45
20	97-29		N	3166	1728	148
21	97-30		N	1163	1152	5
22	97-31		Y	4986	5108	134
23	97-32		Y	2307	1804	80
24	97-33		N	2874	2897	7
25	97-38		N	1586	1640	15
26	97-39		Y	1524	1543	24
27	97-41		N	899	825	149
28	97-42		N		100	8
29	97-43		N	154	170	70
30	97-44		N	4998	5369	100
31	97-45		Y	1607	1043	120
32	97-47		N			2
33	97-48		N	2734	2116	59
34	97-50		N	1736	1784	92
35	97-52		N		960	6
36	97-54		N		652	27
37	97-55		Y		456	30
38	97-56	✓				?
39	97-57		N		1200	38
40	97-58		N		1112	10
41	97-59		Y	2286	2235	136
42	97-60		Y		456	30
43	97-64		N		1100	3
44	97-68		Y		974	21

^aPrivate prison facilities checked; ^bAccredited by the American Correctional Association?(Yes or No); ^{c,d,e}Average Daily Population (ADP), Capacity (CAP), and Age from ACA Directories, 1997-1999.

Prison Size, Age, and Accreditation by Escape Case

	Case#	Private? ^a	ACA? ^b	ADP ^c	CAP ^d	AGE ^e
45	98-1		Y	1109	1225	24
46	98-2		N	1698	1626	14
47	98-3					
48	98-4		N	207	288	11
49	98-5		N	264	462	61
50	98-6	✓	N		623	40
51	98-7		Y	676	546	68
52	98-8		N	2874	2897	7
53	98-9		N	114	58	47
54	98-10		Y		1777	126
55	98-11		Y	347	292	24
56	98-12		Y	185	204	11
57	98-13		N	886	984	5
58	98-14		N	2861	2900	7
59	98-15		N		1270	85
60	98-16		N	895	676	28
61	98-17	✓	Y		2016	3
62	98-19		N	4836	5261	100
63	98-20		N		696	14
64	98-21		Y	920	910	38
65	98-22	✓	N		872	2
66	98-23	✓				
67	98-24		N	514	300	23
68	98-25		N	174	190	35
69	98-26		N		949	82
70	98-27		N	139	146	20
71	98-28		N	160	170	61
72	98-29		Y	420	438	24
73	98-30	✓	Y	1392	2016	3
74	98-31			148	150	31
75	98-32		N	514	300	23
76	98-33		N	701	693	118
77	98-34	✓	Y	1482	1506	8
78	98-35		N	216	208	71
79	98-36		N	831	1256	9
80	98-37		N	2175	2187	35
81	98-38		N		652	27
82	98-39		Y	2286	2235	154
83	98-40		Y	1132	1100	13
84	98-41		Y	669	702	11
85	98-42		N	1912	2000	6
86	98-43		N	310	320	61
87	98-44	✓				
88	98-45	✓	N	320	400	5

^aPrivate prison facilities checked; ^bAccredited by the American Correctional Association?(Yes or No); ^{c,d,e}Average Daily Population (ADP), Capacity (CAP), and Age from ACA Directories, 1997-1999.

Case# ^a	Prison	State	Media ^b	>3 ^c
97-38	Limestone Correctional Facility	AL	Y	Y
98-2	Arizona State Prison - Winslow	AZ	N	N
97-25	Varner Unit	AR	N	N
98-40	Varner Unit	AR	N	N
98-29	Pine Bluff (Cummings Unit)	AR	N	N
98-8	Richard J. Donovan Correctional Facility	CA	Y	N
97-19	California Medical Facility - Vacaville	CA	Y	Y
97-20	California Rehabilitation Center - Norco	CA	Y	Y
97-29	San Quentin	CA	Y	N
98-20	Ventura Youth Correctional Facility	CA	N	N
97-57	Fremont Correctional Facility	CO	Y	Y
98-31	Colorado Correctional Center - Golden	CO	N	N
97-13	Deleware Correctional Center	DE	N	N
97-68	Hendry Correctional Institution	FL	N	N
98-7	Glades Correctional Institution	FL	Y	Y
98-1	Dade Correctional Institution	FL	N	N
98-11	Indian River Correctional Institution	FL	N	N
97-52	Macon State Prison - Oglethorpe	GA	Y	Y
97-58	Hayes State Prison	GA	Y	Y
98-26	Oahu Community Correctional Center	HI	N	N
97-32	Statesville Correctional Center	IL	N	N
97-3	Plainfield Correctional Facility	IN	Y	N
98-15	Pendleton Correctional Facility	IN	N	N
97-26	Clarinda Treatment Center	IA	N	N
97-23	Lansing Correctional Facility	KS	N	N
97-59	Lansing Correctional Facility	KS	Y	N
98-39	Lansing Correctional Facility	KS	Y	N
97-31	Louisiana State Prison - Angola	LA	N	N
97-39	Dixon Correctional Institute	LA	N	N
97-56P	Basile Detention Center	LA	Y	Y
97-42	Maine Correctional Center	ME	Y	Y
98-27	Charleston Correctional Facility	ME	Y	N
98-4	Maryland Correctional Adjustment Center	MD	N	N
97-44	State Penitentiary at Parchman	MS	N	N
98-19	State Penitentiary at Parchman	MS	N	N
97-45	State Prison - Concord	NH	N	N
98-12	Central Minimum Restrict Unit	NM	Y	N
97-14	Wake Correctional Center	NC	N	N
97-43	Orange Correctional Center	NC	Y	N
98-5	Sampson Correctional Institution	NC	N	N
98-16	Western Youth Institution	NC	Y	N
98-28	Durham Correctional Center	NC	Y	N
98-35	Catawba Correctional Center	NC	Y	Y
98-43	Duplin Correctional Center	NC	Y	N

^aPrivate Prisons include the letter "P" in case number^bDoes media coverage include investigative reporting (Yes or No)?^cThree or more news stories published on the escape (Yes or No)?

Case# ^a	Prison	State	Media ^b	>3 ^c
97-28	Marion Correctional Institution	OH	N	N
98-17P	Northeast Ohio Correctional Center	OH	Y	Y
98-44P	Great Plains Correctional Unit	OK	N	N
98-25	Oregon Womens Correctional Center	OR	Y	Y
98-36	Snake River Correctional Institution	OR	N	N
97-2	State Correctional Institution - Pittsburgh	PA	Y	Y
97-22P	Deleware County Prison	PA	Y	N
97-48	Camp Hill State Correctional Institution	PA	Y	Y
98-3	Northhampton County Prison	PA	N	N
97-54	Adult Correctional Institution	RI	Y	Y
98-38	Adult Correctional Institution	RI	Y	N
97-55	Goodman Correctional Institution	SC	Y	Y
97-60	Goodman Correctional Institution	SC	N	N
97-64	Kershaw Correctional Institution	SC	Y	N
98-20	Lieber Correctional Institution	SC	Y	Y
98-33	South Dakota State Penitentiary	SD	N	N
98-23P	Mansfield Prison	TN	Y	N
98-30P	Hardeman County Correctional Facility	TN	Y	N
98-34P	South Central Correctional Facility	TN	Y	Y
98-41	Riverbend Prison	TN	Y	Y
97-1	Mark Stiles State Prison	TX	N	N
97-7P	Lockhart Unit	TX	N	N
97-17	Garza Unit	TX	N	N
97-33	Mark Stiles State Prison	TX	N	N
97-50	Ramsey I Unit	TX	Y	N
98-6P	Central Texas Parole Violator Facility	TX	N	N
98-8	Mark Stiles State Prison	TX	Y	Y
98-13	Skyview Hodge Unit	TX	N	N
98-14	Terrell Unit	TX	N	N
98-22P	Newton County Correctional Center	TX	N	N
98-33	Huntsville - Ellis Unit - Death Row	TX	Y	Y
98-42	Huntsville - Holiday Unit	TX	N	N
98-45	Promontory Correctional Facility	UT	N	N
98-9	Cold Springs Correctional Unit	VA	N	N
97-16	Washington State Prison	WA	Y	Y
97-41	Waupun Correctional Institution	WI	Y	Y
97-47	Prairie Du Chien	WI	Y	Y
98-24	Oakhill Correctional Institution	WI	N	N
98-32	Oakhill Correctional Institution	WI	N	N
97-18	Lorton Correctional Complex	DC	N	N
97-21	Federal Correctional Institution - Beckley	US	N	N
97-24P	Harris Processing Center	US	N	N
97-30	Federal Correctional Institution - Beckley	US	N	N
98-10	US Disciplinary Barracks - Ft. Leavenworth	US	Y	N

^aPrivate Prisons include the letter "P" in case number^bDoes media coverage include investigative reporting (Yes or No)?^cThree or more news stories published on the escape (Yes or No)?

**Extent of ACA Accreditation and
Media Access to Prisoners (for selected States)**

	# Prisons ^a	# ACA ^a	% ACA ^a	Access1 ^b	Access2 ^b	Tot Access ^b
Alabama	20	0	0.00	1	1	2
Arizona	14	0	0.00	1	1	2
Arkansas	13	11	84.60	2	2	4
California	33	0	0.00	1	0	1
Colorado	22	7	31.80	2	2	4
Delaware	6	0	0.00	2	2	4
Florida	64	51	79.60	1	1	2
Georgia	39	1	2.50	2	0	2
Hawaii	3	0	0.00	1	1	2
Illinois	25	24	96.00	2	2	4
Indiana	21	1	4.80	1	1	2
Iowa	9	1	11.10	2	2	4
Kansas	8	8	100.00	1	1	2
Louisiana	12	12	100.00	2	2	4
Maine	5	0	0.00	2	1	3
Maryland	14	0	0.00	2	2	4
Mississippi	6	1	16.70	0	0	0
Missouri	19	0	0.00	2	2	4
New Hampshire	19	0	0.00	2	2	4
New Mexico	10	9	90.00	2	2	4
New York	53	51	96.20	1	1	2
North Carolina	53	0	0.00	2	2	4
Ohio	30	24	80.00	2	2	4
Oklahoma	17	15	88.20	2	2	4
Oregon	13	0	0.00	2	2	4
Pennsylvania	23	17	73.90	2	2	4
Rhode Island	7	0	0.00	1	1	2
South Carolina	32	23	71.90	2	2	4
South Dakota	7	0	0.00	2	2	4
Tennessee	18	15	83.30	1	1	2
Texas	58	0	0.00	1	1	2
Utah	4	0	0.00	2	1	3
Virginia	54	0	0.00	2	2	4
Washington	12	0	0.00	2	2	4
Wisconsin	11	0	0.00	2	2	4
D.C.	7	0	0.00	2	2	4
Fed. Bur. Pris.	60	41	68.30			
Total/average	821	312	38.00			

^a # of prisons, # of prisons accredited, and % ACA accredited compiled from ACA Directory, 1998.

^b Access1 = 1 point each, face-to-face and/or phone interviews permitted with general population inmates; Access2 = 1 point each, face-to-face and/or phone interviews permitted with inmates on death row or life with no chance of parole; Tot Access = Access1+Access2. Information compiled from Society of Professional Journalists, Open Prisons, 2000.

Appendix F

Per Inmate Spending By States, 1990 and 1996
(including difference and change per year)

	1996	1990	Difference	% Change	% Change per yr.
Alabama	7,987	8,718	-731	-9.15%	-1.53%
Alaska	32,415	28,214	4201	12.96%	2.16%
Arizona	19,091	10,311	8780	45.99%	7.67%
Arkansas	13,341	7,557	5784	43.36%	7.23%
California	21,385	21,816	-431	-2.02%	-0.34%
Colorado	21,020	14,180	6840	32.54%	5.42%
Connecticut	31,912	17,002	14910	46.72%	7.79%
Delaware	17,987	11,208	6779	37.69%	6.28%
Florida	17,327	13,902	3425	19.77%	3.29%
Georgia	15,933	12,930	3003	18.85%	3.14%
Hawaii	23,318	19,542	3776	16.19%	2.70%
Idaho	16,277	9,450	6827	41.94%	6.99%
Illinois	19,351	15,980	3,371	17.42%	2.90%
Indiana	20,188	14,822	5366	26.58%	4.43%
Iowa	24,286	18,304	5982	24.63%	4.11%
Kansas	22,242	14,670	7572	34.04%	5.57%
Kentucky	16,320	11,118	5202	31.88%	5.31%
Louisiana	12,304	9,337	2967	24.11%	4.02%
Maine	33,711	22,656	11055	32.79%	5.47%
Maryland	22,247	17,214	5033	22.62%	3.77%
Massachusetts	26,002	15,152	10850	41.73%	6.95%
Michigan	28,067	16,649	11,418	40.68%	6.78%
Minnesota	37,825	26,661	11,164	29.51%	4.92%
Mississippi	11,125	9,133	1992	17.91%	2.98%
Missouri	12,832	9,766	3066	23.89%	3.98%
Montana	20,782	14,590	6192	29.80%	4.97%
Nebraska	22,271	13,012	9259	41.57%	6.93%
Nevada	15,370	8,630	6740	43.85%	7.31%
New Hampshire	20,839	17,208	3631	17.42%	2.90%
New Jersey	30,773	20,703	10070	32.72%	5.45%
New Mexico	29,491	16,711	12,780	43.34%	7.22%
New York	28,426	18,670	9756	34.32%	5.72%
North Carolina	25,303	18,486	6817	26.94%	4.49%
North Dakota	17,154	14,581	2573	15.00%	2.50%
Ohio	19,613	11,028	8585	43.77%	7.30%
Oklahoma	10,601	9,919	682	6.43%	1.07%
Oregon	31,837	11,516	20321	63.83%	10.64%
Pennsylvania	28,063	15,438	12625	44.99%	7.50%
Rhode Island	35,739	16,497	19242	53.84%	8.97%
South Carolina	13,977	10,268	3709	26.54%	4.42%
South Dakota	17,787	10,859	6928	38.95%	6.49%
Tennessee	22,904	20,048	2856	12.47%	2.08%
Texas	12,215	12,988	-773	-6.33%	-1.05%
United States	20,142	15,586	4556	22.62%	3.77%
Utah	32,361	15,251	17110	52.87%	8.81%
Vermont	31,094	15,905	15189	48.85%	8.14%
Virginia	16,306	16,145	161	0.99%	0.16%
Washington	26,662	19,742	6920	25.95%	4.33%
West Virginia	17,245	11,699	5546	32.16%	5.36%
Wisconsin	27,771	18,965	8806	31.71%	5.28%
Wyoming	19,456	12,151	7305	37.55%	6.26%

Source: Adapted from Bureau of Justice Statistics, State Prison Expenditures 1990; 1996.

Appendix G**Percent of State Prison Beds Contracted to Private Prisons**

	% Private		% Private
Alabama	1.5	Nebraska	0
Alaska	7.9	Nevada	5.6
Arizona	0	New Hampshire	0
Arkansas	0	New Jersey	0
California	0	New Mexico	28.1
Colorado	17.7	New York	0
Connecticut	0	North Carolina	1
Delaware	0	North Dakota	8.7
Florida	5.9	Ohio	0
Georgia	0	Oklahoma	17.9
Hawaii	11.9	Oregon	0
Idaho	15.5	Pennsylvania	0
Illinois	0	Rhode Island	0
Indiana	0.38	South Carolina	0
Iowa	0	South Dakota	0
Kansas	0	Tennessee	14.7
Kentucky	9.8	Texas	8.1
Louisiana	12.4	United States	7.9
Maine	0	Utah	0
Maryland	0	Vermont	0
Massachusetts	0	Virginia	0
Michigan	0	Washington	0
Minnesota	0.93	West Virginia	4.3
Mississippi	17.7	Wisconsin	6.5
Missouri	0	Wyoming	3
Montana	0		

Adapted from Corrections Yearbook 1998 and 1999

Appendix H
Part 1

**Departments Institutions Under
Court Order/Consent Decree 1997
(selected States and Jurisdictions)**

	1997			
	Entire Dept?	Mas or Mon? ^a	Conditions? ^b	Mas or Mon? ^c
Alabama	Y	N	N	
Arizona	Y	Y	Y	Y
Arkansas	N			
California	Y	Y	Y	
Colorado	N	N	N	N
Delaware	N		Y	N
Florida	Y	N	N	
Georgia				
Hawaii				
Illinois	N	N	Y	Y
Indiana				
Iowa				
Kansas	N		N	
Louisiana				
Maine				
Maryland				
Mississippi	Y	N	N	
New Hampshire	N	N	Y	N
New Mexico	N		Y	Y
North Carolina	N		Y	N
Ohio	Y	Y	Y	
Oklahoma	Y	N	Y	N
Oregon				
Pennsylvania	N		Y	N
Rhode Island				
South Carolina	N		N	
South Dakota				
Tennessee	N			
Texas	Y	N	Y	N
Utah				
Virginia	N	N	N	
Washington	N		Y	Y
Wisconsin	N	N	N	
D.C.				
Fed. Bur. Pris.	N		Y	N

^a Master or Monitor assigned for any state prisons

^b Any state prisons under Court Order due to
conditions of confinement

^c Master or Monitor assigned for any state prison

Source: American Correctional Association Directory, 1998

Appendix H
Part 2

**Departments or Institutions Under
Court Order/Consent Decree 1998
(selected States and Jurisdictions)**

	1998			
	Entire Dept?	Mas or Mon?	Imp. Cond?	Mas or Mon?
Alabama	Y	N	N	N
Arizona	Y	Y	N	N
Arkansas	N		N	
California	Y	Y	Y	Y
Colorado				
Delaware				
Florida	N		Y	N
Georgia	N		Y	Y
Hawaii			Y	Y
Illinois	N	N	Y	Y
Indiana	Y	N	N	N
Iowa	N		N	
Kansas	N		N	
Louisiana	N		Y	Y
Maine				
Maryland				
Mississippi	Y	N	N	
New Hampshire				
New Mexico	N	Y	N	
North Carolina	N	N		
Ohio	Y	Y	N	
Oklahoma	Y	N	Y	N
Oregon	N		N	
Pennsylvania	N		N	
Rhode Island	N			
South Carolina	N			
South Dakota	N		N	
Tennessee	N		N	
Texas	Y	N	Y	N
Utah	N	N	N	N
Virginia	N	N	N	
Washington	Y	N	Y	Y
Wisconsin	Y	N	Y	N
D.C.				
Fed. Bur. Pris.	N		Y	N

^a Master or Monitor assigned for any state prisons

^b Any state prisons under Court Order due to conditions of confinement

^c Master or Monitor assigned for any state prison

Source: American Correctional Association Directory, 1999

Appendix I

**"Market Forces" and Selected Prisons
(Private Prisons in Boldface)**

	React	ACA? ^a	% ACA ^b	CtOrSt ^c	Cond? ^d	CtMon ^e	NCCHC? ^f
Washington State Prison, WA	L-Ex	N	0	N	Y	Y	N
State Correctional Institution, PA	L-Ex	N	73.9	N	Y		N
California Medical Facility, CA	L-In	N	0	Y	Y		N
California Rehabilitation Center, CA	L-In	N	0	Y	Y		N
Waupun Correctional Institution, WI	L-Ex	N	0	N	N	N	N
Prairie du Chien Facility, WI	L-In	N	0	N	N	N	N
Goodman Correctional Institution, SC	S-In	Y	71.9	N	N		N
Adult Correctional Institutions, RI	L-Ex	N	0	N			N
Basile Detention Center, LA	L-Ex	N	100				N
Macon State Prison, GA	S-In	N	2.5	N			N
Hays State Prison, GA	S-In	N	2.5	N			N
Freemont Correctional Facility, CO	L-Ex	N	31.8	N	N	N	N
Mark Stiles State Prison, TX,	L-In	N	0	Y	Y	N	N
Glades Correctional Institution, FL	L-In	Y	79.6	N	Y		N
Northeast Ohio Correctional Center, OH	L-Ex	Y	80	Y	Y	Y	N
Oregon Women's Correctional Center, OR	L-In	N	0	N	N	N	N
South Central Correctional Facility, TN	L-Ex	Y	83.3	Y	Y	N	N
Riverbend Prison, TN	L-Ex	Y	83.3	Y	Y	N	N

(Continuation of "Market Forces")	Quar \$ ^g	Quar Esc ^h	PIO? ⁱ	Adv Bd? ^j	SPJ ^k	% Priv ^l	Score
Washington State Prison, WA	2	4	N		4	0	4
State Correctional Institution, PA	4	2	N		4	0	4
California Medical Facility, CA	1	2	Y	Y	1	0	4
California Rehabilitation Center, CA	1	2	Y	Y	1	0	4
Waupun Correctional Institution, WI	3	3	N		4	6.5	4
Prairie du Chien Facility, WI	3	3	N		4	6.5	4
Goodman Correctional Institution, SC	2	1	N		4	0	3
Adult Correctional Institutions, RI	4	3	N		2	0	2
Basile Detention Center, LA	2	2	N		4	12.4	3
Macon State Prison, GA	2	2	N		2	0	0
Hays State Prison, GA	2	2	N		2	0	0
Freemont Correctional Facility, CO	3	4	N		4	17.7	5
Mark Stiles State Prison, TX,	1	1	Y		2	8.1	4
Glades Correctional Institution, FL	2	2	N		2	5.9	4
Northeast Ohio Correctional Center, OH	4	1	N	Y	4	0	8
Oregon Women's Correctional Center, OR	4	3	N		4	0	3
South Central Correctional Facility, TN	1	3	Y		2	14.7	7
Riverbend Prison, TN	1	3	N		2	14.7	6

^a is the prison ALA accredited

^b % of prisons accredited in state

^c entire state DOC under court order?

^d Ct. ord. due to conditions of confinement?

^e monitor assigned to any state prison?

^f cost increase quartile

^g escape rate quartile

^h Pub. Info. Officer?

ⁱ advisory board?

^k SPJ "score"

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