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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
THE ELECTRONIC MONITORING OF
NON-VIOLENT CONVICTED FELONS:
AN EXPERIMENT IN HOME DETENTION
(86-IJ-CX-0041)

by

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INTRODUCTION

In the field of corrections, the late 1980's can be characterized as a period of exploration and experimentation driven by crisis. Faced with fifteen years of unprecedented growth in prison populations, limited space, federal court orders, and projections of continued growth, public officials have been forced to review sentencing policies and consider alternative sanctions. The result has been the development of a variety of options which are being applied throughout the United States. This document presents the results of an evaluation of one of those options: a home detention program with offenders monitored either manually or electronically.

THE CORRECTIONAL CRISIS

In recent years correctional populations in the United States have demonstrated dramatic increases by almost every measure. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1989), at the end of 1988 there were 627,402 prisoners under state and federal correctional jurisdiction. This represented an increase of slightly over 90 percent since 1980. During this same time frame only seven states have held correctional growth below fifty percent, while eighteen states, the District of Columbia and the federal system more than doubled their correctional populations. Similarly, the incarceration rate per 100,000 residents has increased 76 percent, from 139 in 1980 to a record 244 in 1988.

Correctional authorities have had serious difficulty accommodating the large numbers of offenders sentenced to their custody. In order to meet classification criteria the generally accepted maximum occupancy rate is 90 percent. At the end of 1988 only five states could report correctional populations at or below 90 percent of their highest reported capacity.

Conversely, 31 states and the federal system exceeded their highest reported capacity. Overall, prison populations in the United States were 109 percent of the highest reported capacity at the end of 1988 (BJS 1989).

Throughout the decade the problem of prison populations has amounted to more than simply finding a few more beds. When occupancy exceeds capacity, classification systems, institutional programs and services break down. A study of chronically crowded institutions suggested that such conditions contributed to a host of negative behavioral consequences including health and disciplinary problems (McCain, Cox, and Paulus 1980). Although they have avoided defining crowding per se as unconstitutional, federal courts have consistently intervened on behalf of inmates because of conditions resulting from overcrowding. The magnitude of the problem is such that a 1983 survey concluded that "leaders of the criminal justice system agree that the most important issue facing them today is prison and jail overcrowding" (Gettinger 1984). While there are clearly other issues confronting criminal justice officials, overcrowding continues to be the dominant concern of correctional administrator.

THE SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVES

Some of the alternatives that have been considered focus on ways to expand or utilize traditional dispositions more "efficiently." Joan Petersilia (1987) has noted that the traditional options of building more cells and/or more extensive utilization of probation and parole are being employed, but are generally not acceptable. Put quite simply, prison and jail construction is too costly and time-consuming, while probation for felons fails to meet the punitive and public safety demands of the public (Petersilia 1987). Similarly, Blumstein (1987) has described several innovations adopted by various states. However, most of these involve adjusting the flow of prisoners such that they can be accommodated with existing prison capacity. Still other possibilities include privately contracting for the construction and operation of secure correctional facilities (e.g., Hackett et al. 1987).

The correctional crisis has also generated a renewed interest in community corrections programs through a confluence of interests between individuals who are charged with alleviating institutional crowding, private entrepreneurs, and the supporters of community programs. Thus, the current interest in community corrections differs somewhat from that in prior years. Community corrections programs are currently flourishing, not because they have been demonstrated to be less destructive of social ties, more humane, effective, or somehow "better," but because they have been redefined as punitive, inexpensive, safe, and secure alternatives to prisons and jails.

The result of this search for community alternatives has been a wide variety of programs directed toward various populations (see, McCarthy 1987; Petersilia 1987). The most prominent of these include intensive supervision programs (Pearson 1988; Erwin 1984), "boot camps" (Parent 1989), and home detention programs (Schmidt and Curtis 1987; Jolin 1987). This report focuses on an exploratory evaluation of a home detention program.

HOME DETENTION

Home detention appears under a wide variety of titles; is utilized in differing configurations; and, has been applied to several offender populations. Various authors refer to very similar programs by the terms home confinement (Hofer and Meierhoefer 1987), house arrest (Petersilia 1987), home detention (Baumer and Mendelsohn 1988), electronic surveillance (Jolin 1987), or electronic monitoring (Berry 1986). Others use these terms in various combinations, such as electronically monitored home confinement (Ford and Schmidt 1985) or home incarceration with electronic monitoring (Lilly, Ball, and Wright 1987). Some use these terms interchangeably while others have attempted to distinguish between them (Hofer and Meierhoefer 1987).

Home detention is also configured with a variety of other sentencing elements. Perhaps the most common of these arrangements involves home detention as an element of intensive supervision programs (Erwin 1984; Pearson 1988). In these programs the focus is on increased

levels of supervision by probation or parole officers, sometimes as frequent as daily; however, they also tend to involve home confinement as one element of the supervision. "Home detention" programs, on the other hand, almost by definition include more intensive supervision, but focus the programmatic attention on enforcing the restrictions. Still other program elements may include drug testing, weekends in secure facilities, and/or mandatory counseling.

Home detention programs have also been applied to offenders at differing stages of the criminal justice process. These include adult and juvenile offenders at the pretrial and post conviction stages. At the post conviction stage the offenders may be on probation, parole, or "prerelease" status. Like most community corrections programs, home detention populations tend to be limited to those charged with or convicted of nonviolent minor offenses, although some, like the Oklahoma "preparole" program, are generally available to prisoners qualifying for "preparole" status. These populations are often referred to as "low risk" offenders who "need" more supervision than simple probation, however, "risk" and "need" are seldom defined or evaluated independently of current charge and criminal history.

Much of the confusion generated by this variation can be clarified by distinguishing between the basic penalty and the method of monitoring compliance with that penalty. Offenders assigned to one of these programs as part of their sentence, are usually required to stay at home except for approved absences. Program rules about absences vary considerably, but generally include blanket approvals for employment, school, and court ordered treatment programs (e.g., AA). They may also include the possibility of passes for certain activities or as a reward for good behavior. At all other times the offender is supposed to remain at home. Friel, Vaughn, and del Carmen (1987) provide a summary of various program rules.

Once an offender has been ordered to stay at home, compliance with that order must be monitored in some way. Of course, the nature and extent of this monitoring may depend on the desired security, preferences of program officials, staffing and funding levels. At its most simple level, this can be accomplished manually through field visits and/or telephone contacts. Most

recently this task has been automated through the use of personal computers combined with other specialized equipment. These "electronic monitoring" systems are produced by a number of vendors (see any issue of the Journal of Offender Monitoring) and utilize a variety of technologies (Schmidt and Curtis 1987; Friel, Vaughn and del Carmen 1987).

DEVELOPMENT OF HOME DETENTION WITH ELECTRONIC MONITORING

The modern origins of home detention are difficult to pinpoint. Ball, Huff, and Lilly (1988) report that the earliest programs were developed in the 1970's for juvenile populations. In the early 1980's, as a result of the forces described earlier, several states such as Georgia, Florida, and New Jersey began to develop home detention programs either as a component of intensive supervision or as the primary disposition. These programs relied on comparatively labor intensive manual methods of monitoring compliance with the home detention order. Implementation was relatively simple for programs that were supposed to involve "intensive" supervision, but a freestanding program required special effort. This usually involved the equivalent of an intensive supervision program with designated probation or parole officers having responsibility for these offenders. While these early programs were thought to achieve some of the desired outcomes, their appeal and widespread application was limited by the requisite labor and uncertainty associated with trying to supervise a large number of offenders at home with manual methods.

In late 1984 the development of commercially available electronic monitoring equipment made home detention a much more attractive possibility for criminal justice agencies. While such equipment had been discussed and tested earlier, it was not generally available until this time (see Schmidt and Curtis 1987). Ball, Huff, and Lilly suggest that "the surge of interest in home incarceration of adults as an alternative to jailing or imprisonment has been closely associated with the development of this new technology" (1988, p. 36). From the practitioners'

perspective this equipment promised to reduce the cost of these programs and increase the certainty that the offenders were, indeed, at home.

The appeal of electronic monitors was fueled by at least two other features. First, was the prevailing confidence in the infallibility of modern technology. As Blomberg, Waldo, and Burcroff put it: "The perception is that this technology can solve a series of complex and interrelated problems associated with appropriate and effective offender supervision" (1987, p. 174).

Second, at least some of the interest was generated by the presence of vendors selling the virtues of their product: A sales pitch that promises a humane and foolproof way to reduce institutional populations, with no increased threat to public safety, and at a relatively low cost is extremely difficult to resist.

The result has been dramatic growth in the number of programs utilizing electronically monitored home detention. West Palm Beach, Florida is usually attributed as implementing the first full-fledged electronically monitored home detention program in December 1984 (Schmidt and Curtis 1987). By February 1987, a little over two years later, a survey conducted by the National Institute of Justice identified the presence of such programs in 33 states (Schmidt 1989). The most recent survey, conducted in February 1989, identified electronically monitored home detention programs in 39 states (Renzema 1989). While there is good reason to believe that these are conservative estimates, this only reinforces the point that such programs are experiencing dramatic growth.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The rapid development of electronically monitored home detention programs has occurred in the virtual absence of reliable information about the programs; or any of their components. Much of the early programmatic literature could best be described as "promotional" pieces (Palm Beach County 1987) that presented generally glowing uncritical accounts of individual programs. The early academic literature tended to focus on ethical and constitutional issues related to

these programs (del Carmen and Vaughn 1986; Berry 1985). Thus, the early development of most of the programs across the country were driven by a pressing need to "do something" and based on very little information.

More recently, a base of literature has begun to accumulate. Jolin (1987) conducted a nonexperimental evaluation of the Clackamas County, Oregon program. McCarthy (1987) edited a volume which includes five articles concerning electronically monitored home detention. Similarly, Ball, Huff, and Lilly (1988) published an entire book devoted to the issue. In addition, Petersilia (1987) has attempted to assess the existing literature and place it in context. These, and other, studies form a foundation of knowledge for this substantive area. What is now needed are reliable empirical studies of actual programs and further theoretical developments in the area.

Since 1986, The National Institute of Justice has encouraged methodologically sound studies in this area. Very early the agency funded a study of the field operation and characteristics of various electronic systems which, unfortunately, was never completed. In addition, it has provided funds for field experiments of home detention programs as applied to a variety of populations: juvenile burglars, pretrial detainees, probationers, offenders who would otherwise be assigned to a work release center, drug offenders and prison inmates on "preparole." This is the first report to be completed from those studies.

This research was designed as an exploratory study of home detention and alternative methods of monitoring compliance with a home detention order. The intent was to provide information about program delivery and to compare various program elements and outcomes when the offenders were monitored either manually or with the assistance of electronic monitors.

PROGRAM DESIGN

TARGET POPULATION

In Marion County, Indiana, home detention was designed as an alternative to prison or jail for offenders charged with suspendible nonviolent offenses. All offenders were assigned to the program as a condition of probation. One agency brochure described this component of the agency's programming as the ". . . confinement of the offender in their own home, as opposed to incarceration at the local or state level." Another agency document stated that the

"Community Correction Program is specifically designed for two types of non-violent offenders:

1. Emphasis is on the offender who may have been committed to the custody of the Department of Correction in the absence of this alternative;
2. Offenders who are considered 'high risk' and need the additional structure or supervision in the community, but in the absence of such a program, would be placed on a less structured form of probation."

The document went on to state that "eligible offenders are ones convicted of:

1. non-violent Class C & D suspendible felonies;
2. homicides/personal injury involving driving while intoxicated as a suspendible felony (AS LONG AS THERE ARE NO PRIOR CONVICTIONS FOR DRIVING WHILE INTOXICATED) (caps in original);
3. any misdemeanor."

The document also noted "exceptions or ineligibles" to the above such as juveniles or some drug and alcohol offenders, but then stated that home detention and the agency's jail program "are somewhat flexible, in that they may be able to make exceptions" to those excluded such as "offenders convicted of Burglary - Class B."

DELIVERY OF SERVICES

Contacts with Offenders

Agency policy on monitoring home detention specified that several types of "services" would be delivered to their clients. Manually monitored clients were to receive three to five personal contacts per week from a home detention officer. In addition, a minimum of one phone contact per day was to be made with each client. Initially, agency policy was that the contact would be made either by the home detention officer or a volunteer worker; however, the agency later phased out its volunteer program and required that all contact work be done by home detention officers.

Policy also required employment contacts to verify that employed clients were at work. The policy specified that when a client was first placed on home detention there would be one employment check per week. The frequency of the employment check would, after an unspecified period of time, be reduced to a bi-weekly contact should the client's behavior justify a lesser need for more frequent verification.

If the offender was involved in support programs such as drug and/or alcohol therapy, counseling or church activities, written verification of attendance from a responsible program person was required. A record of good behavior on home detention could reduce the requisite verifications to once a month.

Some offenders were to be monitored electronically through a "programmed contact" system, an "On-Guard" model leased from the Hitek Corp. The system was controlled by a microcomputer which generate telephone calls to the offenders. The offender was required to respond by answering the questions generated by the system and placing the "wristlet" in a unit attached to the telephone line in the home. The offender's answers were recorded on a cassette which was part of the system, as was the electronic code generated by the contact of the wristlet and home unit. The computer automatically validated the electronic signal and printed a one-line status report for each attempted contact.

Electronically monitored offenders were to receive an average of six random calls per day from the computer during the time they were scheduled to be home. The basic random call schedule was to be routinely changed every two weeks, with individual call schedules changed as needed. In addition, there was to be one personal contact per week. The plan envisioned that the personal contact would serve as a weekly physical check of the electronic equipment.

Electronically monitored offenders were to receive all the other services given manually monitored clients, i.e., employment checks and support programs, including verification of attendance.

Urine Tests

Urine tests were to be conducted each month. This requirement applied to all offenders on home detention, whatever the method of monitoring. The cost of the test program limited the number of tests to an average of twenty per month for the agency. The testing was to focus on newly admitted offenders and those with a history of abuse. This was not a system of random tests to be applied equally to all offenders.

Work Schedules, Passes and Errand Time

Policy required that all offenders on home detention file their work schedule with the agency each week. This was to be done by Friday of the previous week. Policy also permitted offenders to request time for errands each week. This allowed time to take care of necessities such as, haircuts, laundry, and visits to the doctor. The agency scheduled these four-hour blocks for three days each week, typically Tuesday, Thursday, and Sunday. Permission for errand time was controlled by the Home Detention Coordinator.

After the first sixty days on home detention, offenders could file a request for pass time to cover special needs, e.g., a wedding, a visit with family or friend. The request was to be in

writing and was to be filed a week in advance. Clients were eligible for one pass per month and the pass could be for as long as seventy-two hours.

Judges reserved the right to grant exceptions to the rules, including "vacation from home detention." The agency, in turn, referred special requests from clients to the judges.

Modification to Policy

By early 1987, the agency determined that an increasing caseload made it impossible to keep up with the contact schedule it had set out for the program. Further, it had decided that it was no longer appropriate to use volunteers to make telephone contacts for those being manually monitored. As of March 9, 1987, it formalized into policy ("Classifications for Home Detention") a set of field adaptations that had been made in the contact schedule. The changes were directed mainly at reducing the workload associated with those being manually monitored. From the agency's standpoint, manual monitoring was more labor intensive than electronic monitoring.

The policy established three major classes of clients and a level of contact for each class. Class I was titled "Intensive" and was to receive five contacts per week. Of the five weekly contacts, a minimum of two were to be face-to-face (three preferred) and the rest were to be made by phone.

Class II (titled "Moderate") clients were to receive three contacts per week. Two face-to-face contacts were the preferred standard, but a minimum of one was required. The remaining contacts were to be by phone.

Class III "Minimum" clients were to be checked once a week. Face-to-face contact was preferred, but two telephone calls could be substituted with administrative authorization. Electronically monitored offenders were placed in this category, which represented no change in policy or contact level for these clients.

All new cases, problem cases (e.g., pending violations) and those convicted on a current B or C felony charge and/or with an extensive criminal history were to be placed in Class I. Class II was to include those who successfully completed thirty days in Class I, the retired and disabled, and those with stable work histories. Class III offenders who had minor problems would be upgraded to Class II. In addition to those on electronic supervision, Class III was to include those with "demonstrated ability to comply," plus the nonviolent and nonserious offenders, and those with no substantial criminal history.

A Class IV was also created. This class included inactive cases where no regular contact was involved, but the offender's status was, in some instances, to be periodically checked. Those in a hospital or residential facility, jail, sought on a warrant, or on a court ordered vacation from home detention were so classified.

Violations

The agency also set up a system to deal with violations of its rules and procedures. Type A+ offenses included failure to return electronic equipment; possession, threat/use of a dangerous/deadly weapon; and, escape or absconding. All of the above were to result in termination from home detention.

Type A offenses included violation of drug and alcohol rules and being absent from home or work without authorization. Also included were violations of telephone rules (e.g., taking phone off the hook), use of an answering machine, and failure to submit to required tests (e.g., urine tests). Other listed offenses in this category were violations of court orders related to privileges and failure to check status of errand time and pass requests. Commission of any criminal offense as defined by the state code is also listed. Type A violations could result in a recommendation for revocation, pass restrictions or visitor restrictions.

The least serious category of violations (Type B) could result in pass or visitor restrictions. Lying to agency personnel or providing false information to staff, failure to keep scheduled

appointments for treatment (e.g., AA meeting) or required meetings with staff and violating the conditions of errand time or passes were included. Among other offenses in this category were refusing to obey a staff order, using abusive or obscene language, refusing to work and habitual rule violation.

Other than the most serious offenses, violations would first result in a warning. Next, an informal hearing might follow. The next step within the agency would be an administrative disciplinary hearing. Beyond the administrative hearing, the violation would be referred to the court.

"Staffing"

The bulk of the agency's clients were to be selected for admission to home detention as part of the presentence process in weekly meetings called staffings. At staffings, cases were to be reviewed to determine if the clients met the agency's eligibility criteria for admission to home detention and/or one of the agency's other programs, and whether they would benefit from the program. The meetings were typically chaired by the assistant director. Cases were scheduled for staffing by the probation officer in charge of presentence investigation. Separate recommendations were then submitted to the court by the agency and the probation department for the judge's review.

The realities of the criminal caseflow are such that in most cases clients were already selected for home detention by the time they reached this stage. The selection had been made by the prosecutor and the defense attorney when negotiating the plea agreement which typically included provisions for sentencing. This is illustrated by the fact that 74.0 percent of the offenders included in this study had their cases disposed of by a negotiated plea. Thus, in effect, the agency could reject clients infrequently, at best, though in some cases questions which arose in staffing were discussed with the prosecutor in charge of the case.

Intake

Once the case was formally disposed of by the court, the agency received a court order assigning the offender to home detention. In a relatively small number of cases, the individual was immediately referred to the agency for intake, but in the majority of cases the individual was scheduled for an intake appointment by the agency.

Intake was handled by the home detention coordinator. He explained the program to the offender and told the offender what method would be used to monitor compliance. The coordinator would review and explain program rules and answer any questions the offender might have about the program. Among other things, errand and pass policies and procedures were explained; prohibitions against drug and alcohol possession and use were reviewed; prohibitions on special telephone features, including call forwarding outlined; and limitations on visitors in the house explained.

If an electronic device was to be attached to the offender, it was done at this time. Further, if the offender was to take equipment home to install, the coordinator explained how this was to be done. A formal contract containing the rules and regulations was then signed and a copy given to the offender. The offender was then sent home and told to review the contract and to call the office. The call verified the offender was at home, and in the case of electronically monitored offenders it provided the opportunity for a test call to make certain the equipment was operating correctly. Further, the call also provided another opportunity to review program rules and answer any questions.

METHODS

Since electronic monitoring systems are relatively new to the correctional field, the research was designed to provide basic information about the details of program delivery, organizational

adjustment, client reactions to the supervisory techniques, and the nature of recorded violations and post disposition adjustment.

The basic elements of the research included:

- randomized placement into the two different monitoring methods;
- intake and exit interviews with offenders about their reactions to the program;
- collection of basic information about current and previous charges;
- detailed documentation of program delivery including data about recorded violations;
- field observations of the operation of the home detention program;
- a check of criminal histories one year after release.

The generous cooperative spirit of the major relevant actors, including the agency, the prosecutor and the judges, allowed the design to survive the experimental period essentially intact. Random assignment to the methods of monitoring was a programmatic decision in which the actors agreed to operate on the assumption of no difference in return for gaining accurate information about the program. The role of the research team was to keep the list of recommendations and supply placements on an "as needed" basis.

Early in the experiment random assignment to type of monitoring was made at a stage of the presentence processing of the offender. This procedure proved to be too early in the sentencing process and was abandoned. The assignment procedure used for the majority of the offenders was to make the assignment as the offender was ready to be placed on home detention.

Table 1 presents the results of randomization. A total of 199 offenders were recommended for placement and 77.4 percent (154) were placed as recommended and participated in the research. Of the remaining 45, 19 were not monitored as recommended, twenty-three received no home detention and three who were placed as recommended declined to participate in the research.

TABLE 1. Assignment to Methods of Monitoring (N=199)*

Assignment	Recommendation				Total	
	Manual		Programmed Contact		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
As Recommended	76	76.8	78	78.0	154	77.4
Not As Recommended**	23	23.2	22	22.0	45	22.6
Total	99	100.0	100	100.0	199	100.0

* Figures exclude individuals who were placed on continuously signaling equipment, which was later discontinued by the agency.

** Includes three who were supervised in recommended way, but declined participation in research.

The above figures suggest conformity to the randomization occurred at an acceptably high level. An analysis of the groups to determine their equivalence (the purpose of randomization) was conducted as a check. The groups were compared and found to be statistically equivalent on a number of characteristics, including gender, age, education, number of prior arrests. However, for current charge and charge of conviction, the manually monitored group was found to have significantly more individuals charged with or convicted of a felony charge of operating a motor vehicle while intoxicated. While there was no reason to suspect bias, a conservative analytic position was adopted and "felony charge of driving while intoxicated" was included as a covariate in the analysis.

RESULTS

OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

The mean age for all offenders in the study was 34.1 years. Eighty-seven percent of those in the study were males and 73.4 percent of the participants were white. Living arrangements were quite varied: 28.8 percent lived with parents; 19.0 percent lived with a roommate of the opposite sex; 21.6 percent with their spouse; 12.4 percent lived alone; and the remainder had some other arrangement.

Just under 71 percent were employed and their mean weekly income was slightly in excess of \$308 per week. The mean highest grade completed was 11 years, though 58.4 percent had either graduated from high school or earned a GED equivalent.

Criminal history data showed that participants had been previously charged a mean of 12.32 times and been involved in a mean 7.3 separate incidents. The mean age at first arrest was 20.57 years. They were charged with a mean of 3.1 offenses in connection with the current charge and, although the home detention program was initially designed for nonviolent first offenders, 64.9 percent of those in the study were currently charged with operating a motor

vehicle while intoxicated. As noted earlier, this was one of the two characteristics on which the two monitoring groups differed significantly.

CURRENT SENTENCE

All individuals had been sentenced to home detention as a condition of probation for periods ranging from 30 to 730 days. The mean home detention sentence length was 174.2 days, while the median was 180 days. The modal sentence length was also 180 days, with 59.5 percent of the offenders receiving this disposition. The average sentence length for the manually monitored offenders (179.9 days) was not significantly different from that of the electronically monitored group (168.7 days).

For most offenders home detention and probation were only part of their sentence. According to the court orders a substantial 44.2 percent of the offenders were supposed to receive some executed time in prison or jail. However, as it turns out court orders were such that this can best be interpreted as an upper bound of incarceration. The records indicate that 7.8 percent were sentenced directly to the Marion County Community Corrections Jail Program-- a program which emphasized services to incarcerated individuals. A residential treatment/work release center was ordered for 29.9 percent of the offenders. A weekend drug/alcohol treatment program was ordered for 14.9 percent of these individuals. Almost two-thirds (64.9 percent) had their driver's license suspended for some amount of time. Finally, court costs, probation fees, and restitution amounted to a median value of \$329.50--plus the home detention charge for the electronically monitored offenders. These fees ranged from no charge for two individuals to \$24,314 for one individual who was ordered to replace a very expensive automobile which he had destroyed in an accident.

Taken together all of these components, plus an average sentence of 174 days constituted a substantial penalty for these offenders. As a rough indicator, a simple count of the other custodial dispositions (executed time, jail program, work release, weekend program) was

conducted. Overall, only 34.4 percent of the offenders managed to avoid all four of these other possibilities. Multiple and sequential sentences were common, as is evident in the 27.9 percent who received two or three of the four other possibilities. A common sentence, often recommended by the prosecutor and/or the community corrections agency staff, was six months in the "jail program," six months in the work release center, and six months on home detention--a total of eighteen months. Thus, for almost two-thirds of the individuals home detention represented only one component of their sentence.

PROGRAM DELIVERY

Program Operation

Two sets of operational issues were apparent in this program. First, the program mission and the definition of the target population are best thought of as statements of the agency's aspirations since in reality they are operational defined in concert with others such as the prosecutor and judges.

Second, the acquisition of electronic monitoring systems requires skills that go beyond those needed in operating a manually monitored system. The agency found it difficult to integrate effectively the electronic technology, because it had neither an internal nor a readily available external knowledge base from which to draw. As a result, it learned the technology slowly and generally employed a manual technology to deal with exceptions to general rules, such as, last minute work schedule changes and times allowed out on errands and passes.

Monitoring Offenders -- Personal Contacts

According to program design standards, manually monitored offenders were to receive more personal contacts from program personnel than those who were electronically monitored. An analysis of official records showed that on the average offenders in the study received a mean of 1.76 personal telephone calls per week to their home. The manually monitored group

received a mean of 2.21 home calls per week as compared to 1.32 personal calls per week for those monitored electronically. This difference was significant when the DWI covariate was controlled. Overall, offenders in the program received a mean of 0.11 personal calls per week at their place work to verify work attendance. The manually monitored group received significantly more calls per week (0.18) than the electronically monitored group (0.05).

Adding the above two sets of contact figures showed that offenders received anywhere from zero calls (four individuals) to 13.1 calls per week. The mean was 1.87 and median was 1.52. Table 2 indicates that manually monitored offenders received an average of 2.39 total calls while the electronically monitored group 1.38 calls per week. The difference was significant when the covariate was controlled.

Program design standards also called for weekly home visits by agency personnel. The analysis of agency records (Table 2) showed that the manually monitored group received an average of 0.58 visits per week while the electronically monitored group received 0.38 per week. These differences were significant with the DWI covariate controlled.

Electronic Contacts

In addition to the personal contacts detailed above, offenders assigned to electronic monitoring were contacted on a daily basis by the system computer. The system employed by the agency required an active response from the offender. The data in Table 2 show that the system attempted to contact individuals in the program a mean of 30.17 times per week. The mean number of successful contacts per week was 15.82 while unsuccessful contacts averaged 14.35 per week. The ratio of successful to unsuccessful contacts is affected by the intensity of the supervision levels set by the agency, system maintenance (e.g., schedule updates), and the outcome of prior contacts (positive and negative).

Table 2. Summary of Offender Contacts

Weekly Contacts	Method of Monitoring	
	Manual	Electronic
Telephone Contacts (Mean)	2.39	1.38
Personal Contacts (Mean)	0.58	0.38
Electronic Contacts		
Successful	---	15.82
Unsuccessful	---	14.35
Total Weekly Contacts	2.97	31.93

Reasons for negative contacts were recorded by the system. First, the most common was "no answer" which amounted to a mean of 4.3 per week per offender. Besides unauthorized absences, this figure includes legitimate misses, i.e., the offender was on pass or errand time and the schedule was not modified. The next most common negative contact was "invalid communication" with a mean of 3.6 per week. These occurred when the computer detected some form of electronic code, but could not verify it as the one expected. Third, a mean of 2.2 busy signals were experienced per week. Busy signals are to be expected in a system which makes so many calls to individuals whose ability to leave home is restricted, even when they are instructed to limit phone use. Further, leaving the phone off the hook or having someone else in the home use the phone is an obvious ploy for an offender who wishes to leave for a short time. The fourth most common negative status was "hung up" with 1.5 per week. In general, these frequently occurred when the absences were approved by the agency e.g., on pass, but the schedule had not been modified.

The final status reported was "beeper called." This message indicated that the equipment was paging the home detention officer as per agency instructions. This feature was critical for program operation, since the system was basically unattended evenings, weekends and holidays. A mean 0.7 such contacts were generated per week. Fifty percent of the offenders generated no such contacts at all and 82.1 percent generated less than one per week.

Total Contacts

Table 2 also indicates, as planned, a substantial difference in total weekly contacts between the two methods of monitoring. An attempt was made to contact the manually monitored offenders an average of 3.97 times per week, while this figure was 31.97 times per week for the electronically monitored group. This difference represents a factor of approximately eight between the two approaches.

Monitoring--Offender Perceptions

In the exit interviews offenders were asked to estimate how many times per week they received personal calls and visits while on home detention. The manually monitored group recalled an average of 5.04 telephone calls per week and 1.23 visits per week. Electronically monitored offenders recalled 1.79 calls and 0.62 visits per week. In both instances, the differences were statistically significant. The composite measure of perceived total personal contacts also showed that the manually monitored offenders recalled a significantly higher level of contact than those monitored electronically. Comparatively, the reported rate of contact is approximately twice the rate of contact recorded in the agency records.

Errand and Pass Time

The program allowed individuals to request four-hour blocks of time on specified days of the week to take care of routine errands. Approximately two-thirds (63.4%) of the offenders made no requests for errand time. Offenders submitted on the average 2.6 requests and the agency approved a mean of 2.3 such requests. On the average, manually monitored offenders were granted slightly more errand times per month than those electronically monitored, but the difference was not significant.

In addition to errand requests, the program allowed offenders to request passes for specific purposes, within certain limitations. Overall, 41.8 percent requested a pass and 39.6 percent received at least one. While manually monitored offenders received slightly more passes than those on electronic monitoring, the difference was not significant.

Urine Tests

The program also contained a provision for urine testing of offenders to detect drugs. Testing was to be done on a suspicion basis and was intended to be more intensive early in the

offender's term on home detention. The cost of the program was such that testing was severely limited.

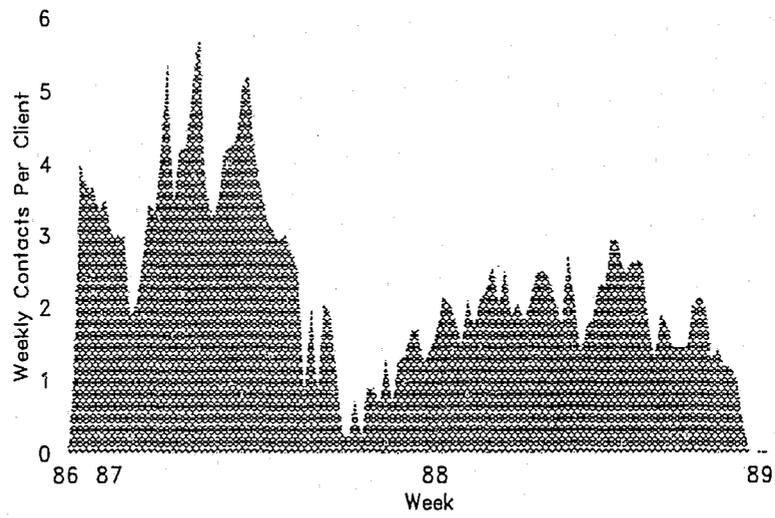
Overall, 74.3 percent received no test; 19.7 percent received one; and, 5.9 percent received two drug tests. Though the mean number of tests given the manually monitored offender (0.41) was higher than the mean number given to the electronic group (0.23), the difference was not significant. It is worth noting that the felony DWI offenders were no more likely to be tested than those charged with other offenses.

Of the thirty-nine tested, 29 (74.4%) tested positive. Five tested positive for cocaine and 25 for THC, while only one tested positive for alcohol. Based on offender interviews, we are inclined to believe that the results are best viewed as confirmation of the accuracy of the suspicions of agency personnel. Also, the virtual lack of positive results for alcohol in a population with a high percentage of alcohol offenders may well be a function of the way in which the tests were administered.

Method of Monitoring and Consistency

All programs must face the problem of consistency in the delivery of program elements. Figure 1 indicates that in the case of a manually monitored home detention program, this is a critical problem. Because the contacts with the offender are entirely personnel dependent, any personnel problems such as illness or turnover tend to reduce the contact levels as occurred in the present case. While an electronically monitored program is primarily dependent on a computer, failures can usually be corrected quickly. In addition, when the computer is working it is very consistent in making the appropriate number of calls to each client.

Figure 1. Total Personal Contacts
Per Client Per Week: Manual Monitoring



OFFENDER PERFORMANCE AND AGENCY RESPONSES

Fees, Equity and Exit

Throughout the course of the evaluation, those on electronic monitoring were required to pay a fee of \$4 a day, and all offenders were required to pay an initial \$25 program fee. Later, the daily fee was extended to those manually monitored as well. Failure to pay could result in revocation of probation.

The agency was committed to the policy that no one should be excluded simply for inability to pay. Those declared indigent by the court were not required to pay and initially the agency, through the home detention coordinator, would effectively declare others indigent if the fee was a burden. Later, the agency abandoned its internal procedure in favor of asking the court to order "no payment" when the agency thought it appropriate. Technically, full payment of fees was required at discharge, but in some cases partial payment was accepted and in others the offender informally agreed to continue making payments.

Seventy-two and six tenths percent (72.6%) of the offenders had made full payment at discharge. The median payment at the time of discharge amounted to \$420. The remaining individuals owed between \$8 and \$692 at discharge. Operationally, for this program, failure to pay was not sufficient reason for seeking a violated exit from the program through the court. For example, half of the twenty-six who owed fees were classified as violated exits (unsuccessful completions), but only three of these were violated explicitly for this reason. The other thirteen were successfully discharged though they owed a mean amount of \$260.

Disciplinary Actions

Disciplinary action by an agency is a measure of officially recognized offender misbehavior. It excludes those actions not considered serious enough to penalize and those actions unnoticed by officials. Two levels of action were recorded by the agency: informal hearings for

minor violations and court violation hearings reserved for serious violations where removal from the program was a possibility.

For the study population, 58.8 percent had no informal sanction reports in their file, while the remaining 41.2 percent had at least one report recorded. Approximately one-fifth (20.3%) of the population received court violation hearings for misbehavior, and none received more than one such hearing. There were no significant differences between the two monitoring groups; however, felony DWI offenders did have significantly fewer court violation hearings.

New Arrests

An arrest while on home detention is another official measure of misbehavior. Almost all those in the study (95.4%) succeeded in completing home detention without having a new arrest recorded in the files. Five offenders (3.3%) were arrested once and two (1.3%) were arrested twice. The charges varied considerably; however, there were no alcohol related charges despite the fact that about 65 percent of those in the study were convicted of a felony DWI. There was no difference by type of monitoring, nor was there a difference between those charged with a felony DWI and those charged with something other than felony DWI. Of the seven arrested, six were monitored manually, five were charged with something other than felony DWI, and four were both non-DWI and manually monitored.

Sneaking Out

In the exit interviews 43.7 percent of the offenders reported unauthorized absences. Although more in the manually monitored group reported an absence (47%) than the electronically monitored (40%), the difference was not significant. About fifty-seven percent (56.9%) of those who reported going out said they did so only once or twice, though one individual estimated he did so 72 times.

For those who went out, the mean was 1.56 absences per month and the median was .5 absences per month. The manually monitored offenders reported slightly more absences per month than the electronically monitored; however, the difference was not significant.

Program Completion

Program completion is another official measure of offender behavior. As with all such official measures of misbehavior, it is a joint product of what offenders do and what the agency does or does not do. The mean length of time served was 153.79 days for all offenders. Figure 2 shows that eighty-one percent of the offenders successfully completed the program. Of the 29 individuals who were violated, 11 were violated for "curfew violation", while nine were violated for a positive urine test for something other than alcohol. Both time served and the probability of successful program completion were unaffected by method of monitoring. Those charged with felony DWI were more likely to successfully complete the program than those charged with other offenses, and as a result, also served significantly longer home detention sentences.

REACTIONS TO THE ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT

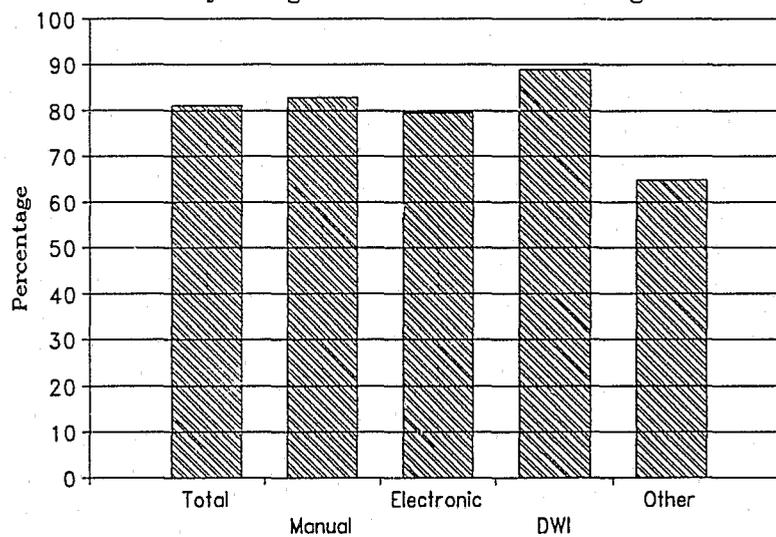
Equipment Failures

In the exit interview offenders were asked if they "had any trouble with the equipment breaking or just not working right?" Approximately a quarter (26.4%) reported they had problems. There was no significant difference between those charged with felony DWI and those charged with something else. The problems reported ranged from personal telephone failures through inability to follow directions for operating the equipment.

Wearing a Device—Comfort and Discomfort

Offenders were asked a series of questions about the device they were required to wear. Originally the device had to be worn on the wrist. Equipment modifications later made it

Figure 2. Successful Program Completion
by Charge and Method of Monitoring



possible to wear the device either on the wrist or the ankle, whichever the offender preferred. Most seemed to prefer the ankle when given the choice.

Overall, 44.4 percent reported they suffered some discomfort. They were also asked if the device caused problems for them: only 23.6 percent said it did. When asked if the device bothered them or interfered with activities, 23.6 percent said it did. They were also asked if they thought people noticed the device and approximately 60 percent said they thought it had been noticed. There were no significant differences by charge on any of these items.

For the most part the problems reported were all minor, however, there were two cases in the which the skin irritations were severe enough to be considered serious. In one case the offender did not report the problem because he thought it was part of the punishment. These serious cases suggest that program administrators should be careful about dismissing all such complaints as simple gripes. For example, those handling solvents may encounter serious problems when a device is worn on the wrist. The agency needs to be prepared to distinguish between serious cases and those instances in which offenders create a problem in order to avoid wearing a device.

Reactions to the perceived visibility of the equipment varied. Some were embarrassed and tried various means to conceal the device or explain it away. Others claimed it made no difference to them, though some became tired of explaining what it was. Offender comments suggested that social class and the extent to which one's occupation involves contact with the public may be factors. Offender comments also suggest the device has symbolic significance. One black offender described it as a form of "branding." For some it was a crutch which provided a face saving excuse to avoid an activity which would get them into trouble.

COMPARISON OF CLIENT REACTIONS TO MANUAL AND ELECTRONIC SYSTEMS

Home Detention Difficulty

When asked if staying home was easy or hard, there was no significant difference by type of monitoring, although those on the manual system were more likely to say it was very easy or easy (60%) than those on the electronic system (46.2%). When asked to rate time on home detention on a ten point scale (1 = easy time, 10 = hard time), the mean rating overall was 5.36. While the manually monitored group had a slightly lower mean rating (5.10) than the electronically monitored offenders (5.63) the difference was not statistically significant.

Life on Home Detention

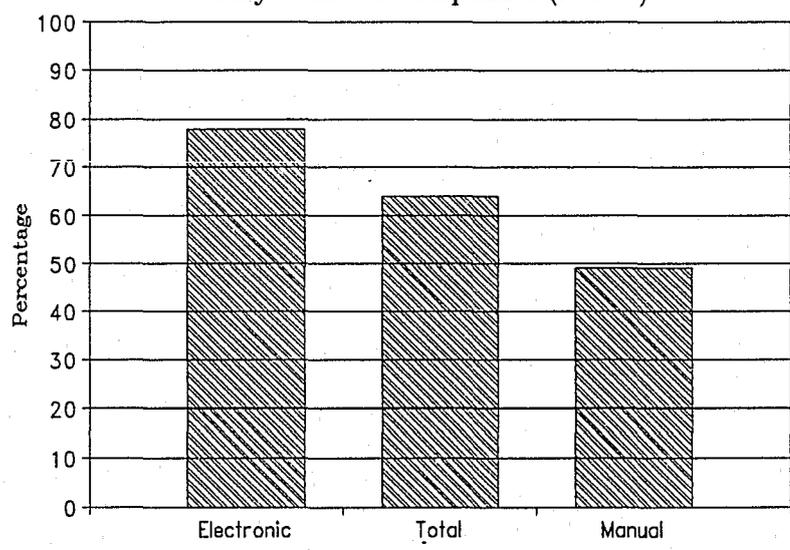
Approximately half the offenders reported home detention caused big changes in their lives. This was unaffected by the type of monitoring. Work and family related changes were most often cited. Many offenders indicated they were absent from work less often than had been the case before home detention. Indeed, many offenders worked overtime or took a second job in order to be out of the house for longer periods of time.

Three quarters (75.9%) reported the people they lived with thought home detention was a good idea. Manually monitored offenders were more likely to report this (86.4%) about their housemates than the electronically monitored group (64.2%); the difference was significant. Figure 3 indicates that the electronically monitored offenders were also significantly more likely to report that their housemates were upset or complained about home detention or some part of it than the manually monitored group (78.0% to 49.1%).

Getting Caught

Offenders were asked what they thought the chances were of getting caught "if somebody on home detention goes out when they are aren't suppose to." Overall, 42.9 percent it was very

Figure 3. Percent Reporting That Other Family Members Complained (N=114)



likely they would be caught, 8.6 percent reported it was not at all likely. There was no significant difference by type of monitoring.

Offender Recommendations

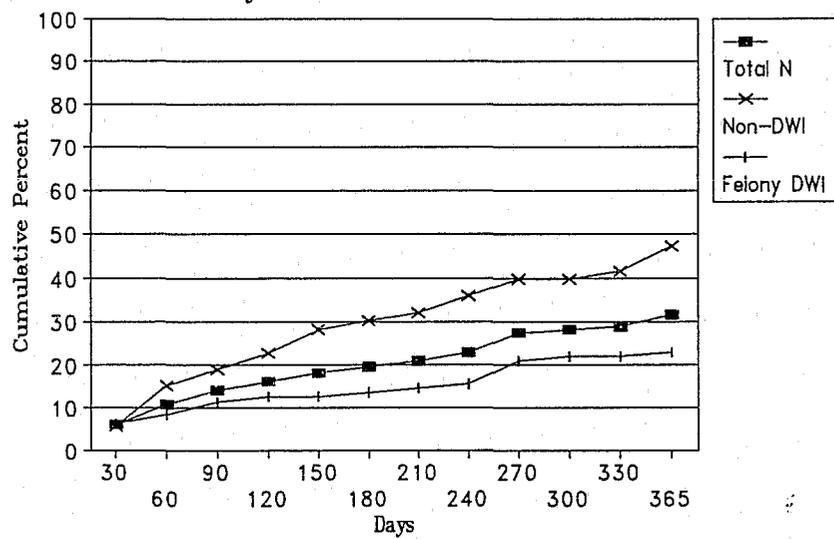
When asked if they would recommend home detention to "somebody in your situation," 83.1 percent said yes. The manually monitored offenders were nearly unanimous (94.0%) in saying they would recommend it to another. Significantly fewer of the electronically monitored offenders said yes, but they were still quite positive in their response (72.5%).

The positive response of offenders to home detention goes beyond the fact that most said it was "better than jail." While they had their complaints, and some said they would never do it again, many indicated the structure forced on them by home detention was beneficial, i.e., something they needed.

POST-RELEASE ADJUSTMENT

Overall, 27.5 percent of the offenders were arrested within one year of release from the program. The median time to arrest was 116 days. For those who were arrested, the charges were predominately for nonviolent offenses, with over 60 percent for traffic or alcohol related offenses. Neither the method of monitoring nor the initial charge was significantly related to subsequent arrest. Similarly, the method of monitoring had no significant effect on total contacts with the criminal justice system. Figure 4 presents the cumulative percent who were arrested, violated from probation, or had a warrant issued in their name, by days from release from the home detention program. Overall, 31.5 percent of the offenders had any contact with the system within this time frame. Those offenders who were initially charged with felony DWI were significantly less likely to have any contact with the criminal justice system during the one year time frame. Of the offenders who were initially charged with felony DWI, 22.9 percent were

Figure 4. Cumulative Percent With Any Criminal Contact--One Year



arrested within one year, while 47.2 percent of the remaining non-felony DWI offenders were arrested during this length of time.

CONCLUSIONS

Program Operation

Our results and conclusions about program implementation and operation are qualitative different than those for other parts of this study. This study was designed to compare methods of monitoring and document agency and client performance at various stages of the program. As such, our conclusions in this area are primarily the result of a case study. We attempt below to limit our comments to those findings which we believe are generally applicable to other programs.

At the most general level home detention programs, however monitored, are neither a panacea nor a "magic bullet" for criminal justice agencies. They require considerable time, effort, and organization. If the program is to utilize electronic monitors, the realities of the situation are even further removed from such expectations. While electronic equipment does automate contacts with clients, and therefore, tends to provide a more balanced, consistent, and randomized set of contacts, it also may create other hurdles. These include: technology shock, information overload, unanticipated computer "programming" time, and extra time tracing and verifying "negative" contacts. In sum, the electronic monitors do relieve some of the burden of field contacts, but also create a large amount of technically oriented office work. It is likely that an agency without a computer knowledge base, as the agency was, will encounter more difficulties in integrating and exploiting the technology of electronic monitoring systems that one with such base.

This research also reinforced the importance of careful program planning. Correctional agencies have chronic problems defining and controlling the nature of the target population, and

home detention programs are no exception. If the current case is typical, the target population is defined by the composite decisions of the prosecutors and judges, with perhaps, some advice or guidance from the community corrections agency. Also included in the planning phase is the issue of program definition: Exactly how secure should the program be, what level of surveillance is to be maintained, and how are violations to be handled.

At the operational level there are also a host of issues to be confronted concerning the target population. Typically, correctional populations are not very traditional in either work habits or lifestyle. This study revealed that home detention could direct both of these areas toward more traditional paths--at least while the clients were in the program. On the other hand, people who work two jobs, can claim considerable overtime, or those who are "on call" create special problems for home detention programs. It has long been noted that home detention programs, exclude people without stable residence, and they also tend to exclude those without telephones; however, there are other problems to be considered on a programmatic basis. First, the tendency to charge for services rendered can create problems. Second, a substantial number of offenders will have nontraditional work schedules. Third, the realities of life require absences from home for activities such as purchasing groceries, general shopping (e.g., clothes), and visits to physicians. Other desired absences which were a source of friction included school and recreational activities for children, as well as regular contacts with members of the clients' families.

Program Delivery

Full and consistent program delivery is such a chronic problem that Rossi and Freeman (1982) have suggested that it may be the primary source of failure to show impact. This research found that it is very difficult to maintain high levels of personal contact with offenders placed on home detention. The manually monitored offenders were supposed to--and did--receive more intensive personal contacts. However, the level was slightly less than one contact

per day, and was fully dependent on agency staffing levels. The electronic equipment, through its persistent and relentless attempts to meet programmed levels of contact, provided considerably more intensive and consistent levels of attempted contact with the offenders.

The mix of call dispositions for electronic system contacts reflects more than simply the behavior of the offenders. This study revealed that almost one-half of the attempted contacts made by the electronic equipment were "negative." However, the interpretation of such a finding is considerably more complicated than a simple finding that the offenders were absent. The number of negative contacts generated by an electronic system is also affected by the type of system, software characteristics, and agency policies and procedures. In the present study, all of these contributed to high rates of negative attempts.

On the other hand, the individuals on home detention believed that they were being supervised more closely than the program records indicated. This was true for both personal contacts and computer generated contacts, although the effect was more pronounced for the former. This suggests that it may be possible to structure contacts with clients in such a way that less effort produces more supervision with little impact on effectiveness.

Offender Performance

Noncompliance with the extensive rules associated with home detention (or intensive supervision) programs is a persistent problem. In the program studied, there were very few serious behavioral problems, such as arrests, identified by the agency while the offenders were under supervision. However, almost 44 % of the offenders reported unauthorized absences, and nearly as many (41 percent) logged at least one informal sanction report. Neither of these measures was affected by the method of monitoring, but offenders charged with felony driving while intoxicated were less likely to have recorded a formal court violation hearings. Given the greater intensity of supervision provided by the electronic monitoring, one might expect significantly higher reported compliance or higher levels of disciplinary hearings.

Program success rates are much like arrest rates--a product of both offender behavior and organizational decisions. Overall, 81 percent of the offenders in this program successfully completed the home detention part of their sentence, with the remaining 19 percent removed from the program for violations. Given the same levels of offender behavior, different agencies or organizations may be expected to produce drastically differing success rates. No difference in this success rate was recorded between the two methods of monitoring, but those offenders initially charged with felony driving while intoxicated were significantly more likely to complete the program successfully. Combined with the above finding about disciplinary hearings, it may be concluded tentatively that the offenders charged with felony driving while intoxicated presented fewer behavioral problems, as perceived by the agency, than individuals charged with other offenses.

Client Reactions

The electronically monitored offenders were asked about the equipment at both intake and release. While they reported a mixture of problems and complaints, two areas stand out. First, the equipment caused some degree of physical discomfort for a minority of clients. Some offenders simply claimed that the bracelet was uncomfortable while others claimed it interfered with their work. For those individuals who worked with machinery, the agency offered to place the unit on their ankle to avoid any hazard. A few offenders developed skin irritations of varying seriousness. Agencies need to be prepared to distinguish between actual problems, and problems induced by clients to avoid wearing a device.

The second area of notable complaints concerned the visibility of the unit attached to the offender. Approximately 60 percent of the electronically monitored offenders reported that others noticed the unit attached to their arm or leg. A large number tried to conceal the equipment under a sleeve or sweat band. Many individuals, embarrassed by the inquiries, found it necessary to lie (e.g., "Grace Jones jewelry", "medical device") while others had to "fess up" to

friends or associates. Such "visible marks" carry the punishment beyond simply staying home and out of trouble. On the other hand, some offenders reported that they used the unit as an excuse to avoid the behavior that got them in trouble in the first place. Community corrections agencies need to consider the extent to which a visible mark of punishment is desired or intended, and the conditions under which it may produce a positive result.

The researchers observed both positive and negative consequences for the offenders' lives. Perhaps the most serious of the problems involved interpersonal conflict and complaints from people who shared the home environment, but these involved a minority of the respondents. On balance, considerably more positive effects were observed than negative. These focused on personal life, family relationships, and job performance. For a good number of individuals, the structure imposed by home detention, however monitored, produced desirable results from the offenders' perspective: They had a chance to "dry out" and review their life; got to know their family again; and worked more often while they were being monitored.

The offender interviews marked this home detention program clearly as an intermediate sanction. Perhaps the most common spontaneous comment offered during the interviews was that home detention is "better than jail." This, of course, reflected the fact that the program was intended to be an alternative to incarceration and a considerable number had been threatened with extensive executed time. Home detention was, indeed, "better than jail," but the clients found home detention to be moderately difficult and demanding. In some sense this combination of positive impact on lives combined with the punitive aspects associated with behavioral restrictions identified the program squarely as an intermediate community alternative.

Post-Release Adjustment

A substantial number of the offenders in this program recorded negative contacts with the criminal justice system within one year of release. A little over one-fourth (27.5%) were arrested within this time frame, while 31.5 percent logged an arrest, warrant, or probation violation. For

those who were arrested, the dominant charge continued to be alcohol or driving related with only four of the 110 charges for violent offenses. This suggests that, at least for the minority who were arrested, the supervision and stability provided by the program did not resolve the underlying problems. Perhaps programs with similar populations should consider a larger treatment component than was present for the program studied here, or more attention to preparing the offenders for the transition to unsupervised living.

There appeared to be a post release adjustment problem for some offenders. One-half of all the arrests recorded within this year occurred within 121 days of release. Put another way, one-half of the arrests occurred during the first one-third of the year. This suggests the presence of an adjustment problem for some individuals. At the extreme, two individuals managed to get arrested on the same day they were released from the program--perhaps celebrating. It is possible that some form of graduated release or aftercare might reduce, or postpone, the number of subsequent arrests.

BRIEF CONCLUSIONS

Method of Monitoring

- Overall, the methods of monitoring demonstrated few differences in offender performance, either during the program or after release.
- The quality of the information recorded by electronic equipment, and the ability to utilize it effectively, depend upon both the characteristics of the system and the organizational capabilities of the agency.
- When properly operated and maintained, electronic monitoring equipment helps provide more intensive and consistent supervision of offenders.
- To be operated effectively, an electronic monitoring system and a manual system require entirely different skills and organizational arrangements.

Home Detention

- The incapacitation provided by a home detention program is voluntary; the extent and nature of violations are dependent upon the clientele and flexibility of program rules.

- To the extent that the purpose of the program is rehabilitative, it is important to allow time for the necessities of life and family obligations.
- While they are being monitored, home detention stabilizes the lifestyle of many offenders.

Offender Reactions

- A substantial minority of the offenders with electronic monitors reported some discomfort and/or interference with their activities, but the problems reported were minor.
- The method of monitoring had a significant impact on the reactions of family members with the families of electronically monitored offenders significantly more likely to think home detention was a "bad idea" and to be upset with or complain about home detention.
- A sizable majority of offenders would recommend home detention to others in a similar situation, but significantly fewer, though still a sizeable majority, electronically monitored individuals would do so.

Offenders Charged With Felony Driving While Intoxicated

- In general, offenders who were initially charged with felony driving while intoxicated performed better in the program, were more likely to complete the sentence successfully, and were less likely to experience any contact with the criminal justice system within one year of release than were offenders charged with other offenses.

Post-Release Adjustment

- The method of monitoring did not affect the probability of an arrest or subsequent contact with the criminal justice system within one year of release.
- The timing of post-release arrests indicated an immediate adjustment problem for some offenders that might be moderated by graduated release or immediate aftercare.

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