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**The Home Confinement Program:
An Appraisal of the Electronic Monitoring of Offenders
in Washtenaw County, Michigan**

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Abstract

The Michigan Department of Corrections conducted a six month pilot project in Washtenaw County to determine the feasibility of using electronic monitoring as an alternative to incarceration. The specific objectives of the project were to determine (1) whether the electronic monitoring equipment technically functioned as claimed, (2) whether there were sufficient numbers of appropriate participants for placement on home confinement, (3) whether diversion from prison occurred, (4) the level of compliance and/or violation of participants in the program, (5) technical problems associated with the use of the monitoring equipment which should influence program design and organization, if the program is to be expanded, and (6) whether selected offenders could be safely supervised in the community with electronic monitoring.

Twelve offenders, for whom the agent and the sentencing guidelines recommended twelve or more months of prison, were placed on a delayed sentence and ordered to participate in the pilot project as an alternative to prison after it had been determined that the offenders were willing to participate in the project. These were nonassaultive property offenders who had no pending escape charge, no history of dealing drugs, and no pattern of flight behavior.

The original plan had been to pilot in Washtenaw County only, but when it became clear that 20 offenders would not be identified before August 30, 1986 to participate in the program, out-county cases were recruited. A total of 14 offenders were monitored in the adjacent counties of Lenawee, Livingston, and Monroe.

Participants were required to: (1) observe a curfew, (2) maintain or seek employment, attend training, and/or attend or obtain required treatment services, (3) maintain electric and compatible telephone services at home, (4) not attempt to remove or tamper with the monitoring equipment, (5) report to the probation agent any malfunction in the monitoring equipment, (6) respond to telephone calls to verify that he or she is at home, and (7) report in-person to the probation office once a week as directed for visual inspection of the transmitter. The minimum supervision standards for inmates in Michigan's community residential programs were used for the home confinement participants.

During the pilot, the participants were restricted to their residence when not at work, school, training or treatment. Generally, curfew hours were the evening hours during the week with twenty-four hour confinement during weekends. Corrections Officers located in the Romulus Community Corrections Center, which services Washtenaw County, monitored the computer and implemented the alarm procedures from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. Tuesday through Thursday and from 4:00 p.m. Friday until 6:00 a.m. Monday.

Offenders were reviewed for termination from the program when: (1) they failed to adhere to the conditions of the program, (2) there was a 30 minute curfew violation for which there were no extenuating circumstances, (3) they were arrested for a new offense, (4) they were found to be out of place without a reasonable explanation, (5) they failed to comply with the general conditions of the Delay of Sentence Order, and (6) their overall adjustment failed to prove to the court that they were deserving of probation or leniency. Following completion of the home confinement program, participants were sentenced or remained on the delay order. An evaluation of the offender's overall adjustment while in the program and under the delayed sentence was made to form the basis for the sentencing recommendation.

A continuously signaling system with a tamper alert mechanism was used to monitor the offenders. This active system provided a high level of surveillance, transmitter and receiver tamper alerts, and automatic hard copy alerts of critical conditions. This equipment was field tested for twelve months prior to the implementation of the pilot project.

The pilot project was conducted from April 18, 1986 until October 18, 1986. The reliability of the equipment improved during the pilot. There were fewer types of equipment problems and fewer equipment failures.

There were 517 offenders sentenced in Washtenaw County during the pilot. Less than 9% of the 169 prison bound offenders were selected for the program. A review of the jail dispositions indicated that 19 additional offenders may have been reviewed for participation in the program, if jail diversions had also been considered.

Participants may have been "lighter weight" prison commitments. Participants had fewer prior adult probations, prison terms, and jail terms than nonparticipants.

Of the 26 offenders who participated in the program, seven offenders were in Lenawee County, one offender was in Livingston County, six offenders were in Monroe County, and 12 offenders were in Washtenaw County. In Washtenaw County, eight offenders successfully completed the program, two were terminated because of technical violations, one had not completed the home confinement period, and one had not started the home confinement period. For the out-county participants, three successfully completed the program, three were terminated for technical violations, two were terminated for admission to inpatient drug treatment programs, and seven had not completed the home confinement period.

It was concluded that the offenders selected for this project were safely supervised in the community, because there were no new felony charges for program participants and almost half of the Washtenaw county offenders were described as having performed better than expected.

Recommendations were developed for modifications to the programming and the hardware. It was also recommended that technical support

personnel were needed to assist program personnel in the design, implementation, and monitoring of the electronic monitoring program. This position would be responsible for designing, implementing, monitoring, controlling, and revising procedures to assure the effective use of electronic monitoring within each region.

The agents who supervised the participants were generally positive towards the project. Some of the corrections officers, who monitored the computer, objected to working with the computer, probationers and offenders on delayed sentences, and to using electronic monitoring as an alternative to incarceration.

Although the participants in the project were not randomly selected and the sample was very small, it was concluded that electronic monitoring of felons is feasible. The offenders selected for the project were prison bound felons who had been safely supervised in the community. There were no new felony charges for participants in the program, and almost half of the Washtenaw County offenders were described as having performed better than expected while in the program.

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**The Home Confinement Program:
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in Washtenaw County, Michigan**

The State of Michigan has had a crowding problem in its facilities since 1975. Legislation was enacted and became effective in 1981 to assure that the prison population would not exceed prison capacity by reducing the length of a prisoner's stay. This legislation relieved the pressure of crowding for approximately two and a half years until a continued increase in the commitment rate and sentence lengths resulted in conditions which exceeded the potential for relief provided by that legislation.

Subsequently, the legislature provided funds for the construction of new facilities which would increase prison capacity in Michigan by approximately 9,000 new beds by the year 1990. Current analyses, however, indicate that the increased bed space will not keep pace with projected intake levels. Hence continued crowding, the cost of new construction, and increased operating costs from the expansion of the Michigan correctional system are expected to continue the pressure to look for alternatives to incarceration.

Therefore, the Michigan Department of Corrections implemented a pilot project in Washtenaw County to evaluate the use of electronic monitoring of offenders as an alternative to incarceration, because experiences with electronic monitoring in other jurisdictions had indicated that electronic monitoring could be a cost effective alternative to incarceration. However, few jurisdictions had placed felony offenders on the equipment, and there was no experience with the continuous signaling equipment with the tamper alert mechanism. The following report summarizes the issues related to the use and design of an electronic monitoring program; the purpose, design, and outcome of the Washtenaw County pilot project; information about the equipment used during the pilot, and information about the current enhanced system which replaced the system used for the pilot.

The Technology of Electronic Monitoring

Telemetry is the science and technology of the automatic measurement and transmission of data by wire, radio, or other means from remote sources to a receiving station for recording and analysis. Telemetric systems have been used to study animals in inaccessible environments and to provide long-range, day-to-day continuous

observation and control of monitored subjects. These systems typically utilize a small electronic device which transmits a radio signal and which is attached to the animal externally or internally.

The signal is used to obtain information about the location and/or physiological state of the subject. The first report of the use of telemetry to monitor a person was of a small experimental portable transmitter which was being developed to facilitate the quick location and rescue of a person subject to emergency medical conditions (Ingraham and Smith, 1972). The developer of this prototype also recognized its potential utility for monitoring offenders.

Subsequently, two monitoring systems were independently developed for monitoring offenders. These systems were used to restrict sentenced offenders to their residence as an alternative to incarceration.

The first was developed by Michael Goss for use in Albuquerque, New Mexico in 1983. Five offenders were monitored using this system and an unpublished appraisal (Schmidt, 1985) of that experience concluded that the electronic monitoring of offenders was technically feasible, legally tenable, and cost effective as an alternative to incarceration.

The second system was developed by Thomas Moody for use in Key Largo, Florida. Twelve offenders were monitored over a six-month period in Monroe County with similar success to that obtained in New Mexico.

In 1985, there were four monitoring systems being marketed, three active monitoring systems and one passive monitoring system. The difference between the active and passive systems was the level of surveillance provided and the amount of offender contact required for communications with the host computer. The active monitoring systems provided a higher level of surveillance with continuously signaling devices and communication devices which initiated contacts with the host computer without offender participation. The passive monitoring system provided a lower level of surveillance with computer generated, random, intermittent telephone calls which required a verbal and physical response from the offender during restricted periods.

Active Systems. The active systems consisted of a transmitter, a receiver-dialer, and a computer with peripherals (see Figure 1). The small transmitters were attached to the ankle, arm, or around the neck and emitted encoded signals at specific intervals. The range of the signal generated by the transmitter varied depending upon the design of the system and/or where the transmitter was attached.

The receiver-dialers were tuned to detect the signal of a specific transmitter and communicated with the host computer at prescribed times. The various systems differed in the frequency and timing of these communications and other capabilities which could be programmed to reside in the receiver-dialer (e.g., information storage and power source backup capabilities if power and/or phone circuits were interrupted).

The host computer, its software, and peripherals controlled, stored, evaluated and reported information received via telephone lines from the receiver-dialer. Each system has software which supports the analysis of incoming data and the generation of reports. Hence the systems also differed in the design of the established databases, report generation procedures, report types and formats.

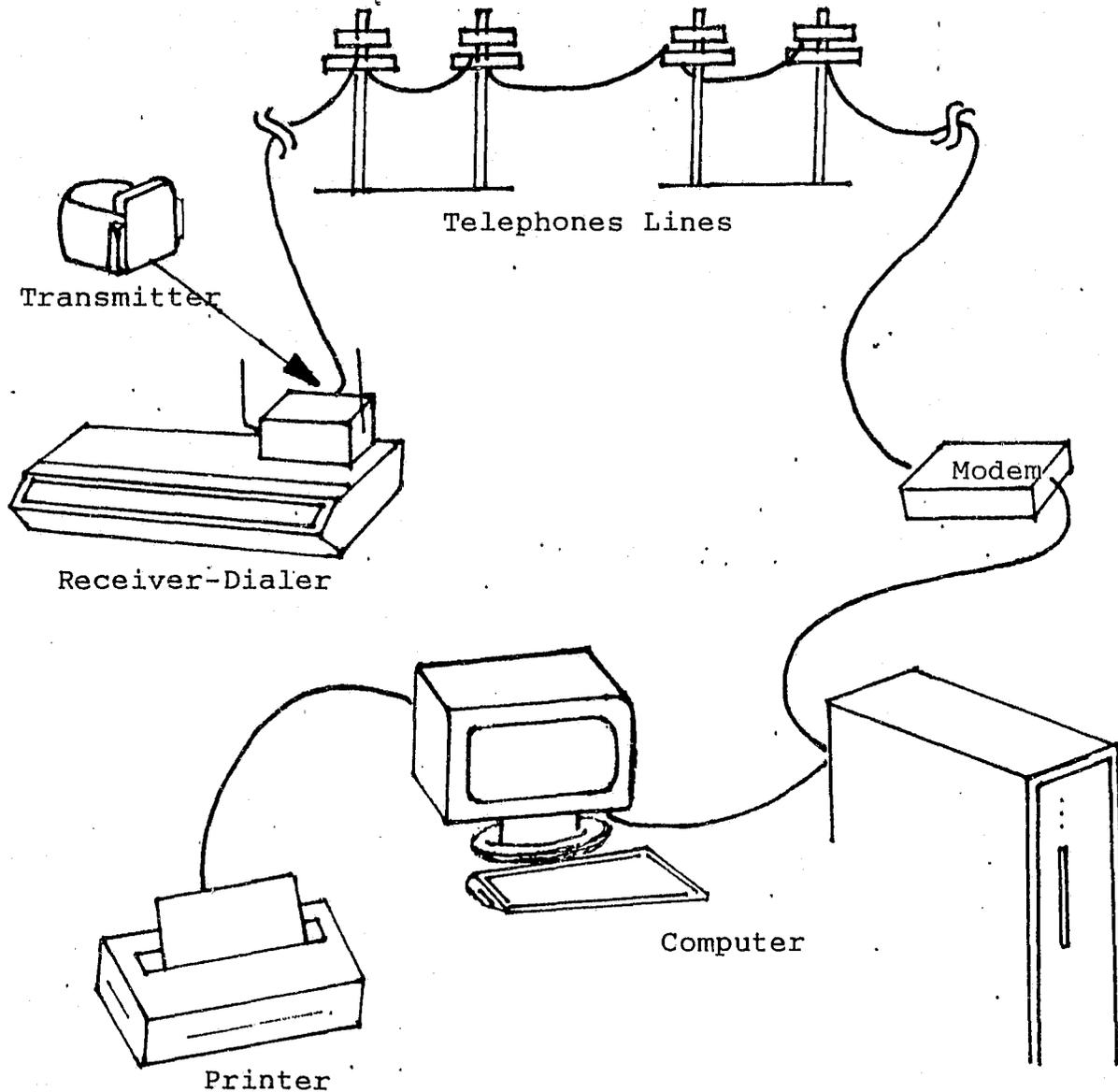


Figure 1. The Home Escort System Manufactured by BI, Inc.

Passive System. The passive system consisted of a telecommunication device, a wristlet and its corresponding verifier, and a microcomputer with software and peripherals (see Figure 2). The telecommunication device initiated random intermittent telephone calls. The number of calls may be selected for each offender as an option of the programming.

During these calls, the telecommunication device delivered a tape recorded message and recorded the offender's verbal response and the automatic communication which took place between the telecommunication device and the verifier. The recorded audio could be reviewed.

The verifier contained a watch-size plastic indentation which matched the shape of the plastic trapezoid identification module worn on a plastic band as a wristlet. The verifier and the wristlet were coded to eliminate interchangeability between wristlets. When a telephone call was initiated by the system, the offender was required to insert the identification module into the indentation on the verifier. When the appropriate identification module was inserted into the indentation on the verifier a random, automatic, and unique communication occurred.

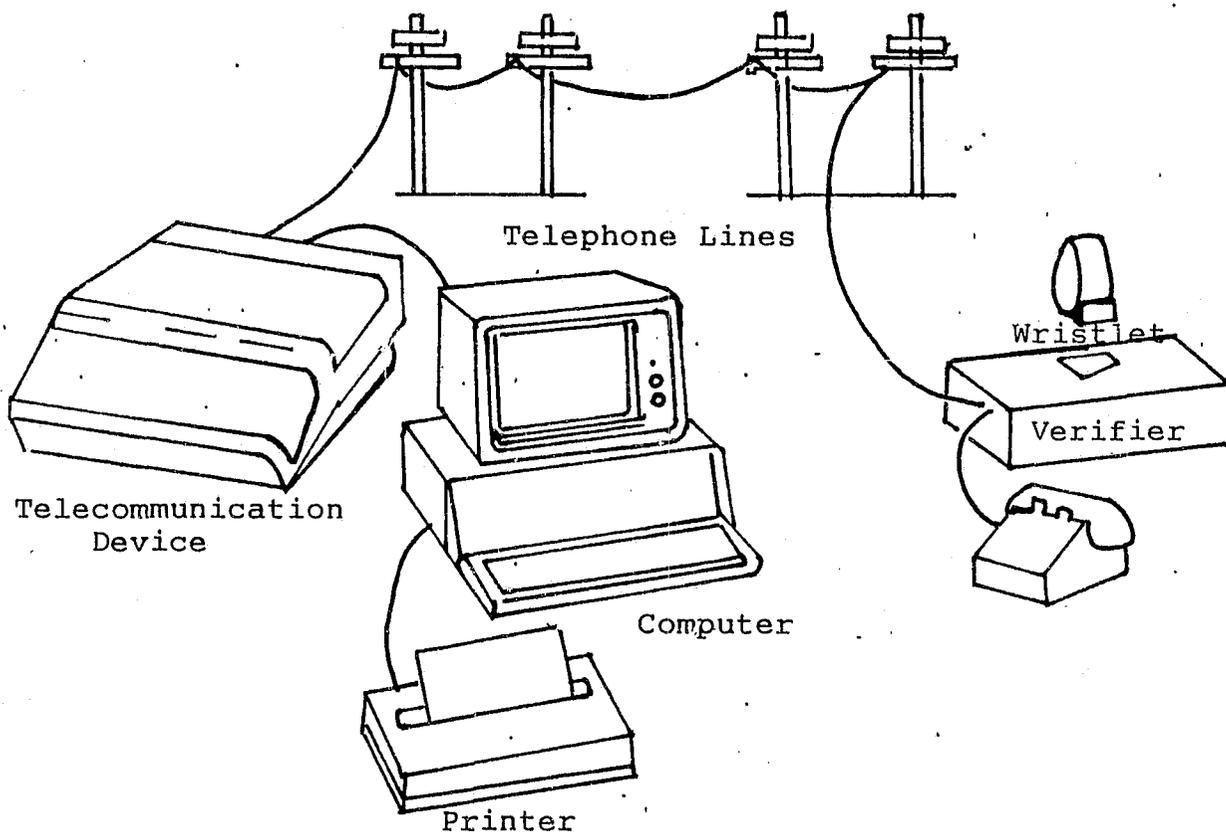


Figure 2. The On Guard System Manufactured by Hitek.

The microcomputer, its software, and peripherals controlled telecommunications, and stored, evaluated, and reported the phone contacts. Each contact was time and date tagged with an audio recording of the communication.

Electronic Monitoring in Corrections

Although two of the electronic monitoring systems had been used to monitor small numbers of offenders in Albuquerque, New Mexico and Key

Largo, Florida, the first electronic monitoring program was established in Palm Beach, Florida in 1983. The program was administered by Pride, Inc., a nonprofit corporation which supervised probation cases for Palm Beach County. An active monitoring system was used by this program.

Participants were, primarily, convicted drunk drivers who were confined to their homes during specific hours for a period of 30 days as an alternative to 10 days in jail. Each participant was required:

1. To pay a daily fee for the monitoring equipment.
2. To pay a standard monthly probation fee.
3. To maintain a working telephone.
4. To remain confined to their homes during specified restricted times.
5. To report weekly in person at the office.

A transmitter was attached to the participant's ankle in the office with plastic straps fastened by metal rivets. The receiver-dialer was given to the participant to take home and install. Installation consisted of plugging the receiver-dialer into the electrical and telephone circuits. A test signal was transmitted upon initial installation. Any installation problems, which were later identified by receipt of the initial test signal and preliminary monitoring messages, were subsequently worked out via telephone calls.

The host computer was programmed with restricted hours for each participant. Probation staff reviewed summary printouts for potential curfew violations each weekday morning and made telephone contact with the offender the same day when appropriate. Otherwise, the summary reports were discussed during the weekly office contacts. Personnel did not monitor the system during the evenings or weekends, but an answering machine was available if participants needed to contact probation staff.

Violations could result in a participant's return to court, probable incarceration, and future ineligibility for monitored home confinement. Failure to return the monitoring equipment could result in a charge of grand theft. During the first six months of the program there was only one major violation.

In 1985 a proliferation of interest in the use of electronic monitoring programs in corrections was preceded by the interest of five jurisdictions (Florida, Kentucky, Michigan, Oregon, and Utah) in implementing such programs. The limited experience with electronic monitoring, the development and introduction of new tamper alert monitoring systems, and the search for alternatives to incarceration encouraged these jurisdictions to consider the feasibility of electronic monitoring programs. Daniel Ford and Annesley Schmidt (1985) provided brief descriptions of these programs which were in various stages of development.

Legal and Ethical Issues

These issues are related to questions about (1) the constitutionality of the use of electronic monitoring, (2) the use of electronic monitoring as an unnecessary extension of social control which portends a general erosion of rights to privacy, and (3) the appropriateness of electronic monitoring as a correctional sanction. The constitutional questions asked whether electronic monitoring was a valid probation condition, constituted an unreasonable search, violated an offender's right to privacy and protection against self incrimination, unreasonable searches and seizures, and economic discrimination. An informal opinion for the State of Utah by the Office of the Attorney General (Christensen, 1985) and a recent article by Rolando Del Carmen and Joseph Vaughn (1986) discussed these issues. Summarily, these sources concluded that electronic surveillance probably does not violate the constitutional rights of offenders, because:

1. It is generally recognized that offenders may not be entitled to certain constitutional protections to the same extent accorded other citizens.
2. There is broad discretion in the definition of conditions for probation and parole when it can be reasonably shown that the conditions are related to the rehabilitation of the offender and/or the protection of the public.
3. The use of electronic monitoring probably does not constitute a search within the meaning of the fourth amendment because there is no interception of oral or wire communication and the device does not reveal information that could not have been obtained through visual surveillance.
4. The use of electronic monitoring devices and the use of the provided information in revocation proceedings does not violate the right against self incrimination.

The ethical considerations included concerns about expansion of social control, erosion of the right to privacy, potential 'widening the net', and the retributive adequacy of such a sanction. In corrections, traditional probation and parole supervision is the precedence for social control of offenders in their home. The use of electronic monitoring only changes the manner in which surveillance is effected. Many would argue that the use of electronic monitoring as an alternative to incarceration is a more humane sanction than incarceration.

Others, however, question the appropriateness of home incarceration as an alternative to prison, because they believe it is not retributive or punitive. This is why some argue that legislation should be passed to define home incarceration as an intermediate correctional sanction.

Administrative policy and legislation will have to address the general questions as to whether electronic monitoring is an ethical, humane use of social control as well as an alternative sanction to jail and prison. Future research should attempt to determine the extent to

which supervision is more or less effective and the extent to which electronic monitoring is incapacitating, punitive, deterring, and habilitative.

Operationally, however, the legal and ethical issues which must be considered when designing an electronic monitoring program are: (1) warrantless access to the participant's home, (2) probable cause in warrant actions, (3) due process requirements related to supervision and revocation, (4) invasion of the privacy of family members, (5) use of computer printouts as admissible and/or reliable evidence in revocation proceedings, (6) whether informed consent is required or obtained from participants, (7) possible economic discrimination against the indigent, and (8) whether the offender would have received a lesser alternative sentence if electronic monitoring were not available.

The Home Confinement Program

Purpose

The specific objectives for the pilot project, therefore, were to determine (1) whether the electronic monitoring equipment technically functioned as claimed, (2) whether there were sufficient numbers of appropriate participants for placement on home confinement, (3) whether diversion from prison occurred, (4) the level of compliance and/or violation of participants in the program, (5) the technical problems associated with the use of the monitoring equipment which should influence program design and organization, if the program were to be expanded, and (6) whether selected offenders could be safely supervised in the community with electronic monitoring.

Statutory Basis

In Michigan, under the Delay of Sentence Statute, MCLA 771.1, the court may delay imposing sentence on a defendant for a period not to exceed one year. The delay is used to provide an opportunity for the defendant to prove to the court eligibility for probation or some other leniency compatible with the ends of justice and the rehabilitation of the defendant. Under the delayed sentence statute, offenders are not probationers; however, the court orders the conditions under which they remain at liberty. Washtenaw County elected to use this authority for the electronic monitoring pilot project.

Informed Consent

After determining that the offender was an appropriate candidate for the program, the offender's informed consent was obtained by providing information about the program and encouraging and answering the offender's questions about the program. If the offender indicated a willingness to participate in the program with the judge's approval, a recommendation was made to the judge that the offender be placed on delayed sentence and ordered to a period of home confinement. The conditions of the program were explained a second time prior to the

signing of the Delay of Sentence Order and installation. An addendum to the Delay of Sentence Order specified in writing the conditions of the program. The offender was required to sign the Delay of Sentence Order with its attached addendum after it was clear the offender understood the conditions of the program.

Control Against Widening of the Net

It was administratively determined that only prison bound offenders would be considered for the program. Operationally, offenders were not selected for review by the sentencing panel unless both the sentencing guidelines and the probation agent recommended a prison term of 12 or more months.

Program Procedures

Selection. A sentencing panel comprised of the chief probation officer, the probation supervisor, and the senior probation agent reviewed all cases for which the sentencing guidelines and the agent preparing the presentence investigation recommended prison. These cases did not include:

1. Offenders convicted of assaultive offenses.
2. Offenders who have a "pattern of assaultive behavior" in their background.
3. Offenders with a pending escape charge.
4. Offenders with a "pattern of flight behavior" in their background.
5. Offenders with a history of dealing narcotics.

If the Probation Sentencing Panel decided to recommend an offender for the Home Confinement Program, the probation agent assigned to the program interviewed the offender, described the program, and obtained the offender's informed consent to participate in the program subject to the judge's approval and the conditions of the Delay of Sentence Order.

If the offender consented to participate, the agent assigned to the program:

1. Notified the prosecutor that the offender was being considered for home confinement.
2. Determined whether the monitoring equipment could be installed at the offender's residence.
3. Notified the sentencing panel of the offender's decision and installation conditions.

The sentencing panel then recommended the offender be placed on delayed sentence status and ordered to participate in the program. If the judge agreed, the offender was remanded to jail for the weekend.

Intake. The agent pretested the equipment to be installed and entered the required information about the offender into the home confinement computer. At the beginning of the week following the delay of sentence, the agent obtained the offender's release from jail and returned to the Probation Department with the offender to prepare, explain, and have the offender sign the Delay of Sentence Order which contained a provision for home confinement and indicated that the agent could at any time ask the court to advance the sentence date if the offender failed to adhere to the conditions of the program.

After presenting the Delay of Sentence Order, the agent attached the transmitter and explained in detail the monitoring equipment and the program conditions. These conditions were that the offender must:

1. Observe the curfew.
2. Maintain or seek employment, attend training, and/or attend or obtain required treatment services.
3. Maintain electric and compatible telephone services at home.
4. Not attempt to remove or tamper with the monitoring equipment.
5. Report to the probation agent any malfunctions in the monitoring equipment.
6. Respond to telephone calls to verify that he or she is at home.
7. Report in-person to the probation office once a week as directed for visual inspection of the transmitter.

During this presentation, the agent again encouraged and answered questions about the monitoring equipment and program requirements. The agent also provided the offender with written information about the equipment.

Following the office interview the agent installed the field monitoring device at the offender's residence. If the installation occurred when other occupants of the residence were not present the agent returned at another time to explain the equipment to the other residents. Following the installation, the agent notified the local police agencies that the offender was a participant in the Home Confinement Program.

Supervision. The minimum supervision standards for inmates in Michigan's community residential programs were used for the home confinement participants. These standards required:

1. Weekly in-person contacts with the prisoner.

2. Two home visits per month.
3. Weekly verification of employment, school, training, and/or treatment, if applicable.
4. Random verification of the offender's destinations during non-restricted hours.
5. Monthly contacts with a relative or any other responsible individual, excluding employers and police agencies, knowledgeable about the offender's community adjustment.

Monitoring. During the pilot project, the offender was restricted to the residence when not at work, school, training or treatment. Generally, curfew hours were the evening hours during the week with twenty-four hour confinement during weekends. Corrections officers located in the Romulus Community Corrections Center, which services Washtenaw County, monitored the system and implemented the alarm procedures during the 4:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. time period. The agent had access to the monitoring system during 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. via a remote terminal.

Violations. Offenders were to be reviewed for termination from the program, when:

1. They failed to adhere to the conditions of the program.
2. There was a 30 minute curfew violation for which there were no extenuating circumstances.
3. They were arrested for a new offense.
4. They were found to be out of place without a reasonable explanation.
5. They failed to comply with the general conditions of the Delay of Sentence Order.
6. Their overall adjustment failed to prove to the court that they were deserving of probation or leniency compatible with the ends of justice and their rehabilitation.

Termination. When the period of home confinement was completed, the offender was sentenced or remained on the delay order. The evaluation of the offender's overall adjustment while in the Home Confinement Program and under the delayed sentence was evaluated to form the basis of the sentencing recommendation to the court.

The Pilot Project

Participants

Twenty-six offenders were monitored during the project. Twelve were Washtenaw County cases and 14 were adjacent out-county cases (Lenawee County = 7, Livingston County = 1, Monroe County = 6). The original plan had been to pilot in Washtenaw County only, but when it became clear that Washtenaw County could not identify 20 offenders before August 30, 1986 to participate in the program, the out-county cases were recruited. Lenawee and Monroe Counties placed jailed probation violators in the program. Livingston county placed delayed sentence offenders in the program.

One offender convicted of manslaughter, an assaultive offense, was ordered into the program. Because the offense resulted from a car accident, the judge believed there was no intent to commit the offense.

Apparatus

Type of Equipment. The Home Escort System (BI, Inc.) was used for this project. It was an active system which provided a high level of surveillance, transmitter and receiver tamper alerts, and automatic hard copy alerts of critical conditions which required action. It consisted of an anklet, receiver-dialer, microcomputer, terminal, printer, and software.

The **anklet** was a transmitter which generated the signal used for monitoring.

The **Field Monitoring Device** was a receiver-dialer. It detected the signal transmitted by an anklet coded for a specific receiver-dialer. The field device initiated and answered calls to and from the host computer.

Hardware. An NCR 1632 Tower Computer was used to support on-site and remote monitoring, and communications with the field monitoring devices. Although the Michigan project used only one remote terminal, the Home Escort System would allow the use of up to two remote terminals with the central processing unit.

Two NCR terminals and two printers were used, one set at the monitoring site in Romulus, Michigan and another at the remote monitoring site in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Microcomputers with communication packages were also used to obtain remote access to the system.

Software. The computer used system3 of the UNIX operating system, the Unify database manager, application programs, and utilities. The software supported multiple system users and application programming which monitored the functional status of the system and stored demographic information, restriction conditions, and all generated messages in a database. The application software also compared the

incoming information with restriction conditions and system requirements and generated automatic reports when exception conditions occurred.

Telephone Services. Two foreign exchange telephone lines and one integrated data voice telephone line were used during the project. The foreign exchange telephone lines were used for incoming calls from the field monitoring devices and outgoing calls generated by the computer. The regular telephone line was used for incoming remote access calls. Three months into the project a 1-800 line was installed as an alternative to the incoming foreign exchange line to allow the monitoring of offenders across toll lines.

Materials

Home Confinement Program Forms. The Basic Information Report is completed for each offender under the jurisdiction of the Michigan Department of Corrections and contains identification, criminal history, current offense and disposition data. The sentencing panel provided an annotated copy of this form for each offender sentenced during the pilot project. The annotations indicated why the offender was or was not recommended for the program. The annotations characterized each offender sentenced during the pilot project as assaultive, involved with drug sales, a prison or jail inmate with a new sentence, requiring a mandatory sentence, not approved by the judge, not approved by the panel, not prison bound, and/or some combination of the preceding. This data was used to determine the number of potential candidates for the program during the six month pilot period.

The Home Confinement Order was a document which specified program conditions and requirements in contractual form. It was used as an addendum to the Delay of Sentence Order.

The Home Confinement Fact Sheet was a document which described the equipment and how it worked. This document was to provide the offender with written documentation of how the equipment placed in the residence worked.

The Home Confinement Notice was a document used to inform the agent about the outcome of alarm procedures when automatic reports were generated by the computer. The document served as notice of an alarm, violation, and/or equipment condition and was used to prioritize the type of follow-up required. It was also used to obtain data regarding the reliability and functioning of the electronic monitoring equipment, level of compliance of program participants, and number and type of automatic alarms.

The Home Confinement Log was used by the probation agent and corrections officers to document specific computer and program related occurrences during the pilot. It provided data regarding the reliability of the equipment and the adequacy of program procedures.

The Home Confinement Round Report was used to verify that counts were taken during each shift at the correction center. This document

provided information regarding the current status of the offenders on the system.

The Telephone Surveillance Report was used whenever it was necessary to provide telephone surveillance of an offender. This was required when the computer was down, the equipment in the offender's residence was malfunctioning, or the offender was wearing a tempered transmitter.

Implementation

Planning. After judges in the circuit agreed to participate in the program, the Washtenaw County Probation Department staff with support from the Program Bureau designed selection, intake, monitoring, and supervision procedures. The monitoring procedures were designed after modifications to the equipment and software had been completed. The limitations of the equipment and the logic of the software influenced the design of the procedures. Procedures were revised on an ongoing basis as program experiences and revisions to the hardware and software required.

Testing. The department began field testing prototypes of the leased equipment in April, 1985. Modifications were made in the design of the equipment and field testing of the new prototypes continued through June and July of 1985. A field demonstration of the modified equipment with departmental personnel as subjects began in November, 1985 and ended in April, 1986.

Training. Training was provided to the corrections officers in four stages: prior to field testing, prior to the field demonstration, prior to program implementation and following program implementation. Prior to field testing, training about the hardware and software of the system was provided. Prior to the field demonstration, training reviewed how the hardware and software functioned with an emphasis on the differences in the modified hardware and software. Prior to implementation of monitoring, the training reviewed how the hardware and software functioned and introduced the procedures which were to be implemented. Following implementation, procedures were modified according to preliminary experiences with the system and follow-up training was conducted to review and explain the modifications.

Monitoring. The first offender was placed on the equipment April 18, 1986. Corrections officers at the Romulus Corrections Center monitored the system during the evening hours and implemented alarm procedures when automatic reports were generated by the system.

When an automatic report was generated the corrections officer would determine whether there was a need to contact the offender by telephone or to take some other action. If it was necessary to contact the offender by telephone, the officer would attempt to do so. If there was no answer, the officer continued to call the offender each hour until the officer talked with the offender on the telephone or had made three unsuccessful attempts at reaching the offender.

If the officer reached the offender at the residence, an explanation was obtained for the alarm conditions and a Home Confinement Notice was prepared. The Home Confinement Notice indicated for the supervising agent whether the notice was an alarm, violation, or equipment notice.

An alarm notice indicated that the corrections officer had failed to contact the offender or was unable to verify that contact was made with the offender. The violation notice indicated that violation conditions occurred, which must be investigated by the agent. The equipment notice indicated that there was a potential problem with the monitoring equipment which must be investigated by the agent.

Alarm and equipment notices required immediate followup by the agent the next day. Violation notices indicated that the agent needed to investigate the incident to determine whether contact should be made with the client to discuss the incident or whether the violation process should be implemented.

Results

Did the electronic monitoring equipment technically function as claimed?

The equipment was handled by the Washtenaw County agents, hence the analyses related to the equipment included information about all the equipment used during the pilot. In order to determine whether the electronic equipment technically functioned as claimed, a review of the Home Confinement Logs, the Home Confinement Notices, and the generated automatic reports was performed. The reported data summarize the experiences which occurred following the conversion to the 1-800 telephone number on July 25, 1986, the date by which all of the receiver-dialers were modified and reinstalled. There were 25 installations of receiver-dialers and 37 transmitters used during this period.

Seven of the 20 receiver-dialers exhibited problems: one was not used during the pilot project; one was shorted-out by a surge through the telephone line during a thunderstorm; 11 functioned without problems. A problem experienced with five of the receiver-dialers occurred when they froze in the 'phone busy' mode while waiting for a call from the computer. Several hardware changes and a software change were made to address this problem. The pilot ended before these changes could be assessed. However, preliminary results during the post pilot period indicate a reduction in the number of incidents, i. e., two incidents during the three months following the pilot versus seven incidents during the three months prior to the end of the pilot.

During the post conversion period, eight of 37 transmitters were replaced. Three were replaced because of tearing straps, two were replaced because of false tamper alarms, one was replaced because of

both a false tamper and a torn strap, one stopped signaling, and one was replaced because of a rattle.

One of the two problems experienced with the transmitter was a continuation of the tearing of straps (n = 5, two transmitters removed for other reasons were also noted to have tears). This problem may have been corrected with changes in the design of the strap and the production process. There was insufficient experience with the new straps during the pilot to assess whether the design and production changes resolved this problem.

The second problem was the spontaneous tampers (n = 3). One was due to a water leak, one was due to a technical condition, and one was unexplained. Production changes and revisions to the equipment were made to deal with these two known causes.

One transmitter, which stopped signaling, was returned to the company, successfully restarted and tested. It functioned as though there was no problem.

Another transmitter returned to the company because of a rattle was determined to have a broken part. There was no explanation for how the part had broken. The offender had reported the rattle but had not noticed what might have caused the rattle.

In summary, the reliability of the receiver-dialers and the transmitters improved throughout the pilot project. Fewer of the equipment problems experienced during the field test and the field demonstration period occurred during the pilot. Only three problems were experienced during the pilot period. One problem was related to the receiver-dialer and two were related to the transmitters. This was evidenced by fewer types of equipment problems and fewer failures of the equipment.

Were there appropriate and sufficient
participants for placement in the Program?

Although there were 14 offenders monitored in counties other than Washtenaw County, these analyses are based upon the selection of the 12 Washtenaw County participants. The selection procedures utilized in the other counties were different and incomplete information was available regarding the selection procedures, sentence recommendations and dispositions.

In order to determine whether there were sufficient numbers of potential participants for placement in this program a comparison of the agent recommendations and court dispositions was performed. In order to determine whether there were appropriate participants for home confinement placement a comparison of the characteristics of the offenders, instant offenses, and prior criminal histories was performed for the prison bound offenders and the home confinement participants.

Prison Recommendations. During the pilot period, the agents who prepared the presentence reports recommended that 223 offenders receive prison sentences. The dispositions for these recommendations are summarized in Table 1. The majority of these offenders received prison sentences.

Table 1

Dispositions for Prison Recommendations During the Pilot (April 1, 1986 to October 16, 1986).

Disposition	Number	Percentage
Probation	11	4.9
Delayed Sentence	26	11.7
Jail	31	13.9
Prison	155	69.5
Total	223	

Note. Beginning April 1, 1986 cases were reviewed for potential participants.

Of the 223 offenders for whom the agents recommended prison sentences, the majority (n = 211) were not acceptable for the program because of their sentence, their current status, or program selection criteria. The characteristics for these prison bound offenders are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Summary of Characteristics of Offenders Not Reviewed for Participation in the Program.

Characteristics	Number	Percentage
Assaultive Instant Offenses	60	26.9
Mandatory Sentences	30	13.4
Lesser Sentences	25	11.2
Jail or Prison Inmates	24	10.8
Pending or Prior Escapes	12	5.4
Probation Violators (New Felonies)	11	4.9
Parole Violators (New Felonies)	5	2.2
Home Confinement Violators	2	0.9

Note. Percentages are based upon the number of prison recommendations (n = 223). More than one characteristic could apply to a single offender.

Prison Bound. Only 169 (75.8%) of the offenders for whom there were recommendations for prison were prison bound. Thirty-seven of these offenders met the selection criteria for consideration for the program and were reviewed for the program. The dispositions for these offenders are summarized in Table 3. Twelve of the 37 offenders were ordered into the Home Confinement Program.

Five additional offenders would have been ordered into the program, but were not because: (1) the offender did not live in the test area, (2) the offender did not have a permanent residence, (3) the offender committed a new felony one day prior to sentencing, (4) the offender failed to show for sentencing, and (5) the agent discovered pending felony cases against the offender in another county. Hence, the reasons for not ordering 25 of the 37 offenders reviewed into the program are summarized in Table 4.

Table 3

Dispositions for Offenders Reviewed for Participation in the Program.

Disposition	Number	Percentage
Delayed Sentence	16	9.5
Jail	8	4.7
Prison	13	7.7
Total	37	21.9

Note. Percentages are based upon the number of prison bound offenders (n = 169).

Table 4

Reasons for Not Diverting Offenders Reviewed for Participation in the Program.

Reason	Number	Percentage
Unacceptable to Judge	12	32.4
Unacceptable to Sentencing Panel	6	16.2
Unacceptable to Judge and Panel	3	8.1
No Residence in Test Area	2	5.4
New Felony Before Sentencing	1	2.7
Pending Felony	1	2.7
Total	25	67.6

Note. Percentages are based on number of offenders (n = 37) reviewed for participation in the program.

Dispositions. There were 579 cases disposed by the Washtenaw County court during the pilot. The number of offenders represented by these cases was 517. Some of the offenders had two dispositions for the same case and other offenders had multiple cases which were disposed during the pilot period. The dispositions for offenders sentenced during the pilot period are summarized in Table 5. The majority of these offenders (53.4%) were sentenced to probation or a delayed sentence. Approximately 44% were sentenced to jail or prison.

Table 5

Dispositions for Offenders Sentenced During the Pilot (April 1, 1986 to October 16, 1986).

Disposition	Number	Percentage
Probation	211	40.8
Delayed Sentence	65	12.6
Jail	63	12.2
Prison	164	31.7
Other (HYTA, 7411)	14	2.7
Total	517	

Note. Beginning April 1, 1986 cases were reviewed for potential participants.

There were 63 offenders sentenced to jail during this period. The sentencing panel did not review these cases for diversion from jail. However, 31 of these offenders were, according to the county, prison diversions because they received jail sentences rather than the recommended prison sentences; 22 were offenders who had been recommended for jail sentences; two were offenders who had been reviewed for the program and would have been placed in the program, eight were offenders with current offenses which would have eliminated them from consideration for the program.

A review of the 32 jail dispositions which were not prison diversions indicated that 13 of the offenders were charged with current offenses which would have prevented their placement in the program.

Therefore, 19 additional offenders may have been reviewed for placement in the program if jail diversions had been considered.

In summary, 14 of the 169 prison bound offenders (8.3%) were acceptable for this program during the pilot project. This was six fewer than the number targeted for participation in the pilot project. Three of the 14 offenders were not ordered to participate in the program because: (1) the offender did not live in the test area, (2) the offender did not have a permanent residence, (3) the offender failed to show for sentencing. A review of the jail dispositions indicated that fewer than 19 additional offenders may have been selected for the program if jail diversion had also been an objective of the pilot project.

Did diversion from prison occur?

Although there were 14 offenders monitored in counties other than Washtenaw County, these analyses are based upon the 12 Washtenaw County participants. The selection procedures utilized in the other counties were different and incomplete information was available regarding sentence recommendations, dispositions and prior criminal histories.

There were 37 offenders reviewed for participation in the program. In order to determine the likelihood that the Washtenaw County cases were diverted from prison the prior criminal histories of those selected were reviewed and compared with the prior criminal histories of those not selected. The current offense and prior criminal histories of the Washtenaw County offenders ordered into the program are summarized in Table 6. The majority were property offenders. Two of the participants had prior prison terms, six had prior jail terms, and all had prior adult probations.

The criminal histories of the offenders not ordered into the program but sentenced to prison or jail are summarized in Table 7 (n = 25). The criminal histories for many of these offenders appeared to be more extensive than those placed in the program or they were unacceptable for other reasons. The note to Table 7 indicates that many of these offenders were unacceptable to the judge, had pending charges, and/or were already under the supervision of the court when they committed the current offense.

In summary, the participants generally had fewer prior adult probations, prison terms, and jail terms. Nonparticipants appeared to have been under the court's supervision at the time of the new offense, had pending charges, and/or more extensive prior criminal histories. Although the participants did not appear to be typical prison bound offenders, they may have been "lighter weight" prison commitments which is probably appropriate.

Table 6

Summary of Current Offenses and Number of Prior Prison Terms, Jail Terms, and Adult Probations for the Participants.

Current Offense	Prior Prison	Prior Jail	Prior Adult Probations
Attempted False Pretenses Over \$100 with Aggravating Factors	0	1	1
Breaking & Entering Motor Vehicle ^b	0	0	1
Breaking & Entering Occupied Dwelling	0	0	1
Breaking & Entering with Intent to Commit Larceny	2	0	1
Credit Card Use ^a	0	1	2
Driving Under the Influence (3rd Offense or Subsequent) ^b	0	3	5
Embezzlement Over \$100 ^b	0	0	1
Larceny Over \$100 and Uttering and Publishing ^b	0	0	3
Manslaughter (without intent)	0	0	1
Receiving and Concealing Stolen Property Over \$100	1	1	1
Unlawful Driving Away Auto and Malicious Destruction Over \$100	0	1	1
Uttering & Publishing	0	1	2

^aThe offender did not begin the program during the pilot period, because he entered a nine month inpatient drug treatment program.

^bProbation violator.

Table 7

Current Offenses and Number of Prior Prison Terms, Jail Terms, and Adult Probations for the Offenders Not Diverted from Prison or Jail.

Current Offense	Prior Prison	Prior Jail	Prior Adult Probations
Arson-Dwelling House ^a	0	3	2
Breaking & Entering Bldg with Intent to Commit Larceny	1	3	2
Breaking & Entering Bldg with Intent to Commit Larceny and Attempted Breaking and Entering	1	8	4
Breaking & Entering Occupied Dwelling with Intent to Commit Larceny ^e	1	9	2
Credit Card Use and Conspiracy to Commit Forgery	0	3	0
Credit Card Possession and False Pretenses over \$100 ^{a,e}	0	2	1
Driving Under the Influence (3rd Offense) ^d	0	5	2
Embezzlement over \$100, Checks 3 NFS within 10 days, and Larceny in a Building ^{b,d,e}	0	0	0
Failure to Stop at Scene, Personal Injury Accident	2	0	0
Fleeing (Motor Vehicle Code) Police Officer and Operating Impaired	0	0	1
Larceny by Conversion over \$100 ^e	0	10	3
Larceny by Conversion over \$100 and Uttering and Publishing ^e	3	0	1
Larceny in a Building ^d (n = 5)	0	11	3
" " d	0	2	2
" " d	2	5	1
" " d	2	5	2
" " c,e	0	8	3
Larceny from Motor Vehicle ^{c,e}	3	2	2
Larceny over \$100 ^{a,e}	0	2	2
Malicious Destruction Bldg over \$100 ^f	0	0	2
Motor Vehicle, Unlawful Driving Away	5	5	2
Receiving and Concealing Stolen Property over \$100 ^{a,e} (n = 2)	0	0	1
" " a,d	0	1	2
Uttering and Publishing (n = 2)	0	0	1
" " (e)	0	2	2

^aOffender was on probation when the new offense was committed.

^bOffender was on a delayed sentence when the new offense was committed.

^cOffender was on parole when the new offense was committed.

^dNot acceptable to the judge.

^epending charges.

^fOffender did not have a permanent residence.

What was the level of compliance

and/or violation of participants in the program?

All of the participants were subject to the same monitoring procedures. Hence, these analyses are based upon the violations which occurred for all participants (n = 26). In order to determine level of compliance, a review of the home confinement notices, the agent home confinement log, and the terminations was conducted.

Terminations. The type of terminations are summarized by county in Table 8. More than half of the Washtenaw County participants successfully completed their home confinement period. The successfully completed home confinement periods were 90 days (n = 4) and 180 days (n = 4).

Table 8

Type of Termination by County.

Termination	Washtenaw County	Out- County	Total
Currently Active	1	8	9
Successful	8	1	9
Unsuccessful	2	3	5
Other ^a	1	2	3
Total	12	14	26

^aOne Washtenaw County participant entered an in-patient drug treatment program before beginning his confinement period and two out-county participants were terminated to enter in-patient drug treatment programs.

During the pilot, there were four curfew violations, four violations of program requirements, and two tampered transmitters. Seven offenders (Washtenaw County = 5, Out-Counties = 2) were responsible for the violations. Five of these offenders were terminated

as revocations and two of these offenders successfully completed the program.

Curfew Violations. The first diversion participant began the program April 18, 1986 and completed a 90 day sentence in July, 1986. This offender violated the conditions of the program the first day by leaving his residence after being told not to leave. Although there were no other curfew violations by this offender after the first day, this offender was later reprimanded for leaving work and returning home during the day. A second offender was five minutes late arriving home.

A third offender left his residence on two consecutive weekends. This offender was reprimanded after the first violation, because he argued he thought he had permission to leave on the weekends because he had been permitted to do so on a previous weekend. When he left his residence the following weekend, he was terminated from the program and sentenced to prison.

One of the out-county offenders violated his curfew. He was terminated from the program and sentenced to prison.

Violations of Program Requirements. One offender took the day off from work to take his children on a picnic. He was stopped by the police on the way home because of a problem with his car. Because the offender had been drinking, he was taken into custody and jailed. After contact with the Probation Department, the sheriff's deputy removed the transmitter from the offender's ankle. There was conflicting information as to why the transmitter was removed. In one version the offender's behavior while under arrest influenced the decision; in another version it did not. Subsequent investigation of the incident indicated that the offender was truthful in his report of the incident. It was decided that because the offender had been truthful about the incident, he would be reprimanded and his period of home confinement extended for 30 days.

Another offender moved and gave the agent a false telephone number. It was a week before the offender reported to provide his new telephone number. He was terminated from the program and sentenced to prison because he lied about the availability of a phone, a condition of participation, when obtaining permission for the move.

An anonymous complaint regarding a party and drinking at the residence of one of the offenders was received between 1:00 a.m. and 2:00 a.m. The officers responding to the complaint breathalyzed the offender at 1.8. The offender had been convicted of UDAA. He was terminated from the program and sentenced to prison.

An out-county offender was restricted from drinking as a condition of his order. He was observed by his supervising agent to be intoxicated and was terminated from the program and sentenced to prison.

Although not confirmed, an anonymous phone call implicated one of the offenders in drug trafficking. The authorities were notified and

the offender is currently under observation at the request of the Department.

Tampered Transmitters. The first offender on the system deliberately tampered with the equipment twice after having served 61 days in the program. The offender was fined an additional 250 dollars for replacement of the transmitters. The agents indicated that this offender benefited from being the first offender on the system, because he only received a reprimand and a fine for tampering with the transmitters after having violated program requirements the first day on the program.

In summary, seven of 26 offenders were responsible for technical violations during the pilot period. Five of these offenders were terminated from the program and sentenced to prison. Two of these offenders successfully completed the program.

What were the technical problems experienced with the use of the system which should influence program design and organization?

Program Procedures. In order to determine which, if any, technical problems associated with the use of the monitoring equipment should influence program design and organization, a review of the program procedures and experience with the equipment was conducted. The majority of the reports generated by the system resulted because information had not been received by the computer by the time the computer checked for the information.

For example, if the receiver-dialer was sometimes unable to transmit the ENTER message before the curfew began, because the computer did not answer the telephone call or the device was unable to complete a call to the computer by the beginning of the curfew period, the computer checked for the ENTER message, failed to detect the ENTER message, and generated a Curfew Violation Report. The offender may have entered on time, but the computer had not received the ENTER message by the start of the curfew period.

This occurred most frequently with the Missed Callback Report and the Curfew Violation Report. Hence, the officers monitoring the system needed to know much more about how the system worked than it was originally planned. Rather than implementing an alarm procedure when a report was generated, they had to first determine whether to implement the alarm procedure. The number of these reports for which the alarm procedure was not required had the effect of "devaluing" the automatic reports. That is, contact with the offender generally was not required and the corrections officers had begun to ignore the Missed Callback Report.

Three adjustments were made. The alarm procedures were revised to better define when contact needed to be made with the offender. The manufacturer was requested to evaluate: 1) extending the period of time before the Missed Callback Report (one of the most frequently generated reports) was generated, and 2) providing a format for indicating

multiple curfew periods during each 24 hour period within a week. A review of the amount of time required to resolve a Missed Callback Report indicated that increasing the window for the Missed Callback Report by 15 minutes would reduce the number of Missed Callback Reports that required no action.

There were only four curfew violations during the pilot period. However, Curfew Violation Reports were generated and processed daily. It was determined that using multiple curfew periods during a specific 24 hours to allow for routine treatment or training would significantly reduce the number of Curfew Violation Reports generated because the offender had permission to enter at a alternate time.

Other factors influencing "no contact required with the offender reports" were the inability of the agent to make changes in the equipment, failure of supervising agents to notify the correction officers monitoring the system of special permissions given to the offender (or of special conditions), and failure of the officers to communicate information to the next shift. For example, if an offender had a tampered transmitter and the agent was unable to change the equipment the following day, each time the offender entered there would be a Receiver/Transmitter Tamper Report.

In one case it took the agent seven days to replace the tampered transmitter. Each day some number of reports were generated regarding the tampered transmitter. The corrections officers stopped following the procedure for this report on the second day. Another corrections officer explained that he had failed to follow the Receiver/Transmitter Tamper Report procedure for another tampered transmitter because he accidentally believed it to be another report of the previous tampered transmitter.

In another case, the agent did not call the monitoring site to inform the officers that the offender would arrive home late because of a late office interview. A Curfew Violation Report was generated when the offender failed to arrive by the beginning of curfew and when the offender entered. The officers called the offender, and learned that the offender had been with the probation agent. The officers then called the agent and determined the offender's statements were correct.

In part the difficulties arose from the agent's work schedule (8 to 5 during the week), and in part to competing demands. Generally, the agent did not go to the offender's home to change transmitters, but made arrangements for the offender to report to the office. This could cause at least a 24 hour delay in the change. If the agent were in court or busy installing equipment, this would postpone the change another 24 hours. If the transmitter failed late Thursday or Friday it might not be changed for 72 or more hours.

Given a tampered transmitter signal, the offender should be instructed to contact the agent the following day in order to make arrangements for the transmitter to be changed. If a tampered transmitter can not be changed the following day, telephone surveillance should be required to verify that the offender is at the residence.

The project demonstrated that there was a need for a technical support person to assist with training, program design, implementation, monitoring, and computer support activities. This person would coordinate the implementation of new programs by assisting new jurisdictions in planning, revising monitoring procedures as required at the host site, and serving as a liaison in the implementation of electronic monitoring in different sites.

In summary, the number of reports generated by the system tended to devalue the reports. The manufacturer was requested to adjust the window for the Missed Callback Report and revisions are needed to agent and officer procedures. A technical support liaison was proposed to assist program personnel in the design, implementation, and monitoring of electronic monitoring programs.

Statutory Requirements. In Michigan it appeared that the statutes covering delayed sentences, probation, and parole could be used for electronic monitoring. There appeared to be no need for additional legislative authority for the use of electronic monitoring. However, each statute differs in due process requirements which will influence program procedures.

During the pilot, delayed sentence and probation clients were placed on the program. The following type of offenders are also potential candidates for electronic monitoring: technical violators of probation or parole, community status inmates with extended furloughs, and high risk parolees. The design of program procedures for each of these statuses will be influenced by statutory requirements for these offenders.

Equipment. The different types of equipment (active versus passive) differ in the level of surveillance and the extent to which the monitoring process is intrusive. Active systems provide continuous information which require monitoring. During the pilot, monitoring occurred in the evening. Twenty-four hour monitoring increases options for monitoring working offenders with different hours of employment.

Program Functions. There are at least three functions related to electronic monitoring: monitoring, client, and coordination. The monitoring function is the process of responding to system reports and implementing alarm procedures. The client function is the process of using the information from the monitoring process for supervising participants. The coordination function is the process of designing, implementing, monitoring, controlling, and revising procedures to assure the effective use of electronic monitoring. How these functions are organized into tasks, or organized as positions, or integrated into existing positions should influence the design of program procedures.

Program Acceptance. In order to determine the acceptance of the program by agents and corrections officers, agent and officer comments throughout the project were compiled and the agents were interviewed following the pilot. The issues raised by the corrections officers were discussed at length during the training sessions to assure that they

understood the objectives of project and the department's positions on issues of concern to them.

The supervising agents were generally positive towards the project and concluded that electronic monitoring was a feasible alternative to incarceration for certain offenders. They reported that the program appeared to create a closer interpersonal relationship between the agent and the offender.

Some of the conditions the agents disliked were: (1) that the corrections officers sometimes called unnecessarily after hours, (2) that the corrections officers sometimes failed to react to critical events in a timely manner, (3) resentment about the program from agents not involved in it, (4) the extra hours and the extraordinary demands required to supervise the program, (5) the equipment problems. However, they reported that they enjoyed working with the program, which provided different challenges.

Some of the corrections officers objected to working with the computer and/or probation clients. They felt that using the computer to provide security and custody for offenders was not a part of their position description (because they normally supervised inmates, they felt that working with diversion clients who were on probation or delayed status violated their position description).

Some of the agents and corrections officers objected to using electronic monitoring as an alternative to incarceration. They felt that it was wrong because it was insufficient punishment or none at all.

Did the program represent a risk to the public?

Finally, in order to determine whether selected offenders can be safely supervised in the community with electronic monitoring, a review of the participants reported behavior while under house arrest was performed. (The participants in this project were not randomly selected and the sample was very small. Hence, the following statements are descriptive and should not be interpreted as statistically significant findings.):

1. All of the violations were technical violations. Although none of the offenders committed a new felony while on the program, one of the offenders is currently under observation by local police (at the Department's request) for alleged unlawful activity and another offender selected for the program committed a new felony the day before sentencing.
2. Generally, the agents reported that the program appeared to make the offenders more responsible and more accountable for their actions.
3. The agents were requested to indicate whether the offenders "did as expected", "better than expected", or "worse than expected". For the 11 Washtenaw County participants, five

performed as expected, four performed better than expected, and two performed worse than expected.

4. All of the offenders who performed better than the agents expected and four of those who performed as expected successfully completed the program.

In summary, the offenders selected for this project were safely supervised in the community. There were no new felonies charges for program participants, and almost half of the Washtenaw county offenders were described as having performed better than expected.

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