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Corrections

Miscellaneous

ESCAPES AND ESCAPEES AT THE
COLORADO STATE PENITENTIARY --
SOME SPECULATIONS AND STATISTICS

by

Glenn G. Dahlem, Ph. D.
Research Assistant
Office of Research and Planning
Division of Correctional Services



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University of Colorado Boulder



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I. Introduction

As this investigator delved into the topic of escapism, he was struck by the apparent lack of predictability of the phenomenon. Yet, at the same time, he was also impressed with obvious similarities displayed by many escapees and escape situations. Here was a mystery. If indeed there were commonalities among escapes and those escaping or attempting to do so, why was it not then possible to predict future escapism? Logic seems to dictate that escape forecasting (and thus prevention) should be a natural outgrowth of scientific study of the problem, if indeed common variables associated with escapes and escapees are indeed statistically isolatable.

The professional literature regarding escapism, as well as comments of numerous working correctional professionals, seemed to deepen the mystery. All sorts of allusions, both scientific and philosophical, are constantly encountered which attest to common factors associated with escape situations. Yet a certain pessimism pervades these same remarks when the topic of predictability is explored. This apparent dichotomy puzzled the researcher, until sudden, gestaltic insight occurred which suggested a feasible explanation.

Perhaps there are different types of escapes/escapees, and to globally study them all is methodologically unsound. In fact, typologizing escapes is nothing new. Previous investigators have subdivided escapes into such sub-categories as those from maximum, medium and minimum security facilities, those which involve violence, subterfuge, or merely walking away, those attempted alone or by a group, and so on.

These previous typologies did not appear, at least to this researcher, to offer promise along lines of predictability. First of all, they are overly simplistic, secondly, they fail to take cognizance of numerous escapee psychological and life-situational variables, and thirdly, they

are often not mutually exclusive and discrete. Perhaps this is why such typologies fail as good starting points for scientific study of escapism, and therefore, prediction/prevention.

This investigator concluded that two basic considerations demand attention as prerequisite for scientific study of escapism. First of all, a typology of escapes/escapees must be developed that is based upon escapee motivation. Such a system must result in mutually exclusive categories, if later empirical study is to be valid. Secondly, even after a valid typology is developed, allowance must be made for change over time. This is because the potential escapee's life situation and personality continually interacts with the various fluid dynamics of his penal environment (Horn, 1974). More than likely, past neglect of this dimension explains why some persons believed to be non-escape prone suddenly "took the plunge", and others considered dangerous escape risks failed to take advantage of escape opportunities which presented themselves.

This researcher wishes to propose a typology of escapes, based upon escapee motivation. Seven basic types of escapes have been philosophically identified, three of which (Categories E, F, and G of the following outline) are almost certainly extremely rare. Explanatory material regarding each hypothetical escape type follows the outline.

- (A) Inmates who escape/attempt escape to obtain freedom.
 - (1) Those seeking to lead a "new life" or "go straight" without waiting for parole or discharge.
 - (2) Those anxious to resume a life of criminal activity.
 - (a) promise of monetary rewards
 - (b) revengeful and related motives
 - (3) Messianic inclinations, most frequently political/social radicalism.

(B) Inmates who escape/attempt escape so they may remain in prison (the so called "stupid" escapes taking place shortly before parole or discharge). Since escape is a crime, a resulting new sentence enables further stay.

- (1) Fear, either conscious or subconscious, of the responsibilities of life in free society.
 - (2) Fear of revenge from enemies on the outside.
 - (3) Facing of prosecution and likely incarceration in a penal system perceived to be less palatable than the Colorado State Penitentiary.
- (C) Those who escape as a result of various pressures.
- (1) Actual or irrational fear of violence or sexual mistreatment at hands of fellow inmate(s).
 - (2) Actual or irrational worry over family matters.
 - (3) Actual or irrational fear of mistreatment at hands of guard(s).
 - (4) Sudden removal of formerly available drugs or alcohol.
 - (5) Avoidance of the death penalty (when this was a factor historically).
 - (6) Boredom (especially true for psychopaths).
 - (7) Perceived need to obtain status among others (peers or society) through achievement of escape or demonstrating "guts" by an attempt.
 - (8) Perceived need to prove "guts", masculinity, or similar quality internally to one's self by escaping or attempting escape.
 - (9) Psychological retreat from failure or rejection (Renteria & Holt, 1971).
- (D) Those who walk away (generally from minimum security) feel-
int not much will be done upon return.
- (1) Being easily led by others.
 - (2) So-called "loner" type.
- (E) Those so mentally disturbed (such as legitimate amnesiacs) who actually don't realize they are escaping.
- (F) Those who attempt escape for the purpose of being shot and killed by guards.
- (G) Those murdered by authorities or by inmates in collusion with authorities and made to appear as an escape attempt or escape. There is no evidence that any escapes of this type has ever occurred in Colorado.

- (1) Shot down near a wall or some other escape-likely spot, then claimed as an attempt.
- (2) Secretly killed and buried by prison guards while being officially reported as a successful escape.

Explanatory Remarks

Type A is of course, the most obvious category of escapees. Yet, it may not be the largest. Members of this category are not necessarily alike in behavior. There is evidence that some members escaped by subterfuge from maximum security, at which they had a "bad ass" reputation. Others were model prisoners who engaged in many socially beneficial actions, until, apparently, this conduct earned them a placement or privilege from which escape was relatively easy. Type A membership is inferred from attempts to avoid apprehension, and one might assume that the 28 "still outs" are type A escapees (Anon. Professional #3).

Type B is obviously the direct opposite of Type A. There are numerous pieces of Canon City folklore regarding these prisoners' behavior while at large (Anon. Professional #7). One man entered a restaurant, sat between two customers and ordered a cup of coffee while clad in prison blues. Another asked a farmwife for a drink of water, then sat in an easy chair while she phoned police. A third hid beneath a bridge for a day (long enough to be charged with escape), then sauntered down the highway in mid-day. Psychologists have long known persons afraid of life as free men and women, and it isn't too hard to imagine such people preferring prison, where basic needs are met and decisions are made for one, to life on the outside. A clinical evaluation and a short freedom period should help differentiate "B's" as well as time remaining prior to release. Apprehension mode is also significant (Anon. Professional #2).

Type C is, according to one official (Anon. Professional #1, 1974), the most numerous category. It's said that one has to experience prison life to really comprehend all the pressures, fears, and anxieties, real and imagined, that inmates experience. Add to these the pressures brought about by loved (or hated) ones on the outside, and the average prisoner is a potential escape powderkeg. Many inmates are allegedly "driven over the wall" by various stressful situations. The fact that environmental variables change during a prisoner's life, thus pressure isn't a constant factor, may explain sudden changes in escape outlook. Anecdotal observation and interview of those apprehended is needed in order to distinguish "C's".

Theoretically, Type D is largely found in minimum security environments, such as Camp George West and Bails Hall. Numerous stories abound regarding the inmate who stopped in for a beer while returning from work, "had a few", then panicked when finding himself late (Anon. Professional #7). Not all minimum security escapees are "D's", however. Some obviously were "A's". Others, who stay out until charged with escape, are probably "B's" who find even the limited freedom of minimum security too much to handle. Case study and apprehension mode are keys to identification of true "D's".

Type E, F, and G are no doubt rare, but probably valid entities. Psychotic and severely neurotic persons who don't know who or what they are do exist; some must invariably end up in prison as Type E escapees. Likewise, altruistic suicide is well known in warfare and other highly stressful situations. No doubt some prisoners prefer death at the hands of guards (who have no choice but to shoot) to continued life or conventional suicide (Type F). Type G, sad to say, has existed in America, as news media revelations of a decade ago documented. The unearthing of skeletons on a prison farm in a southern state established that not all the murderers in that particular prison were convicts.

II. Review of the Literature

A. Before looking at escapism studies in general, what has been done locally? Within the penitentiary staff itself, three different agencies generate data which is specifically pertinent to escapism. These are the Investigations Section, headed by John Snow, the Psychology Department, directed by George Levy, and the Reception and Diagnostic Center, headed by Captain D. G. Marshall. Cooperation extended the writer by all three of these offices, incidentally, was sincere, helpful and cordial. Without cordial relationships with these data sources, no researcher could get very far studying inmate phenomena.

The Investigations Section maintains a continuous chronological roster of escapees, listing such data variables as time and date of escape, point of origin, new crimes, if any, while out, apprehension mode, and so on. The Psychology Department is a valuable source of numerous intelligence, achievement, interest, and personality test scores, as well as insightful inmate anecdotal records. The Reception and Diagnostic Center offers numerous breakdowns of inmate data along demographic, socio-economic, and ethnic lines. Data from all three sources went into the preparation of this report.

In addition to these on-going efforts, an empirical escapism study has also been done by an outside academic researcher working in close cooperation with George Levy. He is John Horn, well-known University of Denver experimental psychologist. See Appendix A. (Dr. Horn is also involved in two other research projects, of great potential interest and use to prison administrators, but not directly pertinent to this report.) This study (Levy and Horn, 1971) compared 89 escapists to 102 matched pair control group non-escapist inmates. The investigation included subjects who escaped during the years 1968, 1970 and the first half of 1971.

The biographical variables of previous escape(s)/escape attempt(s), offense, previous incarceration(s), age, years of school and sentence length were considered. In addition, scores of subjects on three personality tests, the 16 Personality Factors, Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, and Prison Classification Index were used. Multiple correlation procedures were used to compare experimental and control group data. Out of a possible 128 correlations between 64 predictor and 2 criterion variables, 26 showed some promise of non-chance relationships. The investigators conclude that the best indicators of escape are, roughly in order, the F, Hy & A MMPI scales, I scale of the 16PF, serving time for robbery, number of previous incarcerations, educational achievement, and the H and Q3 scales of the 16PF.

Another in-house study of interest is that compiled by Deputy Warden John Griffin (Griffin, 1974). See Appendix B. His document is especially intriguing because like this paper, it proposes an escape typology. Griffin's typology is based upon form of custodial care from which escapes occur. This shows promise of ascertaining possible escapee motivation, an interest of this author. Interestingly, Griffin found that over the 4 2/3 year period studied, about half of escapes were from situations of trust ("walkaways") and half were from situations under guard (subterfuge or in a few cases, violence.)

Another in-house investigation was undertaken by Melvin Green of the CSP Investigations Section. See Appendix C. He sought clock/calendar type correlates of escape activity. Green found no conclusive evidence for any month of year or day of week preponderance of escape activity. He did note a concentration of the phenomena between 8:00 and 11:00 p.m. While he did not compute statistical significances, a cursory check by this author establishes that 25% of all escapes occurred during this one 12.5% segment of the 24 hour day.

Captain D. G. Marshall, in his 1971 Reception Center Annual Report (Marshall, 1971) presented an escape breakdown similar to Griffin's more recent effort. See Appendix D. One interesting data variable that Marshall addresses is the fact that Chicano inmates escape in higher proportion than their percentage of total prison population, Anglo inmates in about the same proportion, and Black inmates in lesser proportion.

B. Researchers and types of studies elsewhere are numerous and varied in approach. Because escape predictability has obvious high pragmatic value to correctional administrators, considerable effort has been expended in many quarters.

Almost all studies have been done from an after-the-fact perspective, that is, persons who have escaped or attempted escape have been studied in retrospect. This is the obvious way to go, of course, but there is another procedure which is somewhat overlooked. This would be the method of commencing case study research upon an inmate at the point of first entry into the correctional process. Such an a priori approach would have as its goal prevention of the initial escape attempt. It is possible that some findings generated by various after the fact studies could be used to refine and facilitate use of these obviously more difficult but truly predictive ones.

Some researchers have followed an after-the-fact experimental strategy as did Levy and Horn. In this method an experimental group of escapees is compared to a non-escapee control group which is as much like the experimental group as possible. The idea is that all variables but one are thus held constant, therefore, any differences uncovered are likely to have some relationship to the experimental variable, escapism. This approach is generally the most sound scientific procedure in most research efforts. Two weaknesses suggest themselves. One is the possibility that almost all inmates would attempt escape given appropriate situational, not personal, variables. Therefore, escape behavior may be more an environmental than

organismic function. If this is true, an experimental and control group would not necessarily differ. The other possibility is that an escapist is a highly specialized person and that all or almost all of these types do attempt escape. If this latter possibility is correct, then no true control group could exist, as too many (rather than none in the former case) variables would always differ between experimentals and controls.

A second approach is the correlational one. This procedure seeks to uncover mathematical relationships between escapism and any other subject data variables that a researcher wishes to examine. Correlational efforts will produce the so-called escapee profiles, in that common traits and factors may easily be isolated for just about any human behavioral category. The catch is that correlation isn't necessarily proof of causation, only of some sort of relationship. Fundamental causes of several related phenomena frequently remain obscure. Correlational research does have great value, however, in pointing out promising trends for further more narrow and intensive study.

A third tack is the so-called descriptive or case study method. This method involves intensive, clinical study of a few individuals, usually stressing genetic causality of behavior. This approach at first sounds extremely promising, but two drawbacks readily present themselves where escapism is involved. First of all, if after-the-fact research is planned, the subjects must be caught first, at least if they are successful escapees. Some, due to death, can never be caught and studied; witness the recent unhappy events in Texas. Others, when they are apprehended, may be most uncooperative research subjects for obvious reasons. Secondly, such research is most expensive, in that intensive efforts of numerous professionals are normally needed over a protracted time span if thorough data collection is to be achieved.

A pioneer in escapism study has been James H. Panton of the North Carolina Department of Corrections. He has done two monumental studies.

One (Panton, undated) is a computerized statistical analysis of 7088 non-escapists and 607 escapists. He found escapists brighter, less well educated, more likely to have been physically punished by parents, greater users of alcohol, more likely to be divorced, less religious and employment stable, and more likely to have criminal fathers or brothers than non-escapists. Panton's second study (Panton, 1972) involved the development of MMPI scales for what he considered escape prediction. The PCI (Prison Classification Inventory) test is the result of his efforts. It contains thirteen item scales. Panton reports success with his test in North Carolina, but others have not been as successful, at least where escapism is involved.

A study done in Europe (unknown Danish author) pointed out that robbers are most likely among offenders to attempt escape. An interesting finding was that multiple escapees are just as likely to "go straight" upon release as are non-escapists.

A leading American correctional researcher, Marie Ryan of the California Department of Corrections, has published a wealth of data on escapism (Ryan, 1972; Ryan, 1974). Her data resembles Colorado's in that a higher proportion of escapes occur from minimum security than closer custody situations. Again, this points to apparent limited effectiveness of so-called classification and prediction systems. She has been a pioneer in the study of apprehension mode and behavior while free as important in escapism study.

Another Californian, Norman Holt, reports that minimum security escapes are more likely to be repeat escapists than closer custody inmates (Holt, 1974). He reported a similar ethnic distribution to that of Marshall (Marshall, 1971). This statistic has been attacked as misleading by some, as the fact that fewer Black inmates proportionately escape than other inmates is often interpreted as proof of existence of racial stereotypes, such as alleged indifference or lack of ambition. In reality this may

merely, reflect another form of racism; namely that more Blacks proportionately are held in closer custody, from which escape is more difficult. Holt disclaims any relationship between length of sentence and escape likelihood, a somewhat surprising contention.

Still another Californian, Arlene Baker, sought to develop the most elaborate attempt at statistical prediction to be found by this author in escapism literature (Baker, 1961). Her efforts culminated in the so-called California Escape-Proneness Scale. In all, 29 demographic variables known to have some relationship to escapism were subjected to statistical significance tests. When compared to a control group, Baker's experimental group does differentiate itself. According to Baker, the California Escape-Proneness Scale is helpful in identifying escape-likely inmates when classification decisions are made.

An analysis of use of personality test scores as escape-predictors was done by Stump and Gilbert (Stump and Gilbert, 1972). They concluded that while tests have shown some ability to discriminate, environmental concerns may be over-riding. This is a view similar to that expressed elsewhere in this paper.

A well-done U. S. Army Study (Barnes and Porten, 1969) applied statistical tests to escape situational variables similar to those looked at locally by Melvin Green. They found a mid-week peak, just the opposite of that reported for a civilian Colorado custodial institution (Anon. Professional #6, 1974). This author believes that select local variables at different institutions may account for differences in time of day, day of week, etc. escape proclivities.

A case study, in-depth analysis of one escapee (Renteria and Holt, 1971) provides several good insights into motivational variables, an area considered fruitful by this writer. The study demonstrates how a series of

triggering incidents, of meaning only in the life of one escapee, pushed a somewhat "escape-prone" individual over the brink.

An example of seeking to predict criminal behavior is the development of a behavioral profile for prevention of airline hijackings by the Federal Aviation Administration (Daily and Pickrel, 1974). This study demonstrates good use of after-the-fact research, unlike similar attempts by penal systems, which have largely failed. It must be remembered however, that the airline hijacker profile is applied at a boarding gate, where 100% of enforcement effort is briefly but fully able to focus on 100% of the research population (all boarding passengers). This is analogous, in a sense, to having a one to one correctional officer to prisoner ratio, an obvious impossibility.

In retrospect, two major conclusions seem to stem from a literature review. First of all, many studies have been undertaken which are very well done from an academic, methodological standpoint. Because statistically significant findings have been obtained, these studies might be termed successes. But if escape prevention has been a goal of such studies, they may be classified as miserable failures. In this author's view, a major cause of this seeming dichotomy is the reliance upon correlational, after-the-fact predictors, rather than before the fact predictors. For example, suppose a study has shown that high MMPI "F" scale robbers with previous escape histories are most likely to attempt escape. (Indeed, this is the case.)

What is a correctional administration to do? Assign a guard to each of these men 24 hours a day for the duration of their sentences? To make practical use of these research findings, and really prevent escape, this is just about what would need to be done! What is needed is several statistically significant situational predictors, to be used in conjunction with conventional demographic profile predictors. (The author proposes

several apparently promising situational predictors in the Recommendations section of this paper.) Then perhaps, we will get somewhere in feasibly predicting and preventing escapes.

A second conclusion, one which California addressed head-on while critiquing its Escape-Proneness Scale, is that of priorities in inmate classification and assignment. Sometimes, it was necessary to assign relative high escape risk inmates to escape-likely situations. The California report points out that risks were taken to preserve a work-camp program, in that a certain number of inmates was needed to staff the camp. If no low escape risk prisoners were available, then it became necessary either to use high risk ones, or scrap the program (Baker, 1961). In Colorado, it became obvious that some incongruities in penitentiary inmate classifications seemed to exist. On checking closer, the investigator found that humanitarian motives were occasionally factors (Anon. Professional #5, 1974). For instance, a likely escapee was placed in a situation where escape was relatively easy, because to leave him in his former, more secure custody meant almost certain death at the hands of a grudge-bearing fellow prisoner. Because certain pragmatic considerations like these exist in all confinement situations, some risks are going to have to be occasionally taken. As a result, some escapes will always continue to occur, no matter how sophisticated and accurate a science of escape-prediction might become.

II. Description of Escapes and Escapees

There have been 306 escapes and escape attempts by 271 CSP inmates from January 1, 1970, through October 1, 1974. Of these, 28 convicts, or 9.1% were still at large on October 1, although two of these were apprehended while this report was being written. Table One, page 21, contains points of escape origin, percent of escapees from each place remaining at large, and median period of freedom for those apprehended. It also breaks escape situations down by individual and group attempts. Individual escapists outnumber group escapists about two to one.

Sixteen attempts were tried from behind the walls of the main institution (maximum security) during the period studied. As Table One shows, only one man is still at large. Three others achieved freedom in the sense they died in the attempt or shortly after. A detailed description of these escapees is found in Appendix C.

This writer examined the case histories of the sixteen maximum security escapists in detail, as well as those of about 30 medium security escapists. His purpose was to seek data variable commonalities, to serve as departure points for further, empirical research.

As previous researchers found, almost all had present or previous robbery conviction(s), previous escape attempt(s), many of which took place in other states or as juveniles, and a high AI scale on the MMPI. Almost all had a mental, physical, or behavioral problem, and all but one had a father with some sort of serious problem, i.e., abandonment, criminality, mental illness, drinking, or suicide. This latter variable may well be the case for all inmates, not just escapists; this writer places strong credence in the belief that the first three years of life are a crucial variable in any later anti-social behavior.

--So far nothing new or startling. Two other variables were noted that may or may not stand the test of empirical analysis. They intrigue this investigator, however, for reasons to be explained shortly.

Of the over 60 folders studied, only one man was an only child, and even he grew up among older half-siblings. Perhaps only children don't make good escapists. It's not hard to rationalize why this is true. (Similar research on successful commercial airline pilots has disclosed parallel findings.--Namely, only children just aren't.) In order to be successful escapist, one may need to cooperate intimately with fellow inmates, outside accomplices, and in different sort of way, with prison authorities. Much planning may be involved, and in this situation all sorts

of complicated human relations techniques are required if escape is to succeed. Possibly, this interpersonal barter and gamesmanship is analagous to the psychological give and take experiences among small children growing up in the home. This experience is denied to only children unless cousins or foster siblings are present, a not-too-common occurrence. The industrial psychologist Cronbach has suggested this explanation for absence of only child airline pilots, and this author sees it readily applicable to penitentiary escapists as well.

A second anomaly was the spelling grade level achievement sub-test score. Almost all escapists, be they high or low in educational grade level, had a relatively high (above the grade level average) spelling sub-test score. At first this seems silly and trifling, but in order to be a good escapist, attention to detail and memory may be crucial. Such facts as when a guard tower is manned, how a door locks and when, how far and what direction a road is, etc., are needed in order to plan escape, and they are needed with pin-point accuracy if success is to result. This ability to plan escape detail may well be related to qualities which make one a good speller--attention to detail and memory. Spelling may be symptomatic of a deeper personality trait associated with escapism.

Table Two, page 22, lists intervals between escapes for 17 persons who have escaped more than once. One man has three to his credit. If records at other institutions were included, almost all these individuals would have 5 or more escape tries recorded. This seems to intensify the finding elsewhere that past escape is a valid statistical predictor of future attempts (Baker, 1961). This author would state it somewhat more colloquially--something about a leopard and his spots. One CSP escapist's record has in it the following anecdotal notation made by a well-known California penal administrator: "While at _____, this inmate escaped or tried to escape between 15 to 20 times..." Enough said.

Another possible data variable worthy of exploration, one which eluded this investigator, but was pointed out to him by a high prison official, was past automobile involvement (Anon. Professional #9). This person found over 90% of all CSP escapists had some illicit involvement with an automobile, allegation or conviction, sometime in the past. Perhaps this variable has personality implications, as sociologists have long demonstrated the psychological, symbolic flight from reality syndrome among delinquent boys that is related to automobile usage (DeFleur et.al., 1971). After all, escape, be it to get out of prison (Type A) or to enable one to stay in prison (Type B) is related to flight. In the latter case, of course, it is freedom, rather than incarceration, from which flight is really taking place.

IV. Conclusions

From January 1, 1970, until October 1, 1974, 306 escapes and attempts were made by a total of 271 inmates while under jurisdiction of the Colorado State Penitentiary. Table One gives, among other things, the facility or activity from which these occurred. It is obvious from the data that the various minimum security installations are the greatest escape risk, medium security and its outlying units are the next greatest risk, and maximum security constitutes the least escape risk. This is what one would expect to find, and seems to reflect a general effectiveness in custodial security but a possible inability to assign appropriate security classifications, at least as regards escape-proneness.

Dividing the 306 escapes/escape attempts by the 4 3/4 years of this study, a yearly average of 64 is reached. Considering that the inmate population was between 1200 and 1300 during this period, this is equivalent to roughly one escape or attempt per 20 inmates. Panton has suggested a national average of one per 12 (Panton, undated). If his figure is accurate, this places Colorado's penitentiary better off "escape-wise" than U. S. Corrections as a whole.

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1-1-70 to 10-1-74, C. S. P.

ESCAPE SITUATIONS

TABLE ONE

Point of origin	alone	Escapes Attempted--			Inmates apprehended or dead	Inmates at large	median time at large, those apprehended	% escaped still at large	average resident population 4 3/4 yr period	ratio of escapes to population, 4 3/4 year period (v/ly)
		In groups of two	In groups of three	In groups of four						
Max. Security	4	1	2	1	15	1	*2 days	6.3	700	1 to 208
Med. Security	28	11	2	0	52	4	2 1/2 days	7.2	364	1 to 31
Colo. St. Hosp.	18	2	0	0	20	2	22 days	4.5	15	1 to 3
Other Hospitals	3	0	0	0	3	0	1 day	0.0	-	-
Colo. St. Reform.	1	1	0	0	3	0	332 days	0.0	-	-
Inroute Trips	13	4	0	0	16	5	14 days	21.7	***1487	***1 to 337
Ranch	9	4	0	0	16	1	4 1/2 days	5.9	-	-
Pre-Parole Ctr.	4	0	0	0	4	0	12 days	0.0	37	1 to 44e
Hydro Plant	2	0	0	0	2	0	2 1/2 days	0.0	-	-
Tag Plant	1	3	0	0	7	0	1 day	0.0	-	-
Dairy	6	3	0	0	10	2	17 days	16.7	-	-
Milk Runs	2	0	0	0	2	0	17 days	0.0	-	-
Garden	4	1	0	0	6	0	38 days	0.0	-	-
Cannery	2	0	0	0	2	0	2 1/2 days	0.0	-	-
Old Cannery	1	0	0	0	1	0	92 1/2 days	0.0	-	-
Outside Garage	3	0	0	0	1	2	1 day	0.0	-	-
Bunkhouse	1	0	0	0	1	0	1 day	66.7	-	-
Work Details	3	0	0	0	3	0	1 day	0.0	-	-
Temp. Custody Else-where, CSP juris.	3	0	0	0	2	1	120 days	33.3	-	-
Old Dairy Annex	2	0	1	0	4	1	46 days	20.0	-	-
C.W.C.I.	2	1	0	0	4	0	9 1/2 days	0.0	78	1 to 93
Buckley Honor Camp	5	1	0	0	7	0	1 day	0.0	-	-
Pueblo Honor Farm	10	5	2	0	25	1	6 days	3.8	-	-
Camp Geo. West	52	3	0	0	55	3	35 days	5.2	53	1 to 4
Bails Hall	13	2	0	0	13	4	8 days	23.5	20	1 to 1.7
Pueblo Work Release	1	0	0	0	1	0	120 days	0.0	-	-
On Furlough	2	0	0	0	1	1	5 days	50.0	-	-
TOTALS	195	42 84	7 21	1 4	276	28	**8 days	9.1	1300 (approx)	1 to 20

Does not include 2 shot during attempt or 3 at large only 5 minutes.

Overall range of time at large is from 5 minutes to 2 years, 1 month,

Approximate number of trips taken and ratio of escapes to trips, 4 3/4 year period. (Trip total is for fiscal year considered most typical.)

MULTIPLE ESCAPEES
 COLORADO STATE PENITENTIARY
 1-1-70 to 10-1-74

Ranking in Shortest to longest Interval Between Attempts	Times Escaped	Interval Between Escapes - Months
1	2	1
2	2	2
3	2	3
4	2	3.5
5	2	5
6	2	7
7	3	8 & 12
8	2	13
	MEDIAN	13.5
9	2	14
10	2	17
11	2	20
12	2	21
13	2	24
14	2	32
15	2	32
16	2	34
17	2	39

Worthy of note in Table One is the 21 inmates who escaped while on trips, five of whom are still at large. Considering the small amount of time during a prisoner's incarceration that is spent enroute trips as opposed to that within the walls of an institution, trips are, proportionately speaking, the highest risk escape situation of all. Several correctional professionals to whom this writer spoke cited examples of where inmate prior knowledge of itinerary made possible contact with outside accomplices who facilitated escape behavior.

This author concludes that the recent murder and rape spree alleged to three maximum security escapees, one of whom was killed by Texas authorities, has both helped and hurt study of the problem in general. It has brought attention to escapes, to be sure, and no doubt forced authorities to address themselves to escapism as an issue. It also, however, has served to create a false public image of this problem. For instance, considering the number of prisoners housed in maximum security, 16 escapes and attempts in 4 3/4 years is not a large number. (Indeed, two of these were shot in the act, three were free only five minutes, and four more were loose but a day.) Moreover, a small minority of any escapees are ever convicted for violent crimes against persons while at large. A goodly number do commit illegal acts of some sort outside the walls. Of the 271 escapist of this study, 17 have been convicted of violent crimes while at large, at least two others are pending.

Impressions of an author are most certainly influenced by his individual biases, and personal frame of reference. Since there has not yet been sufficient time to complete an empirical, scientifically valid research study, any "conclusions" reported herein are subject to error. For example, it appears from data investigation that several heretofore uninvestigated data variables show promise. These include potential situational predictors as well as demographic predictors.

It has been suggested that accelerated inmate financial account transaction frequency (Anon. Professional #8) is an immediate precursor of planned escapes. This is because someone planning an escape wants money there ahead of him where he can later retrieve it. This would be true of Type A escapees only, but not of the other six typological categories, as the rest either must flee in a hurry, or plan to be back or dead within a short time span, if indeed, they are capable of planning. The person suggesting transaction activity in inmate accounts as being escape predictive did so on a basis of 8 years of case study analysis. It was also suggested that level of account balance is little value as a predictor.

Two other financial variables showing potential as situational predictors are room and board indebtedness (work release participants only) and indebtedness to other inmates (primarily relevant in maximum and medium security). The former variable may be a negative manifestation of the transactional frequency predictor, in that an inmate may have sent all his money out, and is letting room and board fees slide to save cash reserves for use while free. The latter case may be especially pertinent to Type C escapees, as many inmates are allegedly "driven over the wall" for failure to deliver on promises of narcotics sales to their peers (Anon. Professional #1). It's not too healthy for an inmate to owe a colleague money over a very long time span, and a report of this fact might signal that escape is soon to follow.

Another situational predictor is a rise in reports made by correctional officers of friction between inmates or of changes in friendship patterns. The former could be signaling a Type C escapee, the latter, a Type A one. Still another possibility is an unfavorable Commute or Parole Board action.

This writer believes that in many cases prior planning of a trip outside the walls may be considered a situational predictor of escapism. Further research is needed to refute or substantiate this contention.

Several likely demographic predictors emerged from this study which warrant further research into their validity. These are only child status, relatively high spelling sub-test score, past automobile involvement, and presence of inadequate father figure during infantile environment.

Some of the old standbys among covariates showed up as expected. Several personality test score scales, the robbery offense, and previous escape attempts seem to hold up for CSP escapees. The latter variable, in this writer's opinion, could use a bit more attention, especially when inclusion of data from other correctional systems is considered.

V. Recommendations

A. As Table One indicates, only 5 of 71 medium and maximum security escapees remain at large, and median freedom period for those caught was 2½ and 2 days, respectively. This speaks well for the security and investigation efforts of the Canon City institution and its two most populous residential facilities. This picture should be publicized in light of this perspective.

B. A not fully informed observer might then, in light of the above, be tempted to point an accusatory finger at the two minimum security facilities at which a fair number of escapes has occurred. Probably due to their urban locations, it took medians of 35 days to apprehend 55 Camp George West escapees and 8 days to catch 13 from Bails Hall.

These statistics in themselves are somewhat misleading. Almost certainly, a large majority of minimum security escapees are Type D's and Type B's. These persons pose a much lesser danger to society, obviously, than do Type A's. Therefore, the proportionately higher ratio of escapes to resident population at these minimum security facilities does not necessarily mean a higher potential threat to society. Without this knowledge, a neophyte observer could easily come to the erroneous assumption

that killers, rapists and bank robbers, etc., are escaping in goodly numbers and remaining at large for relatively long time periods.

This is not to say that all minimum security escapees are harmless, and pose no societal threat. More than likely, a few Type A's have, in the past, found their way to minimum security installations from which they have escaped and resumed serious criminal activity.

Therefore, what is suggested is that research be undertaken to improve classification procedures for minimum security status. This could prevent potential Type A escapists from ever getting into minimum facilities in the first place. A second suggestion is that certain proactive measures, such as intensified counseling, be undertaken to reduce escapes by Type B and Type D escapists from minimum custody situations. Many of these persons, if they could come to grips with themselves during helping therapeutic relationships, would be less likely to attempt escapes. Even though these kinds of escapes pose minimal societal threat, they are still undesirable from a personal rehabilitative standpoint. Perhaps staffs of minimum security institutions could be bolstered with professional counselors skilled in the art of helping clients help themselves grow personally and become truly rehabilitated.

Of course, there will always be some escapes from minimum security, no matter how sophisticated classification procedures become, or how many good counselors are assigned there. Ultimate realistic goal in this regard must be to reduce the escape problem to one of minimal societal risk. As long as society is protected against criminal activity, risks may be taken, in order that the many beneficial, rehabilitative efforts of minimum custody facilities can continue, be improved upon, and expand.

C. It's recommended that liaison be developed with academic researchers who could pursue various investigative directions suggested in this paper and elsewhere. It's hoped that these researchers, many with grant support independent of the Division of Correctional Services, could thus pursue their efforts at minimal financial cost to the state. Some potential research departure points are:

1. An empirical validity test of the Escapee Typology proposed in Section I, this paper. An interesting sub-topic here would be study of the minimum security population, to see if a Type A-Type D dichotomy exists. It is easy to speculate that the "still at large" and "long time before apprehension" minimum security escapees are Type "A's" who schemed to obtain honor status, then took advantage of it. On the other hand, the "give ups" and "short time out" minimum inmates are probably "D's" who were led astray, didn't really want to escape, and pose little threat to society. As Marie Ryan has pointed out, apprehension mode may well be the key to escape behavior (Ryan, 1972).

The reason previous research has often proved fruitless may well be due to lack of typological groupings within the experimental population. For instance, this writer has proposed a Type A escapee who wants out, and a Type B, who wants in. Since escape motivation of each group is completely opposite, it could well be that personality characteristics of each group are as well. Thus research which lumped these two groups together into one experimental population would more than likely contain self-canceling errors which thus preclude discovery of statistically significant findings.

2. Development of a predictive scale that is more than an academic toy. Perhaps a series of demographic predictors could be developed to be used as a diagnostic instrument given during the Reception and

Diagnostic Center tenure of each new inmate. The variables suggested by Levy and Horn, Pantan, and Baker, et al. (California Escape - Proneness Scale) are known to have significant correlational merit, although in the latter two cases, not proven for Colorado. To these could be added for study the as yet wholly speculative variables proposed for study by this author.

3. Creation of a situational predictor-based escape scale. In conjunction with B, above, research is needed to first validate, then pragmatically apply, a series of before rather than after the fact predictors of escapism. This writer has suggested financial transaction frequency, indebtedness, behavioral reports of tension between inmates, trip planning behavior, unfavorable Commute Board or Parole Board hearings (leading to depression), and nearing of end of confinement (Type "B's" only) as possibilities. Perhaps there are others; only well-done methodologically sound research can tell. If such a procedure is developed, it could be combined with use of after-the-fact, demographic scales to really stop escapes. Thus may result an escape study that is a pragmatic, correctional tool in the yard, not a facilitator of academic discussion in the ivory tower.

C. A final recommendation concerns inmate trips. As contended elsewhere in this study, trips are the most escape potential environment of all. Several correctional professionals have told this writer that highly planned escapes, by prisoners later resuming lives of crime, resulted from outside the walls excursions. Until future research such as that proposed in the preceding paragraphs can shed more light on this, it is suggested that:

1. Advance notice of trips be reduced to the absolutely essential minimum. As far as possible, route and itinerary must be kept from the inmate. Past experience has shown that on some occasions, contact was achieved with outside accomplices who facilitated escape behavior.
2. Security measures be strengthened when appropriate. This applies both to accompanying CSP authorities, and often to others in whose jurisdictions many inmate trips also partially fall.
3. Liaison be developed with law enforcement agencies having capacity to provide escape prevention training seminars for designated CSP correctional officers. Possible interested agencies include the FBI, CBI, and Provost Marshal General's office.
4. It would not be wise to eliminate or drastically cut numbers of inmate trips, as these in many cases have great therapeutic or rehabilitative value. In a few cases, however, greater scrutiny might properly be given to inmate trip requests, and background information checked most closely. For example, it was alleged to this author that in one instance, a trip was planned solely for escape purposes. Basis of this contention was that the "sick" relative ostensibly to be visited had no serious medical or psychological illness, at least as far as later information seemed to indicate (Anon. Professional #2).

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